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AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF
SCOTLAND,

FROM
THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF CHRISTIANITY
IN THAT KINGDOM,

TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH
REMARKS
ON THE MOST IMPORTANT OCCURRENCES.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO A FRIEND.

BY
THE REVEREND JOHN SKINNER,
A PRESBYTER OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND,
AT LONGSIDE, ABERDEENSHIRE.

VOLUME II.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR T. EVANS, PATER-NOSTER ROW;
AND E. N. CHEYNE, EDINBURGH.
MDCCLXXXVIII.

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OF

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IN prosecution of my design of giving you a distinct account of our ecclesiastical affairs, from the first appearance of christianity in Scotland, to the present time, I have already advanced as far as the beginning of that conspicuous æra, which produced a surprizing change in the religious system of Britain, and will ever be distinguished as one of the most remarkable periods in the annals of our church. We have seen how the business of the *Reformation* was going on in Germany, and what steps the Protestants there had taken for the safety of their persons, and the free exercise of their

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religion,

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LETTER religion, while Henry VIII. of England was giving
 XXXI. life to their cause, by throwing off the papal supremacy, and prohibiting any ecclesiastical dependence, in his dominions, on the See of Rome. In Scotland we have observed the same spirit of reformation breaking out, on various occasions, in spite of all the severities that were made use of to suppress it. The death of the late King, however inconvenient for the nation in general, was considered by the reforming party as highly favourable to their views. The first publick transaction, subsequent to this unexpected event, was the choice of a Regent or Governor, which notwithstanding the intrigues of Cardinal Beton, who it is said, produced a forged will of the late King in his own favour, fell upon James Hamilton Earl of Arran, who now, upon the death of the Duke of Albany without issue, was after the infant Queen the next heir to the crown, being the grandson of a sister of James the third. This disposal of the Regency gave universal satisfaction to the whole nation, except to the Cardinal and his faction among the clergy. The rest were pleased to find the power taken out of the Cardinal's hands, who was both hated and feared for his pride and severity: And they in particular who favoured the appearances of a reformation in the church, conceived great hopes from the governor's known good-nature, and the signs of his inclination that way. For, to the great offence of the clergy, he kept in his family two Chaplains, Thomas Guillam and John Rough, who had both deserted the Romish church, and preached now against the Pope's supremacy and such other points as had of late been brought into controversy. The first of these had been Provincial of the Dominicans or Black-friars
 in

in Scotland, and it is said, had translated the new LETTER testament into the vulgar tongue : The other had XXXI. been a Dominican too, and on the governor's application had got permission from the Cardinal to leave his monastery at Stirling, and become his Lordship's chaplain. These two preachers were not only encouraged by the governor, but were likewise countenanced by such of the nobility as had been carried prisoners to London after the affair of Solway-moss, and were now permitted to come home on their parole. Among these were the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Maxwell and Gray, besides many gentlemen of inferior note, most of whom, by their acquaintance with Archbishop Cranmer and other English Bishops, had imbibed the reforming principles of that church, and now brought them to their own country with them. The King of England too hearing of his nephew's death, and being always attentive to the interests of his own kingdom, had formed in his mind a project of uniting the two crowns by a marriage between his son Edward and the Scottish Queen Mary, and had engaged his Scottish prisoners, whom he treated with great kindness for that purpose, to support his proposal with all their influence on their return home.

All these circumstances bore a favourable aspect towards a regular reformation in Scotland on the English plan, and for a while some proper use seems to have been made of them. For how soon the Mar. 15, A.D. 1543. Parliament met, a petition was presented by Robert Lord Maxwell, craving " that it may be Keith's Hist. p. 36. lawful to all our sovereign lady's lieges to have " the holy writ of the old and new testament in " the vulgar tongue, in English or Scotch, of a " good and true translation, without incurring any

LETTER XXXI. "crime for having and reading of the same, provided that no man dispute or hold opinions, under the pains contained in former acts." This petition the Lords of the articles, whose business was to prepare bills for the Parliament, found reasonable; "and therefore thought the same might be used among all the lieges, because there was no law shown or produced to the contrary." When this draught of an act was read, Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow, the Chancellor, stood up, and in his own name and in the name of all the prelates of the realm, as one of the three estates of Parliament, "dissented there- to *simpliciter*, unto the time that a provincial council might be had of all the clergy in the kingdom, to advise and conclude if the same be necessary to be had among the Queen's lieges or not, and thereafter to shew the final determination that shall be made in that behalf: And thereupon asked instruments." Notwithstanding of this protestation, the bill was passed; and on the nineteenth of March proclamation of it was made at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the governor's order.

This was gaining one considerable privilege, which the church of Rome had long and stiffly stood out against. Yet it is certain, the several national churches for many hundreds of years had the scriptures in their own vulgar languages. And tho' the Popes in the West had begun now and then to interfere with their directions and recommendations in favour of the Latin version, yet there was no absolute and authoritative prohibition of the vulgar tongues, till the time of Gregory VII. who in answer to a petition from Uratisslaus King of Bohemia, for a continuance of the blessing which

which his people had enjoyed for more than two hundred years, says, " It appears that God designed the scripture to be obscure in several places, lest, if it had been plain to all the world, it should grow contemptible, and by being wrong interpreted might be the source of error: And it is no excuse, that some holy persons have allowed what the people demand out of simplicity, since the primitive church tolerated many things which have been corrected upon serious examination, after religion was better established and further extended: For which reason we, by the authority of St. Peter, forbid what your subjects so imprudently desire; and we order you to oppose this their foolish temerity with all your force." These reasons urged by this violent Pope, however weak and inconclusive, are still made use of upon this subject by the Romanists of the present day. But if the scriptures were to be preserved from contempt and abuse by being shut up in an unknown tongue, may it not be asked, what entitled the Latin tongue to this high office? Why not keep them locked up under the equally impenetrable obscurity of their own sacred originals of Hebrew and Greek, in which their inspired authors spoke and wrote them, rather than confine them to a language in which they had originally no concern, and which could claim no intrinsic merit? The new testament was at first spread thro' the world in Greek, as the old was in Hebrew, till a Greek translation was made. And the Latin christians thought it then incumbent on them to get both translated into their common language for their common use. Were not the scriptures in danger of being abused or becoming contemptible then, when the Latin was the vulgar

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vulgar language, as much as they can be now in the vulgar language of any christian country? Indeed there is so much absurdity in this practice, and in every attempt to vindicate it, that all the glosses and daubings of its abettors can never keep it entirely out of sight. But the truth is, it is not so much regard for the scripture, as for the Latin tongue, the once commanding language of the high and mighty Rome, that first produced and still keeps up this otherwise unaccountable veneration for the Latin bible, which, notwithstanding of the bold decree of the council of Trent in pronouncing it authentick, yet after all the revivals and corrections it has undergone since that decree by the two Popes Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. is still as imperfect and incorrect a version as we have.

It is true, the church of Rome may be said to have acted wisely enough for what she still thought her main interest on this occasion, as well as on many others. For as she suspected that the promiscuous acquaintance with the scripture might, by a wrong interpretation, lead people into what she was pleased to call error, so it might likewise be a mean of discovering things which she would not wish brought to light, and which from the plain and natural sense of scripture would be found to be greater errors than those she pretended to guard against. This had been the case already with Wickliff and Hufs, Luther, and the rest of her opponents: And our Archbishop Dunbar, as a dependent upon her, might fear the worst if such a door of acquaintance should be opened among us. However on passing the act, the governor desired Mr. Sadler the English resident to write to London for some English bibles, which at the request

quest of the convocation in 1534, the King had caused to be printed and dispersed, and for a copy of such statutes and injunctions as had been lately made in England for the reformation of religion, and suppressing the Pope's authority. Accordingly the books came, and at the same time, or soon after, Henry sent down one Richardson a Priest, whom the governor heard preach, and promised him a living and entertainment in the country. This man went to St. Andrews, and talked with the Cardinal, but on what business or to what effect, we are not told.

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Keith's
Hist. p. 39.

All this looked well in so far, and great expectations were formed of what would follow. But these flattering prospects came to nothing, at least for some time, tho' a beginning was now made, which might in end have accomplished a good work, if the governor had kept steady to his first professions. It is true he had difficulties to encounter, which would have required more natural resolution to surmount than he was possessed of. The correspondence with England met with much opposition from different quarters. The proposed marriage, tho' once formally agreed to, and hostages given for the performance, was not universally relished. The clergy set themselves violently against it, from a just fear of the dangerous consequences of it to their religious system; And a great body of the nobility, such as the Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Montrose, Bothwell, Monteith, the Lord Fleming, with many more of all ranks, out of a national dislike to the English, entered into a solemn bond to resist the match with all their might, and did what they could to engage the governor to break off the treaty, by offering to bring about a match between the infant Queen and

LETTER and his eldest son the Lord Hamilton. At the
 XXXI. same time his natural brother John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, being newly returned from France, to which he was much devoted, and being put upon it by the Cardinal, began to represent to the governor the impropriety of the measures he was pursuing, as the legitimacy of his birth, he said, because of an antecedent divorce of his father from a wife prior to his mother, with all his present titles and future hopes depended upon the Pope's authority and the laws of the church as then established. All these considerations so wrought on the timorous, unstable man, that in a few days he made a public renunciation of his former belief, and was solemnly reconciled to the church by receiving absolution from the hands of the Cardinal, in the church of the Franciscans at Stirling, sometime in September 1543.

This unexpected step soon altered the face of affairs. Richardson the English Priest, with others of his countrymen, made homewards as fast as they could: The governor's two chaplains were dismissed: Friar Guillam, fearing to be called in question for his doctrine, which the Abbot of Paisley had been always finding fault with, withdrew into England, and died there. His colleague Rough staid some time in this country, and we shall hear more of him by and by. Nor was the governor satisfied with thus abandoning his former friends; but to testify his new zeal the more, he made a publick speech in the parliament of December the same year, against the spreading of Hereticks and sowing damnable opinions, "exhorting therefore
 "all Prelates and ordinaries, ilkane within his
 "own dioces and jurisdiction, to enquire upon all
 "manner of such persons, and proceed against
 "them

“ them according to the laws of halie Kirk : And
 “ my Lord Governor shall be ready at all times
 “ to do therein what accords him of his office.”

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Upon this the Cardinal, who since the King's death had been pretty quiet, took courage again, and appeared once more in his own colours. For being now fortified with the Regent's authority, he was always travelling thro' the country with a splendid retinue, either making friends or destroying enemies. The Pope had sent a legate into Scotland to dissuade the nation from the English marriage, proposed for their Queen. He was nobly entertained; but without acting in any public sphere went off again in March 1544. And soon after the Cardinal was invested with this character, which added nothing to his power, whatever it did to his dignity. In 1545 he made a visitation of his diocese, attended by the Governor, and a number of the nobility and gentry; and being come to Perth, he convened before him a number of suspected persons who, besides other frivolous points of accusation, were indicted particularly for contravening that clause in the act of the Governor's first Parliament, whereby the lieges, tho' in general allowed to read the scripture, were prohibited from disputing about the interpretation of it. The pannels being found guilty, as was to be looked for before such a court and upon such a cap-
 tious indictment, were condemned to different degrees of punishment: Some were imprisoned, some banished, and five men, and a woman named Helen Stirk, who was then nursing a child of her own, were for example's sake sentenced to death, which was immediately executed, the men being as usual burnt at a stake, and the woman drowned in a pool. From thence the Cardinal marched, on

LETTER the same errand, to Angus, where he called many
XXXI. in question for reading the new testament in Eng-
 lish, notwithstanding of the liberty once given,
 which was now accounted a heinous crime: And it is said, such was the ignorance or prejudice of these times, that even many of the very Priests gave out that the new testament was written by Luther, and that the old was the only scripture to be read. From Angus the procession went thro' the Mearns, and then returned to St. Andrews, where the Cardinal spent the Christmase holidays, and afterwards proceeded to Edinburgh.

Here perceiving that after all his severities, many were still inclining to the new opinions, and that they were encouraged in these inclinations by the immoral lives of too many of the clergy, he assembled a provincial council in January 1546, in order to consult about proper methods to stop the growing heresy, and to restrain the licentiousness of churchmen, which was so scandalous and gave the people such a handle to desert them. But how far they proceeded in that plausible design, which had so often been pretended, remains uncertain. Perhaps they were diverted from it, or interrupted in it, by the agreeable information they then received, that the famous new preacher Mr. George Wishart, whom the Cardinal had been long in search of, was just then at the house of Ormiston in East Lothian. The Cardinal went immediately to the governor, and got him to send a party to apprehend the heretick. But the Laird of Ormiston refusing to deliver him up, as hoping to have wrought his escape, the Earl of Bothwel, who was high sheriff of the county, came to the house, and upon pledging his honour for Mr. Wishart's safety had him put into his hands, who that very night

night carried him to the house of Elphinston, where the Cardinal was waiting him. From thence he was conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh, and in a few days removed to the Cardinal's own castle of St. Andrews. Thither the other prelates were immediately summoned, and accordingly convened on the twenty seventh of February, in order to the trial and condemnation of this supposed Arch-heretick. The Archbishop of Glasgow advised the Cardinal to get a commission from the Governor to some man of quality to execute justice, lest all the burden should lie upon the clergy if they should finish the process in their own names. To this the Cardinal consented, in confidence that the Governor would not hesitate in the matter, as for some time past he had found him very obsequious to all his purposes. Bur the Governor, either out of pity to the sufferer, or by the importunity of other friends, warned the Cardinal not to precipitate the trial, till he should come in person and see the cause maturely examined, and if otherwise he protested that the man's blood should be required at his hand. This answer grieved the Cardinal not a little, who feared the danger of delay in an affair he had so much at heart, and therefore resolved to go on with it by his own authority, as he should see most fitting. So the convention was held on the day appointed, and after the usual formalities of citation and accusation Mr. Wishart was sentenced to be burnt on the first of March, which was put in execution accordingly: And that day the Cardinal made proclamation thro' St. Andrews, that no person should pray for the heretick under pain of ecclesiastical censures.

This Mr. Wishart was of the family of Pitarro in the Merns. In his younger years he had been master of the grammar school of Montrose, and

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had afterwards studied at Cambridge, from whence he returned to his own country in the year 1544. He is said to have been the worthiest and most pacific of all those who at first supported the new doctrines in this kingdom, and may, for his learning and modesty, be called the Melancthon of Scotland, tho' from all the accounts we have of him in the histories of those times, it is not easy to learn whether he was in any degree of holy orders or not. His death was matter of great triumph to the persecuting zealots; and the Cardinal himself boasted of it, as giving a deadly blow to heresy, and putting the church in a state of perfect security. But so uncertain are the issues of all human consultations, that this very thing proved the rock on which he and all his fortunes perished: For not only were the minds of the common people much irritated by this execution, but even the humours of some of high rank, who otherwise bore no good will to the Cardinal, were so enraged at his insatiable cruelties, that they openly vowed the blood of Mr. Wishart should not pass unrevenge. Of this number were John and Norman Leslies, the one brother, the other son to the Earl of Rothes, Kirkaldy of Grange, with some others, of less note: Who in prosecution of the plot, met all at St. Andrews early in the morning on Saturday the twenty ninth of May, and having by a preconcerted stratagem got access into the castle, they burst into the Cardinal's bed-chamber, and stabbing him several times thro' the body, left him weltering in his blood.

Thus fell Cardinal David Beton, the last of that dignity in Scotland, a man of great parts and dexterity in business, but of loose morals and unbounded ambition, and in prosecuting the reputed heretics

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heretics of those days, entirely void of all humanity.* This bold action was variously thought of, both at the time and since. The Romish party did, and still do execrate it in the bitterest language, and would be laying the odium of it not on the persons only who were concerned in it, but but even on the principles which they were supposed to espouse: Which, if conclusive, would militate equally against themselves. For they should remember who they were that murdered their darling Archbishop Becket, and how conscientiously they did penance to the Pope for it. This was more than three hundred years before Luther or Calvin were heard of: And so much was this barbarous spirit kept up even among Catholics, as they call themselves, that much about the time of our Cardinal Beton's tragical end, a like assassination was perpetrated on another Cardinal, George Martinusius, Archbishop of Strigonia in Hungary, who for his ambitious intermeddling in politicks, was privately murdered in his apartment by the hands of his own secretary. Nor was this method of revenge upon the sacred and inviolable persons of Cardinals, confined to such nations as might be reckoned savage and unpolished. Even the annals of France present us with an account of one Cardinal, Bourbon, imprisoned, and another, Guise, stabbed to death by a Catholic King's command, at a meeting of the estates of the realm in 1588. I mention these almost cotemporary instances, to check the illgrounded vanity of some men, who would make the world believe that none but Pro-

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* By a daughter of the family of Airly he had several children, one of whom he had, only a few weeks before his death, married to the master of Crawford, and given 4000 merks of portion with her.

testants.

LETTER testants are capable of such atrocious villainies.
XXXI. On the other hand, there are a set of writers who go as far to the other extreme, even to the borders of blasphemy, in crying up this horrid deed. The history attributed to Knox, by the style of the narration, holds it forth as a godly and praiseworthy action: The Martyrologist Fox expressly affirms that "the murderers were stirred up by the Lord." And the Presbyterian Historiographer Calderwood says, "the Cardinal intended farther, if the Lord "had not stirred up some men of courage to cut "him off in time." These are strange expressions: And it is hoped the modern writers of that party will now in this enlightened age have more regard to the honour of our common christianity in general, and of the Protestant name in particular, than adopt these uncharacteristic ravings of their predecessors, which some more than a century after, were again renewed on occasion of a like barbarity to an Archbishop of St. Andrews of another denomination.

Spotfwood,
 p. 82.

But before I have done with the Cardinal and Mr Wishart, there is a circumstance to be taken notice of, which the writers on both sides appear to lay much stress upon. To aggravate the Cardinal's cruelty, it is said, that whilst Wishart was burning at the stake, the Cardinal sat in a window overlaid with tapestry, glutting his eyes with the shocking sight: And that the martyr in the midst of the flames should say, "This fire hath scorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my spirit: But he, who from yonder high place beholdeth us with so much pride, shall within a few days lie in the same as ignominiously, as he doth now rest himself proudly." This prediction is much spoken of by the tribe

tribe of writers I last mentioned, as a sign of the LETTER
 man's prophetic spirit, and an undeniable testi-XXXI.
 mony of the truth for which he suffered: While
 the Popish party as confidently infer from it that
 Mr. Wishart was in the plot against the Car-
 dinal's life, and so might the more readily fore-
 tell his death: and indeed the being so particu-
 lar in the circumstance of the window, and the
 event happening so soon after, seems to give
 some ground for this inference, as all the histo-
 rians agree in telling us that, in order to pacify
 the mob without, who were clamouring "What
 " was become of my Lord Cardinal?" the as-
 sassins exposed his mangled body at that very
 window. Now both these opposite conclusions,
 either to the honour or dishonour of Mr. Wi-
 shart's memory, would fall to the ground if the
 prediction itself might be called in question:
 And that it is highly questionable, may be pre-
 sumed from these considerations which Bishop Hist. p. 42.
 Keith has laid before us, and to which the last
 editors of Bayle's general dictionary, men of no
 mean penetration in criticism, give their appro-
 bation. 1. That Sir David Lindsay of the Mount,
 who lived at the time, and wrote the tragedy
 of Cardinal Beton, in which he collects all that
 could be suggested to the Cardinal's disadvantage,
 takes no notice of the prediction, nor of the
 circumstance of the window on which it is found-
 ed. 2. That Fox in his Martyrology does not
 mention it. And 3. that there is nothing of it
 in the first edition of Knox's history, which if
 written by him, would certainly have given us
 such a remarkable story, as Knox was Wishart's
 intimate acquaintance, and staid so long with the
 murderers in the castle, that he could not but
 have

LETTER have known it, if it had been true, and would
 XXXI. not have omitted the publishing of it if he had
 known it. To which let me add, that in all
 probability Buchanan, whose inventive genius
 has displayed itself in more productions of the
 scandalous kind, has been the first fabricator
 of this one too; and the next editions of Knox's
 history have, for the sake of embellishment, bor-
 rowed it from Buchanan, of whose Latin their ac-
 count is a faithful translation.

Upon the whole, there is no need of this doubt-
 ful story, either to adorn Wishart's, or stigmatize
 the Cardinal's memory. The burning of the one
 was not only in itself a cruel, but as matters then
 stood, a most impolitic business: And the mur-
 dering the other, wicked as he seems to have
 been, was a piece of the most savage and un-
 christian butchery. And I shall shut it all up
 with the modest Archbishop Spotswood's reflec-
 tion upon it, "that he now remains a tragical
 " ensample in story, to admonish every man to
 " keep within his bound, and hold that mode-
 " ration which is fitting."

p. 83.

The see of St. Andrews being thus vacated by
 the death of the Cardinal, was immediately fil-
 led by the Abbot of Paisley, who being nomi-
 nated by his brother the governor, was elected
 by the Canons, and had his bulls of confirmation
 from the Pope without the least scruple or de-
 lay. At the same time the Pope wrote to the
 Governor and the new Primate, exhorting and
 urging them to manifest their zeal, in punish-
 ing the injury done to the state ecclesiastic. Ac-
 cordingly the Bishops were earnest with the Go-
 vernor, that a speedy and effectual course should
 be taken for apprehending the murderers, and

the ecclesiastical judges issued out their solemn ^{LETTER} anathemas against them, and against all who ^{XXXI.} should succour or uphold them. On the tenth of June the council sat, and next day emitted an act against "invading, destroying, or withholding abbeys or other religious places," fearing, it seems, that the violence of the times might proceed to such extremities. In August the Parliament met, and took under deliberation how the castle of St. Andrews was to be regained out of the hands of the party who had taken possession of it. This, it was thought at first, might have been brought about by capitulation: For the two Leslies had already offered to the Governor to deliver up the castle, and his eldest son, whom the Cardinal, under pretence of honour, had kept there as a pledge of his father's fidelity, upon condition of obtaining a full remission under the great seal. But against this proposal, the Archbishop of Glasgow protested that no remission should be granted, till they first got absolution from the Pope for such a murder. Yet the remission was agreed to by the Governor and the Estates: But the murderers being startled at the Archbishop's protestation, and suspecting some kind of quirk, began to recede from their proposals, on which the remission was cancelled; and on the fourteenth of August they were all declared guilty of high treason, and their goods and lands forfeited. The same day the clergy taxed themselves in the sum of three thousand pounds monthly towards carrying on the siege of the castle, which having been strongly fortified by the Cardinal for his own purposes, could not be reduced in any other way.

By this time too great numbers, besides the

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original

LETTER original associates, had found their way into the
 XXXI. castle, to congratulate the garrison, and take one
 lot with them. Among the rest was the Governor's old chaplain Mr. John Rough, who had for some years past been preaching in the West country about Kyle and Cuninghame, and now joined himself to these people for the same purpose. How commendable a step this was, I shall not say, and the man himself had not much joy in it: For all the time that the siege was going on, from the twenty third of August to the middle of December, the besieged gave themselves up to all manner of riot and debauchery, regardless of the danger they were in, or of the admonitions of their new preacher, who indeed, all things considered, could not think of having much influence with such a graceless band. In the mean time the King of England had taken them under his protection, and the sea being open, had sent them large supplies of victuals and ammunition, so that the Governor thought proper to come to a treaty with them on certain conditions, and on the seventeenth of December raised the siege.— Upon this Mr. Rough, finding his labours useless in the castle, left it and went into the town, where he preached publicly, and had frequent disputations with the established clergy on the controverted points. Soon after, we are told John Knox came to St. Andrews, and entered the castle to supply the vacant office of preacher to the garrison, which is the first-public appearance of this renowned champion of Presbytery upon the ecclesiastical stage, where he afterwards appeared as a very capital actor. He had got university education at St. Andrews, under the historian John Major, where he made such proficiency in all

all the branches of academical learning, that before the usual time he was judged fit to be admitted into holy orders. When he left the University, he took to the reading of St. Augustin, who pleased him most of all the fathers, and becoming acquainted with the Friar Guillam I spoke of, he thereby got the first knowledge of the reformed doctrines that were then in agitation. With this new light he employed himself for a livelihood, in teaching of children in such private families as favoured a reformation, where he expounded the scriptures, and performed the other offices of a chaplain. And now, taking the advantage of the strength of that fortress, and longing to be with the noble company who had so bravely avenged the death of his beloved Mr. Wishart, he came to St. Andrews in the beginning of the year 1547, being now in the forty second year of his age. Here he connected himself with Mr. Rough, in order to support him in his disputations, because, as Knox's history describes him, "tho' his doctrine was without corruption, yet was he not the most learned." At last a sort of congregation being formed in the town, partly of the town's people, and partly from the castle, a thought struck them of having Mr. Knox for their preacher, and to go about it with some shew of regularity, they gave him a kind of call, by the mouth of Mr. Rough their former volunteer: Which upon their principles seems to have been altogether superfluous, as Mr. Knox's right to preach, without any call, was just as good as Mr. Rough's had been before. But whatever right either of them had, so it was in fact, that Mr. Knox now looked on himself as lawful minister of St. Andrews, in which character,

LETTER XXXI. ter, upon the Sunday after his installment, he preached his first public sermon in the parish-kirk, from Daniel c. vii. v. 24, 25, applying his explanation of this mystical passage to the church of Rome, and drawing his conclusions accordingly.

When the new Archbishop heard of these strange proceedings, he sharply rebuked the sub-prior Winram for suffering such heretical and schismatical doctrines to be taught without opposition. Upon this all the clergy in town convened, and calling Rough and Knox before them, they began a confutation of sundry articles collected out of the sermon, which they maintained to be erroneous, and Knox vigorously defended, and asserted to be scriptural truths. Indeed all the clergy in the kingdom that heard of it, were mightily alarmed at this audacious step which under the protection of the castle, Knox had so confidently ventured upon: And to give a check to the consequences of it, they presented, on the nineteenth of March, a supplication to the Governor, from all the Bishops, Prelates and kirkmen, against the pestilentious heresies of Luther, his sect and followers, and praying his Grace and the temporal Lords “for their princely honour and nobilities “to give their hasty help and remeid in that “behalf.” In answer to which the Governor ordains “the kirkmen to give in the names of these “heretics, and his Grace and the Lords temporal “shall take them, and cause the laws of the “realm be executed upon them, according to the “laws of halie kirk.” In St. Andrews, where the danger was greatest, the clergy, in order to stop the defection of the people, resolved to preach by turns in the parish-kirks upon the Sundays

Sundays, and to keep off from any of the disputed points as much as they could. By this shift, which necessity drove them to, Knox was kept out of the pulpit on Sunday, but preached on the week days, none daring to molest him, for fear of his parishioners in the castle. But John Rough, being grieved with the wicked and licentious lives of those people, which all Knox's zeal and ministerial authority could not reform, and probably, upon second thoughts, not satisfied with himself for being among them, left them at last altogether, and departed into England. There he preached in the towns of Carlisle, Berwick and Newcastle some years, and was then provided by the Archbishop of York in a benefice near Hull, on which he resided till the death of Edward VI. On that event he fled with his wife to Friseland, where he made a living by knitting caps, hose, and the like, till the year 1557, when coming to London to provide some necessaries for his business, he fell into the hands of the Magistrates, and was carried before Bonner Bishop of London. Being questioned if at any time since his last coming into England he had preached, he answered "that he had not preached: but in some places where godly people were assembled, he had read the prayers of the communion book, set forth in the reign of King Edward." And being asked what his judgment was of that book, he declared, that "he did approve of it, as agreeing in all points with the word of God." When he was brought forth to judgment, he was charged on these three heads. 1. That being in orders and a Priest, he had married a wife. 2. That he would not use the Latin service; and 3. That

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Spotf. p. 87.

LETTER he would not go to mass. To the first he answered, "that orders are not an impediment to
 XXXI. matrimony, and that he had done lawfully in
 ~~~~~ "taking a wife." To the other two he said, tho' he were to live as long as Methuselah, he would do neither. Upon these answers he was condemned, degraded, and put into the hands of the secular magistrate, who the next day caused  
 Nov. 21. him be burnt in Smithfield.

From this short account of Mr. Rough, who was one of our first reformers, and a clergyman, these two observations may be drawn, as worthy of our notice. 1. That he approved the English liturgy, and consequently was not against set forms of prayer. And, 2. That he looked upon reading prayers in an assembly of godly people to be more his duty as a clergyman, than preaching; which is contrary to the tenets of those among us who boast of being the only followers of our first reformers, and look upon preaching and hearing sermons as the essential ingredient of what they call worship. It is likewise to be observed, that hitherto our dissenters from the established church are by their enemies branded with the title of Lutherans, and their opinions called the heresies of Luther. For Calvin had not yet begun to be much talked of in this country, and Zuinglius, who was Calvin's fore-runner, does not seem to have been ever known in it. In consequence therefore of this early attachment to the Lutheran model, we find all this time, no contention about different degrees of orders among the clergy, and little or no notice taken, whether a superiority of one order to another, was agreeable to the word of God or not. We see our dissenting clergy  
 fleeing

fleeing from persecution to, and when employed **LETTER**  
 serving in, a church where such a superiority was **XXXI.**  
 still strictly preserved; and where, tho' they could  
 not heartily agree to all the points of her doctrine  
 at her first advance towards reformation, they  
 never made any objection to her constitution of  
 government. Parity or imparity was none of  
 the questions then agitated; at least it was not  
 discussed in the way it has been since, nor so  
 thoroughly examined as to become a test of Pro-  
 testant communion. But of this I shall soon  
 have occasion to treat more fully.

Mean time I am, &c.

**LETTER**



LETTER XXXII.

*Death of Henry VIII. of England—Effect of it in Scotland—Battle of Pinkey—A Peace concluded between the two Kingdoms, and Persecution of the Reformers renewed—Provincial Synods held by the Archbishop of St. Andrews—Account of the Council of Trent—And of the Affairs of the Protestants in Germany.*

LETTER XXXII. **I**N the beginning of the year 1547 died Henry VIII. of England, who by throwing off the papal yoke, which his predecessors had oft attempted, laid the foundation of that ecclesiastical system, which the English nation rejoices in, to this day. It is true, he has been blamed for not going all the lengths that were necessary, and his statute of the *six Articles*, as it is called, lies heavy on his memory. By this statute, which was passed in the year 1539, these six capital doctrines of the Romish church, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, celibacy of the clergy, monastic

tic vows, private masses, and auricular confession are enacted under severe penalties; and it is still thrown out as a sarcastic reflection on him, that in the forenoon he hanged the Papists who maintained the Pope's supremacy, and in the afternoon, burnt the Protestants who denied his six articles. Yet it does not seem quite fair to burden Henry with the whole odium of this apparent inconsistency in his mode of persecution. For it was the convocation, or assembly of the clergy, which after "a long and great, deliberate and advised consultation and disputation," drew up these articles on the second of June, and the bill for enacting them was not brought into parliament till the seventh. In the convocation indeed there was always a strong party who, tho' they acknowledged the King's supreme headship, rather than incur a premunire by denying it, yet had still a strong attachment to their old friend the Pope: And therefore, in order to keep a door open for returning, if ever occasion offered, to his holiness' good graces, they indulged Henry in all his old scholastic notions, and gave Archbishop Cranmer, who stood up for a real and entire reformation, all the trouble and uneasiness they possibly could. It was by this party, and with these views, that this cruel and ensnaring bill was first framed in convocation, and then proposed and carried in parliament, where Cranmer opposed it for three days, with great courage and elocution. Yet it is remarkable, that notwithstanding this opposition, Henry still retained not only an esteem, but even a friendship and affection for this worthy Prelate, who, had he been properly supported by all his suffragans, would by degrees have drawn the King off from many

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XXXII.

LETTER of those irregular steps, which they for their own  
 XXXII. ends humoured him in, and of which he is made  
 ~~~~~ to bear the whole blame.\* As to his general  
 character, instead of tearing it in pieces, to discover the blemishes of it, it were but fair to take it on the whole, and place it in one view over against that of his two cotemporaries, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of France, who survived him little more than two months: and when we compare the open and even uncontrollable temper of the English Henry with the hypocritical ambition of the Austrian Charles, and the polite duplicity of the French Francis, let it be honestly said which of the three characters is most eligible, and most becoming the majesty of a Prince.

The death of Henry was a great disappointment to the garrison of reformers at St. Andrews, who had all along depended on him, and been supported by him. In the treaty of December the garrison had agreed to deliver up the castle, so soon as the promised absolution should come from Rome. About the beginning of June it came, with this ill-looking clause in it, "remittimus crimen irremissibile," we pardon this unpardonable crime; which the garrison excepted against, and very justly, as taking back with the one hand what it held out with the other; and therefore would not yield, in expectation of being succoured from England,

* It was the envy of these time-servers that made the work of reformation go on so slowly as it did; which is taken notice of even by Sleidan, a foreign cotemporary writer, who died in 1556, and has left an elegant and impartial history of the progress of the reformation in Europe, from the beginning of it till that time.

which

which Henry on his death bed had given in LETTER charge to his successor. But the young King's XXXII. counsellors were too dilatory in their preparations: For on the twenty ninth of June a French fleet appeared on the coast, which playing upon the castle from the sea, while the governor invested it by land, brought them to a capitulation on the thirtieth of July, by which their lives were to be spared, and all of them to be transported to France. When they arrived there, they were severally disposed of in different prisons, and some of them detained all winter in the gallies, among whom was their preacher John Knox. By this surrender, the governor recovered his eldest son, and the Popish party were highly elevated with such a signal revenge of the Cardinal's death.

But this pleasing prospect was soon sadly clouded. For in the beginning of September, the Duke of Somerset, now Protector of England under his nephew the young Edward, in prosecution of the treaty of marriage made by the Governor with the late King, entered Scotland with a well appointed army of eighteen thousand men, while a fleet of sixty sail appeared on the coast at the same time. His first proposal was to settle the matter in an amicable way by commissioners on both sides, without coming to hostilities. But the Scottish Governor, being dissuaded by his brother the Archbishop from any terms of accommodation, drew up his army in face of the enemy, who lay about Prestonpans, six miles east from Edinburgh. And in this posture both armies continued some days, till the tenth of September, when they came to an engagement near Pinkey, in which the Scots,

BETTER being flanked by the English ships from the
 XXXII. sea, were utterly routed, with the loss of ten
 thousand men, and among these many of the
 first nobility and gentry: This was a heavy
 blow to the nation, occasioned, as the affair of
 Flowden had been, by a stiff adherence to the
 French interest, and like that too might have
 been still more ruinous than it was, if the vic-
 tors had pushed their success to the utmost:
 But after burning a few villages, they left the
 country and went home. However this disas-
 ter, which the Earl of Huntly humourously cal-
 led a rough courtship, so alarmed the Governor
 and nobility, that it was resolved to convey the
 young Queen to the castle of Dunbarton for
 security: And a deputation was, at the Queen
 mother's instance, sent to the French King Henry,
 begging he would take the person of their so-
 vereign lady into his protection till she should
 be ripe for marriage, which they signified a dis-
 tant wish might be with his son the Dauphin.
 This was as welcome news as Henry could have
 looked for, and accordingly six thousand auxi-
 liaries arrived in Scotland about the middle of
 June 1548. In July a parliament was held at
 Haddington, about sending the Queen to France.
 But the nobility were not all of one mind. For
 such of them as favoured the reformation were
 keen for accepting the advantageous terms offer-
 ed by England, while the Governor with the
 other party, who were most numerous, gave their
 voices for the match with France. There were
 then four French gallies lying in the road of
 Leith. With these the French Admiral put to
 sea, as if to return home; but when out of sight
 of land, he designedly tacked about to the north,
 and

and sailed round the Isles to Dunbarton. There ^{LETTER} the young Queen, now in the seventh year of XXXII. her age, was delivered to Monsieur de Breze, whom the French King had sent to receive her, and in a few days landed safely in France, attended by the Lords Erskine, and Livingstone, with several young noblemen and gentlemen, and by the lady Fleming with four young ladies of the name of Mary, Livingston, Fleming, Seton and Beton. Mean time the war went on between England and Scotland with various success for two years, till at last a general peace was concluded near Boulogne in March 1550 between France and England, in which the Scots were comprehended as allies to France, and thereupon hostilities ceased on all sides.

During the continuance of this war we find little stir among the clergy, who perhaps thought it not a proper time to go on with their severities, till they should see what turn matters might take in the state, and what might be the event of the war with the Protestant English. This relaxation brought many persons over to the new doctrines, and dissenters increased daily: Upon which account, when the war was over, the clergy began to look more narrowly into their own affairs, and the burning business was begun again upon one Adam Wallace, a plain, simple man, who for some time had instructed the lady Ormiston's children in the new forms. This man was apprehended at Winton by the Primate's orders, and brought to his trial in the church of the Blackfriars at Edinburgh: Where, in presence of the Governor, the Earl of Argyle justice-general, the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Glencairn, and divers others of the prelates and nobility,

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bility, he was accused in the usual manner, and being found guilty was next day burned on the Castlehill.

Some time after this, a provincial council was held at Edinburgh by the Archbishop, in which was agitated that strange question, "whether the Paternoster might be said to the saints?" This blasphemous query had been tossed before in St. Andrews, where a Friar Tottis undertook in a sermon to prove the lawfulness of the affirmative, but was so hooted at by the hearers, and by the very children crying after him in the streets *Friar Paternoster*, that he took shame and left the city. Yet in the university the contention was very hot, and the doctors met to dispute and decide upon it. Some gave their opinion, that the Lord's prayer might be said to God formally, and to the saints materially. Others, not liking that distinction, said, it might be directed to God principally, and to the saints less principally. Others would have it ultimately and not ultimately, or primarily and secondarily: And the greatest number seemed to be for saying it to God in a strict sense, and to the saints in a large one. But when they could not agree about it, the decision was referred to the synod in January. When the synod met, the question was propounded, and after much reasoning, being put to the vote, it was found "that the Lord's prayer might be said to the saints." But the Bishops and such as had any judgment, would not suffer the conclusion to be enacted, ordaining the Subprior of St. Andrews, for settling the minds of the people on his return, to teach them, "that the Lord's prayer ought to be said to God, yet so as

"that

“that the saints ought also to be invoked.” LETTER XXXII.
 What a farce do we find here, and how unworthy to engage the attention of sensible men, much more of a company of churchmen assembled in council? The very vulgar ridiculed these foolish altercations, and thought more pertinent-ly on the subject than the learned doctors.* So it was no wonder that the new preachers had such a following in the nation, when the errors they appeared against, were so grossly scandalous in themselves, and debated in such an openly scandalous manner, as to become the publick scoff and derision of the very meanest of the people.

In this synod too, an order was issued for publishing a catechism in the mother tongue, containing an explication of the belief, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer; and the curates were enjoined to read some portion of it every Sunday and holiday to the people, when there was no sermon, and until fit preachers should be provided by the Bishops.† It was suspected to

* A common servant, we are told, of the Sub-prior's, seeing an unusual hurry among the divines in convening so often, asked his master one evening what the matter was, and being told, that they could not agree to whom the Lord's prayer should be said, hastily answered, “to whom should it be said but unto God?” What then, said the sub-prior, shall we do with the saints? The fellow replied, “give them *Aves* and *Credos* enough in the devil's name, for that may suffice them.”

† It was accordingly printed at St. Andrews in August following, by the command and at the expence of Archbishop Hamilton, whose composition it is thought to be, and consists of about 400 pages in quarto. It is a judicious commentary on the decalogue, creed, Paternoster &c. and the author shows his wisdom and moderation in taking care not to enter upon the controverted points.

be

LETTER be necessity that drove them to this expedient, and
 XXXII. the main thing that prevented its efficacy was its
 being too late. Their former severities had embittered the minds of the people, and the dissenters could easily see that the gentle methods of the gospel were at last applied to, only when the rigours of the law were found to have been used in vain. Accordingly we read of little or no effect that this attempt towards instruction produced, and the desire of reformation spread more and more thro' all ranks. However the Primate went on with his endeavours to check the progress of what he called heresy. For next
 A.D. 1553. year he held another provincial synod at Linlithgow, in which the maintainers of any opinion contrary to the Church of Rome were condemned, and the decrees of the council of Trent, made in the time of the late Pope Paul III. were received as obligatory on this church. Some acts too were passed for reforming the corrupt lives of the clergy, which were much complained of in every synod of these times, tho' from the frequent repetition of such general acts, there would seem to have been little or no execution done upon them, or attention paid to them.

As this is the first time we find any mention made of the council of Trent in our Scottish church, it will be proper that we take a short view of this great and last bulwark of the Romish church, from its first erection to the present date. I have already observed how earnest the Protestant Princes were, among their first demands, for a free and general council to be held somewhere in Germany, and how at last the Emperor found it convenient to humour them so far, as to promise them to do all he could to bring it about.

It is needless to enter into the much agitated question, whether the right of convocating a general council belongs to the ecclesiastic or the civil power, as it must be allowed that the mutual concurrence of both is necessary, both for the regularity and convenience of the assembly. In the present case the Emperor's promise, being in a great measure extorted from him, was at best evasive, and designed rather to amuse than satisfy the Protestants. What they demanded, touched the head as well as the members; and as the design of a general council was to effect a reformation of both, they could hardly expect to succeed, while the Emperor yielded the privilege of convocating it to the Pope, who was the principal party complained of. Yet this concession, favourable as it was to him, did not altogether please Pope Paul, who could not but remember the fate of his predecessor John, from the council of Constance, little more than a hundred years before: And therefore, being an artful man, he cunningly protracted the design by nominating for the place of meeting first Mantua and then Vicenza, both under his own controul, and which he was sure for that very reason the demanders would not accept of. At last, owing to the pressing importunity of the King of France, who seems to have been more hearty in the affair, tho' no more a friend to the Protestants than the Emperor, he was obliged to name a third place, and made choice of Trent, a city between Italy and Germany, under the lordship of its Bishop, who is a Prince of the Empire. Yet after all, so many delays occurred, partly casual, and partly of the Pope's contriving, that the first session was not held till

LETTER the thirteenth of December 1545, in which, **XXXII.** and in the second session in January after, nothing was done, because of the paucity of the attendants. In the third session, where were present eight Cardinals, six Archbishops and thirty Bishops, besides Abbots, the Nicene creed was read and received. In the fourth session the number of the canonical books of the old and new testament, with the traditions conveyed down by the church, was settled, and the vulgar translation declared to be authentick. The fifth session decreed what was to be believed concerning original sin, that tho' it be remitted in baptism, yet concupiscence, the effect of it, remains.

When they had gone thus far, some disturbances arising in Germany obliged them to adjourn the next diet to the thirteenth of January 1547, when they met, and passed their famous decree of justification by works as well as by faith, condemning at the same time no fewer than thirty three errors on this subject, some of which, they said, allowed with the old Pelagians, too much to the will, assisted only by natural strength, and others with the modern Lutherans, ascribed all to grace governing and overbearing the will by an irresistible force. Their next meeting was on the third of March, in which they published a decree concerning the sacraments in general, and defining their number, necessity, efficacy, matter, form and minister. Soon after this a suspicion was instilled into them by their physician Jerom Fracastorius, who had a pension of sixty crowns a month from the Pope, that the air of the place was unwholesome, and threatened a pestilence: On which it was resolved to translate the coun

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cil to Bononia, a city in the Pope's dominions, ^{LETTER} whither all the Italian Bishops and such as were XXXII. the Pope's creatures immediately retired, as had been concerted. But the Emperor being highly offended at this step, expressly enjoined the German Bishops to remain at Trent. So that now the council was divided, and continued in that state of inactivity some more than four years.

In the mean time Pope Paul died, and was succeeded by Julius III. who reassembled the council at Trent on the first of May 1551. At their meeting in September, a Legate or Orator from the King of France appeared, with letters addressed to the *Meeting* at Trent. This diminutive form of address occasioned a sharp contest, whether or not they should allow the letters to be read, which at last was determined in the affirmative. In these letters the French Monarch Henry complains much of Pope Julius, who instead of being the common father and peace-maker of Christendom, as by his high station he ought to be, was industriously kindling the flames of division and animosity among the Princes of it: For which reason he formally protests here, as he had done at Rome before, 1. That he "does not judge it safe nor honourable to send any of his Bishops to this meeting. 2. That he does not hold this meeting for a public or General Council, but looks upon it as no better than a private convention for some people's particular interests. And therefore, 3. That neither he nor any in his kingdom will receive or be bound by any thing that shall be done in it, and that, if need be, he will take such measures as his predecessors have done on like occasions." Notwithstanding of this protestation

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from even the *Most Christian* King, the council proceeded to business, and appointed extracts from the Lutheran writings about the Eucharist to be examined by so many selected Doctors, who were ordered to have their opinions ready against the next session, on the eleventh of October. This was accordingly done, and a decree made upon that examination, establishing transubstantiation and the adoration of the host.— But they did not choose to meddle with the great point of communion in both kinds to the laity, till the arrival of the Protestant deputies, who had been long in suspense about the form of the safe-conduct which the council had offered them, and which from former remembrance they had all the reason in the world to take care should be well guarded against any possibility of subterfuge. In their next session in November they fixed the doctrines of penance and extreme unction. And thus were they going on swimmingly in their own way, and without paying any regard either to the objections of the German Protestants, or the remonstrances of the French Catholics, when a sudden bold stroke from an unsuspected quarter checked their zealous career for a while, and put them upon providing for their own personal safety.

To understand this, we must go back a little, and view the situation of things in Germany, where we shall find, some years before this, the Lutheran interest much upon the decline, and as its enemies thought, on the point almost of being totally extinguished. Luther himself had died in 1546, and after his death his followers began to divide among themselves. Osiander in particular made a great noise at Kon-
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ingsberg by his teaching that man was justified, not by faith, which was Luther's capital dogma, but "by the essential righteousness of Christ inherent in him;" and being a man of a vehement spirit, he drew over great numbers to his opinion. The party too which Calvin had by this time raised in emulation of Luther, and in some points even in opposition to him, had got ground in some of the German states, and were acting for themselves upon a separate footing. All this contributed to weaken their political union, by creating jealousies among the different adherents, tho' engaged in the same general cause; and the Emperor, their common enemy, was too sharp-sighted not to discover and take hold of advantages of that kind. The repeated confederacies of the Protestants at Smalcalde had irritated him to a high degree, and he was still watching every opportunity to distress and crush the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, who were the two principal supporters, as well as ornaments, of the Protestant name. In this he at last succeeded to his utmost wishes: For these two Princes being obliged to take arms in their own defence, against the insidious measures which Charles was pursuing, and coming to an engagement with him at Mulberg on the Elbe, April 24th, 1547, the Elector was taken prisoner, and the Landgrave some time after surrendering himself to the Emperor on the faith of a promise made to two Princes who interceded for him, was by the fallacious wording of that promise, which must throw a lasting infamy on the Emperor's name, detained under a guard for five years. But Charles was still more cruelly severe on the Elector:

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LETTER XXXII. tor: For he not only stripped him of the best and greatest part of his hereditary domains, but likewise took the electoral dignity from him, and conferred it on his cousin Maurice, a younger branch of the Saxon family; in which branch it continues to this day.

This was the heaviest blow which the reformation had hitherto met with, and the Emperor took care to make his own use of it: For soon after this, on the Italian Bishops removing from Trent to Bononia, finding that nothing was like to be done further in the council-way, he resolved to get a formula of agreement drawn up by a deputation of divines from both sides. But they coming to no unanimous settlement, he committed the work to three of his own naming, two of whom were Papists, Julius Phlug Bishop of Numburg, and Michael Holding Titular Bishop of Sidon, and the third a Lutheran, John Agricola, court-preacher to the Elector of Brandenburg. These three compiled a piece containing twenty six articles concerning the most material points in controversy, and assured the Emperor there was nothing in it absolutely contrary to the Romish doctrine, but only the allowing Priests to marry, and giving the cup to the laity. Charles was highly fond of this project, and sent the articles to the Pope for his approbation, which he refused: So the Emperor took his own way, and published, in the diet held at Augsburg in 1548, his imperial constitution which he called the *Interim* "or-
" dering from henceforth that all should either
" observe the old rites, or entirely conform them-
" selves to this constitution, without any change
" or variation, till the decision of a general
" council."

"council." Yet this device pleased neither party. The Lutherans for the most part protested against it as re-establishing Popery: And many of their ministers chose rather to resign their chairs, than subscribe it. The old elector of Saxony, tho' a prisoner, forbade the use of it among his people, and tho' the elector of Brandenburg, to please the Emperor, agreed to it, he never could get his favourite Divine Bucer to sign it. The Papists too clamoured about it, as yielding too much to the Hereticks, and several of their learned men were at pains to confute it. So that, after all the Emperor's fondness for it and violence in pushing the reception of it, like all such reconciling schemes, it was found to answer no salutary purpose, and only inflamed both sides with a greater heat of tenaciousness to their own way.

All this time the Emperor was persevering in his rigour against his two illustrious prisoners, whom he had always looked upon with a malignant eye, as the two principal obstacles in the way of his ambitious projects, and now that he had got them in his power, was determined, if possible, not to part with them. But this excess of unrelenting obstinacy in end wrought the very effect which it was designed to prevent. For the new Elector Maurice, who, tho' a Lutheran in profession, had hitherto befriended the Emperor, was so incensed at this treatment of the Landgrave, whose daughter he had married, and whom he had persuaded to put himself in the Emperor's will, that he at last resolved to accomplish by force what he could not obtain by justice. To this purpose he collected a body of men, and while the Emperor in the course of his military expeditions

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LETTER XXXII. expeditions was lying at Inspruck, either to assist or overawe the council at Trent, by being in their neighbourhood, Maurice by forced marches came upon him so unexpectedly, that he was within a few hours of seizing his person. This daring and well conducted push had the proposed effect. The jealous Emperor, beginning to suspect Maurice when he first heard of his motions, had already released the old Elector, with a view to give Maurice trouble by reviving his claim, and upon setting on foot a negotiation of peace, the Landgrave got his liberty next. Nor were these all the consequences of this master-stroke of policy, which indeed has the appearance of treachery in Maurice, but in reality was only a playing off the Emperor's artillery upon himself. For this undertaking succeeding as intended, so frightened the Fathers of Trent with the alarm of the enterprizing Maurice being so near them with a Lutheran army, that they decamped in great hurry and terror to their respective habitations, and did not assemble again as long as Charles lived, nor for several years after. And to take all advantages of the Emperor's confusion upon this disappointment, a treaty of pacification between Maurice and Ferdinand King of Bohemia, as deputy for his brother Charles, was begun at Passaw a city in the Lower Bavaria, in August 1552, by which, after much altercation on both sides, it was finally concluded that the Lutherans should have the free exercise of their religion in all time coming, without the least let or molestation, either from the ecclesiastical or imperial courts. It is this treaty of Passaw, thus wrought out by Maurice's outwitting the Emperor in his own arts of cunning and dissimulation.

lation which, after more than thirty years of
unwearied struggle, laid the foundation of that
mixt system of religious establishment which Ger-
many has enjoyed ever since.

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*The Reformation checked by the death of Edward
VI. of England—State of Affairs in Scotland
—Labours of John Knox and other Preachers
—Politics of the Court favourable to the Re-
forming Interest—Reflections on that Subject.*

WHILE the reformation in Germany stood
in the situation I have mentioned in
the preceding letter, and was continuing to
make considerable progress in Scotland, it was
threatened with a severe check in the neighbour-
ing kingdom, by the premature death of the
young Edward. This hopeful Prince had suc-
ceeded his father Henry; and though then but
ten years of age, had discovered great know-
ledge of, and affection for, the reformation which
his

A.D. 1553.

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his father had begun, by throwing off the papal supremacy. In this disposition he was well supported by his council, of whom his uncle the Duke of Somerset, a zealous and sensible patron of the reformation, was declared chief, with the title of Protector. Accordingly, in the year 1548, a committee of select Bishops and divines was appointed by the convocation, to examine and reform the offices of the church, and did in consequence of that appointment compile and set forth a new office of communion, which still goes by the name of the first liturgy of Edward VI. and of which this character is given by authority, in answer to the Devonshire petitions, that "whatsoever is contained in that book, either for baptism, mass, confirmation, or service in the church, is by our parliament established, by the whole clergy agreed, yea, by the Bishops of the Realm devised, by God's word confirmed." In a year or two after, this liturgy was revised, and at the desire of some foreign divines, such as Bucer, Peter Martyr, and some others, whom Archbishop Cranmer had invited over, alterations were made in some material articles, especially in what regarded the administration of the Eucharist: And with these alterations it was published in a second form, which is in substance what the church of England uses at this day; but whether preferable to the first, or not, is a question that needs not be debated here. All the statutes of the late reign, which had hitherto cramped the intended reformation, particularly that severe one respecting the six articles, were repealed, and most of the old primitive liberties restored. Indeed the King, or rather

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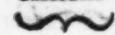
rather his counsellors, retained the supremacy which had been wrested from the Pope, and which as flowing from, or connected with the temporalities, no doubt belonged more properly to the English crown than to the Roman mitre, tho' with respect to pure spirituals it was justly due to neither. However, these were hopeful beginnings, and had the King lived a few years longer, things might have been conducted in such a manner as might have been equally honourable to both church and state. But his death, as I said, was a melancholy interruption, and formed a prospect the most opposite that could have been imagined.

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I return now to our own country, where we left our Bishops and clergy acting or attempting to act in something like their own sphere, by holding synods, and publishing catechetical instructions for checking the new doctrines, and retaining the people in the old communion.— Hitherto it may be said, the balance was pretty even between the two contenders, and the awakening zeal of the established clergy in the one scale seemed, if not to downweigh, at least to equiponderate the reforming principles of the dissenters in the other. But from this time, by some means or other, we shall see the establishment losing ground, and the other side, we may be sure, would gain what their adversaries lost. The Governor, tho' of himself not a bad man, was weak and irresolute, and his brother the Primate, who had the entire management of him, was more inclined to consult his present ease and pleasure, than to prosecute such methods of either force or flattery as were necessary, in the then situation of things, for rectifying

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tifying the apparent disorders. At the same time the Queen Dowager, who was a woman of great spirit and activity, having now got her daughter the young Queen lodged to her satisfaction in a place of honourable security, began to entertain hopes, and had even formed a design of removing the Governor, and getting the management into her own hands. The Governor, as might be expected, did not at first relish the proposal when it was made to him.— But in end being persuaded by his friends, and allured by the honours and gratuities which the King of France offered him, he thought fit to acquiesce, and the Queen-mother, by a commission from her daughter, was proclaimed Regent on the twelfth of April 1554.

This change, it might have been thought, would have quashed the reforming scheme entirely, as besides the new Regent's French education, she was known to be intimately connected with and influenced by two Cardinals, Guise and Lorrain, who were her brothers: And to add to the fears of the reformers, the new Queen of England, Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. by his first wife, had already in the strongest manner declared her warm attachment to the papal interest, and had rescinded all that her father and brother had for more than twenty years been doing against it. Yet so strange and uncertain is the face of human prospects, that these two circumstances, tho' outwardly concurring as it were towards the same object, did by degrees contribute more than any external cause, to the furthering of the very purpose which they had the appearance of destroying. Our Regent, on her first entrance into power, filled her court with

with a greater number of her French countrymen than was agreeable to the native subjects of the realm; and by this impolitic step, alienated the minds of many of the nobility, who, tho' loyally enough affected, could not brook such a visible neglect, and thereupon either joined themselves to the reformers, or became careless and indifferent in the public service. And, which increased the general discontent, she was advised by her foreign counsellors, to propose the laying a yearly tax upon the leiges, for keeping up a regular army, under pretence of relieving the nobles from personal attendance, unless upon any important emergency. This proposal was received with the utmost indignation, and about three hundred of the lesser Barons met at Edinburgh, and boldly remonstrated against it; on which the scheme was prudently abandoned, but the alarm it gave left an unfavourable impression on the minds of the people.

The Regent herself did not want penetration, nor was she of an oppressive disposition. But her natural connexions and foreign counsels led her many times, contrary to her own judgment and inclination, into disagreeable undertakings, which raised a jealousy against her, and thereby strengthened the religious opposition which had hitherto been but in a languid state. On the other hand, the Queen of England having put on a resolution to extirpate what she thought a most damnable heresy out of her dominions, by the long practised method of fire and faggot, as many of the reforming preachers as could get out of her power, fled for their lives, some to Germany, others to Switzerland and Geneva, and such of them as were Scotchmen came back

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back to their own country. Of this number was a William Harlaw, who had preached some time in England, and now upon his return continued the same occupation. After him came a John Willocks, who had been a Franciscan Friar in Ayr, and had officiated some time in England, but upon Mary's persecution had gone over to Friseland, where he professed medicine, and was twice sent by the Countess of Friseland with a commission to our Queen Regent in 1554, after which he took up his abode here, and continued to preach to as many as were willing to resort to him, who, we are told, were neither few nor of the meaner sort.

But he who made the greatest figure among all these preachers, and gave most life to the cause, was the renowned John Knox, who, after having been eight years out of Scotland, came back to it in the end of harvest 1555. This famous reformer, we have already seen, was one of the company, who upon the surrender of the castle of St. Andrews in 1547, had been carried prisoner to France, where he was detained in the galleys and elsewhere, till the year 1550 that he was released. Yet it is observable, that the writer of his life, which is placed before the history that goes under his name, speaks of him "as being constrained to leave his country for a while, " by the persecution of the then Bishops against " the professors of the truth," artfully concealing his voluntary consorting with the murderers of Cardinal Beton, before he had met with any trouble from the Bishops, or been much taken notice of by them, and in that company suffering in the common calamity which they had brought on themselves, and in which religion,

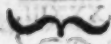
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number true or false, had no concern. Knox himself tells us, that many of these prisoners were released at the intercession of the Queen Dowager, and tho' he does not expressly mention himself being of that number, there is no doubt to be made but he was. If so, how ungrateful was it in him to treat her character with such scurrilous incivility, as would be unbecoming from any pen, much more from a person of such high pretensions to piety and godliness? For this reason, it has been thought that Knox himself was not the author of that history, tho' some of his modern admirers are of a different opinion, and yet find no fault with the want of gratitude and good breeding displayed in it.

Be in this what may, the history tells us, that on his release from his confinement he came over to England, where he was first appointed preacher at Berwick, then at Newcastle; thence he was called to London, and remained in these Southern parts till the death of Edward VI. When on that event he left England, he went to Geneva, and there continued some time at his private studies, till he was called by a congregation of English refugees assembled at Frankfort to be one of their preachers, which call he obeyed, tho' unwillingly, "at the commandment, he says, of that notable servant of God John Calvin." It will by some be thought no small compliment to Calvin's memory, that he was so reverentially obeyed by a man of Mr. Knox's standing; one who had officiated in the church of England, and boasted of having refused a Bishoprick in it; and one too who was not of the most compliant or mannerly temper to some who might have been reckoned his superiors in more respects than one.

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His after conduct gives ground to suspect that his obeying this call had been agreeable to his own humour, which seems to have been pretty much of the wandering cast, otherwise Calvin's command had not been so readily hearkened to. Or perhaps Mr. Knox found it prudent to comply, lest on his refusal Calvin should make his continuance in Geneva rather inconvenient for him, as his influence there was already become formidable to all who offended, or differed from him. This the unhappy Michael Servetus had lately felt to his fatal experience. * And the part acted on this occasion by the great Genevan Reformer may serve to account in some measure for that excessive rigour of discipline which his pupils Knox in the days of his power would have been introducing into Scotland, as sanctified by "the notable servant of God, *John Calvin*." Indeed this petty state of Geneva, the now so much admired model of liberty both civil and religious, soon made itself conspicuous for such acts of severity and

* This man was a Spaniard, and in 1531 had published a book in Latin with this title, "Of the errors about the Trinity," seven books, containing some opinions respecting this mystery which differed from the then received explications: Tho' what these opinions were, cannot now be well ascertained, as the most of his writings were burnt by Calvin's order, and are very scarce at this day: Only, from what distant mention is made of him in some of the Socinian writers, who were then beginning to make a noise, it would appear that he was none of that tribe. However so it was, that coming to Geneva in the course of his peregrinations, he had the hardiness to hold a disputation on this subject with Calvin, who, instead of confuting him by argument, got him judicially condemned and publicly burnt as a heretic, October 27, 1553, and not only so, but he likewise openly justified that act of severity in a book which he published at the time, to shew, that Magistrates may warrantably inflict capital punishments upon heretics.

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oppression, as in a monarchical government would have been called despotic tyranny; and all this chiefly owing to the zeal and influence of that popular demagogue, * who still has the glory, as it is reckoned here, of having first instilled the true principles of what is called liberty into our countryman John Knox, to whom I now return.

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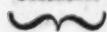
Whatever were his motives for leaving Geneva at Calvin's command, to Frankfort he actually went: Where he was no sooner arrived, than he began to find fault with the liturgy which the English refugees had brought from home with them, and raised such a division on that account, as could not be healed but by consulting the Oracle at Geneva. Accordingly Knox, and Whittingham, an Englishman of the same stamp, but who was afterwards dean of Durham in Queen Elizabeth's time, were employed to send a description of the English li-

* As early as 1542, when Calvin was scarce warm in his new settlement, he brought an accusation against Amy Perrin the Captain General of the city, who had been very active about the change of religion in 1535, and got the man publicly beheaded on the stone of the great altar which had been removed out of the cathedral church, and carried to the common place of execution to serve as a scaffold for that purpose. His unrelenting prosecutions of Bolsec and Bertelier for some charges against his character in France; his treatment of Alciat Blandrata and other refugees, who had fled to Geneva as an asylum from the Popish persecutions in their own countries, but had the misfortune to differ from him in some abstruse points of theology; and his ministerial intermeddling in the affairs of other churches of the protestant name in Poland, Transylvania, Germany, and even in England all the time of Edward VI. discover such a domineering spirit, and such pretensions to a certain degree of dictatorial infallibility, as were never exceeded by any Pope, in proportion to the difference of dignity, and extent of command.

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turgy to Calvin, and get his judgment upon it. And it was in consequence of their description, which we may believe would not paint it in the most favourable light, that Calvin returned that solemn decision of his, which the enemies of liturgical worship hold in veneration, and the abettors of that way reject with equal contempt, tho' coming even from the Genevan tripod, "In Anglica liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias; In the English liturgy, such as you describe it, I see there have been many improper things, yet such as may be tolerated." Notwithstanding of this favourable sentence, Knox was obliged on account of his turbulent humour, to leave Frankfurt, where all the good he had done by his short stay was the rending the distressed congregation there, and to return to his dear Geneva, from whence, as we have seen, he made a visit this year to his own country.

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His first appearance was at Edinburgh, where he preached in a private house, and had, we are told, a good resort of people of distinction to attend his instructions. His great theme was to dissuade his hearers from being present at the mass, or partaking of "the Papistical Sacraments." In prosecution of which subject, when it was urged, in defence of condescending a little to the times, that St. Paul by the advice of St. James and the elders of Jerusalem went into the temple, under colour of paying a vow, after a sufficiency of argument against the application of this example to the case in hand, he added this objection of his own head, that "he much doubted whether James his commandment, or Paul's obedience, proceeded of the

Spotfwood,
P. 93.

"Holy

upon it. "Holy Ghost," and gives as a reason of thus doubting, because the event was not such as they expected: Thus plainly giving it as his opinion, that the motions of the divine Spirit are to be judged of by the outward success, and that consequently what Paul did at this time was not good, because it did not succeed: Which, whether it be a sound maxim in divinity or not, needs no depth of criticism to discover. But it was a favourite maxim with Knox and his party, that whatever attempt on their own side prospered, was therefore lawful, or if at any time they did not meet with success, it was owing to some defect or other about the undertakers, not to any finfulness in the undertaking itself. Thus the murder of Cardinal Beton was with them not only an allowable, but even a godly deed: And the calamities which the murderers afterwards fell into, were interpreted not as a punishment of the murder, but of the licentious and dissolute lives which they for some time led, in spite of all Mr Knox's godly exhortations among them. This was an useful temper at that time, and has been of no small service upon sundry occasions to their followers. Indeed the bringing it forward upon the question of going to the mass, seems to have been only a superfluous effusion of the man's inward sentiments, without any necessity in point of argument: For his first answer, upon his principles, was conclusive enough, that the Apostles' affair had nothing to do with what it was alledged for, "To go to the temple and pay vows" had once been commanded, which idolatry never was: But their mass, from the original was, and still remains odious idolatry: There-

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“fore the facts are most unlike.” This syllogism, upon sustaining the minor proposition, which he always took for granted, was sufficient; and so the event shewed.

For in a short time, upon his unwearied assiduity in perpetually inculcating the same thing, great numbers in the South and West of the kingdom, which were the principal sphere of his labours, forsook the public worship, as being both superstitious and idolatrous, and began to form themselves into separate societies for assembling with the reforming preachers. How or where the rest of them, whether few or many, were employed, we have little intelligence, as Mr. Knox appears to have been the chief actor in all that was yet going on. However the little that was doing alarmed the Bishops, and drove them to the necessity of counter-acting in some way or other. With this view they summoned Knox to appear in the church of the Black Friars in Edinburgh, on the fifteenth of May. But, whether owing to any informality in the summons, or that the Bishops were afraid of danger from the powerful support he was like to have, the diet did not hold. And Mr. Knox preached that very day in Edinburgh to a greater audience than usual, and in the Bishop of Dunkeld's lodgings too, which he kept out ten days. This was indeed a bold step, and plainly shewed how sure he was of being well supported. For soon after this the Earls Marischal and Glencairn advised him to write to the Queen Regent, and demand a reformation. But the Queen put the writing into the hands of Archbishop Beton of Glasgow, calling it in derision a pasquil, and took no further notice of it.

Yet

Yet in the midst of all this appearance of success, it would seem the man's roving spirit could not rest; or perhaps he was not satisfied with all the lengths he had hitherto carried his point. For having received letters of invitation from his old faction at Frankfort, which had now set up at Geneva, he resolved, against the most pressing entreaties of his new friends, to visit that city once more, promising at the same time to return, how soon the godly in Scotland should be pleased to recal him. So in July 1556 he again left his native country, under colour of a ministerial call, which he pretended he could not in conscience disobey. But he should have remembered that the first call of any sort he ever had, was to a congregation in St. Andrews, who therefore had a better title to his labours than either Frankfort or Geneva, and where he, who went so much upon a popular call, might in safety, as he ought in duty, have exercised his ministry, as well as at Edinburgh or Calder or Kyle, or any of the places which, he tells us, he visited, without the least intimation of his looking near St. Andrews all the time. The truth is, the man seems to have had secret views of his own, which he did not chuse to disclose even to his intimates, and therefore thought proper to conceal under the common cloak for all such secrets, the cloak of conscience.

Now while Mr. Knox is absent, and the reforming work seemingly at a stand, for want of his active zeal, let me express my surprise at the progress I find it has already made in opposition to the governing powers of our own kingdom, and under the melancholy prospect of

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of being borne down by the concurrent assistance of the now entirely Popish government in England. There was certainly ground to fear a combination of this kind between the bigotted Mary of England, who had in a short time crushed the reformation at home, and our Dowager Mary, now cloathed with supreme authority, and stimulated to such an enterprize by two Cardinal brothers, as well as likely to be supported in it by a powerful and persecuting monarch, the King of France. I know, all may be and is ascribed to an interposing Providence; and I certainly should be the last man to contend the point. But the history of the times enables us to trace out some external circumstances, concurrent with or subservient to the will of providence in this affair, and from which we may draw this important observation, that, as worldly politics had been the constant supporters of the papal grandeur, so at this time they were the undesigning instruments to give it that shock, which at last effected its final overthrow in Britain.

Had the two Marys, both equally devoted to the old religion, tho' not of equal austerity of disposition, laid their heads cordially together in defence of it, the one with all the force of England, and the other with even but half the force of Scotland, which at least she had at her command, Mr. Knox would have found more difficulty than he did, with all his oratory and impetuosity, to get such a footing at first, and at last to bring matters to such a bearing. But this conjunction of two such malignant planets was prevented by their early and continued jarring in politics. The Queen of England, by her marriage

with

ent affi- with the Emperor's son and heir Philip King of LETTER
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 ment in Spain, was thereby involved in all his disputes
 o fear a and wars with the King of France; who on the
 bigotted other hand engaged our Mary to espouse his
 ne crush. quarrel, and take off the weight of England from
 Dowager him. So that the two Queens, however agreeing
 rity, and in attachment to what they believed to be the
 wo Car- true church, were divided both in interest and
 support. affection by reasons of state, and had neither
 monarch, leisure nor inclination to unite their forces even
 be and in such a favourite cause. Besides, there was ano-
 ; and ther project, which our Regent had long had in
 end the her eye, and the success of which was now draw-
 ables us ing near to be determined. Our young Sove-
 concur- reign Queen Mary, whom we have heard little
 of provi- of, since her going to France, had in that polite
 we may court got such an education as, meeting with
 worldly all the embellishments of nature, rendered her
 s of the the most accomplished lady both in body and
 were the mind, that was to be seen in Europe. And as
 shock, she was now advancing towards the time of life
 y in Bri- which in Princesses of royal blood is thought
 voted to fit for matrimony it was the earnest wish of her
 rity of mother our Regent, and of her principal Tu-
 gether in tor the King of France, from most weighty
 of Eng- considerations, to have her bestowed upon his
 the force son and heir Francis who was much of the
 ner com- same age. The bringing this important business
 ore diffi- to a happy issue engrossed all our Queen Re-
 nd impe- gent's thoughts, and required the utmost address
 d at last and management, in neither of which she was
 But this defective, to procure the consent of the estates
 nets was of the realm, which, they told her, was ne-
 rring in cessary to give the proposed marriage a legal
 marriage sanction. This put her upon the expedient of
 with soothing and courting all parties, both to pre-
 vail

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vail with them to invade England in support of her engagements with France, and to gain them over to her daughter's marriage. And altho' she was once and again disappointed in the first of these views, by their refusing to enter the English borders in a hostile manner, she succeeded to her heart's desire in the second. For in end the proposal was agreed to, and nine commissioners,* from the clergy, nobility and gentry were sent over to France with full powers of ratification, before whom our Queen was married to the Dauphin on the 24th of April 1558, by the Cardinal of Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen, in the cathedral church of Notredame at Paris: And a few days after, the Commissioners took the oath of allegiance to the King Dauphin and the Queen, in name of the whole estates of the kingdom.

But still there remained another favour to be obtained, besides the possession of the Queen's person, and that was the *Matrimonial Crown* for the Dauphin, by which all the rights belonging to the husband of a Queen were to be vested in his person. To procure this required all the art and management of the Queen Regent: And her having this object in view, may account for that moderation, by which she endeavoured to keep the balance even between the two jarring parties in the kingdom. When the clergy pushed her to keep down the reformers, or the reformers came upon her with their demands, she took care to put them both off with fair words

* Viz. The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Ross, the Bishop of Orkney, the Earls of Rothes and Caillis, Lord Fleming, Lord Seton, the Prior of St. Andrews, and John Erskine of Dun.

supporting them to have patience till the Parliament should grant the matrimonial crown, and assuring them, that then she would do what she could to gratify them.

Thus two of the most unfavourable conjunctures, as might have been thought, for the re-forming interest, the marriage of the Queen of England with the heir of Spain, and of the Queen of Scotland with the heir of France, all of them avowed defenders of the papal cause, and professed enemies to any thing that looked like an attack upon their religious system, did yet by a secret direction combine together, to favour the first open attempt that was made towards a reformation in Scotland. So wonderful are the events of human affairs, and such a manifest disproportion do we many times discover, between what we are apt to call the cause, and the effect. Let us take every thing of this kind as we find it, and admire the inscrutable wisdom of the Most High, who keeps the disposal of events in his own hands, and turns all human counsels to the accomplishment of his own great and good purposes.

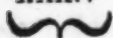
I am, &c.

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L E T T E R XXXIV.

*John Knox continues to support the Reformers—
They subscribe a Bond of Union, and style them-
selves the Congregation—Proceedings against
them—Burning of Walter Miln, an aged Priest
—Various demands of the Congregation—
Conduct of the Queen Regent towards them—
Consequences of her Breach of Promise.*

WHEN John Knox left Scotland, as men-
tioned in my last letter, the preach-
ing business was carried on, tho' not with so
much spirit, as when he was present, by a
few of his party; by Harlaw and Willocks in
Leith and Edinburgh, by a Paul Methven about
Dundee, and in the West, by a John Douglas and
old Carmelite Friar. These are all that we hear
of for some time; and no great danger, in-
might have been thought, was to be apprehend-
ed from them. Yet the Bishops, seeing them
beginning to form stated meetings, and fearing
their increase if not checked in time, petition-

ed the Regent to call the preachers before the council, and arraign them for convening the lieges against her authority. But when the day of appearance was come, such numbers of people flocked together, and the Queen was so daringly menaced by some of the ringleaders that the diet was discharged, and a promise given that the preachers should meet with no harm. And now the party, finding their strength on the growing hand, thought it time to put Knox in mind of his promise at parting, and to recall him to his former charge among them: Which they did by a letter dated from Stirling, and signed by the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, John Erskin of Dun, and James Stuart Prior of St. Andrews. When Knox received this letter, he again consulted Calvin and his colleagues, who all with one consent gave sentence, that he could not refuse that vocation, "unless he would declare himself rebellious to his God, and unmerciful to his country:" On which he returned answer, "that he would visit them with all expedition, so soon as he might put order to that dear flock committed to his charge."

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Keith.p.65.

March 10.
A.D. 1557.

What a pother this man still makes about calls and charges; yet how frequently he flies from one flock to another? Since he got out of confinement in France, he had been in Berwick, in Newcastle, in London, and elsewhere in England, in Frankfort, in Geneva, in Edinburgh and various parts of Scotland, back to Geneva, and now on his return to Scotland again, connected, on his own principles, with nine or ten different flocks, and all in the space of seven or eight years. This looks as if he had been an Apostle indeed, entrusted with the care of

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all the churches, and at liberty to bestow his Apostolick visitations when and where he pleased. Indeed his affectation of a very superior character is too evident, in the pompous style of his letters, and the bold overbearing language of all his writings.

However his high spirit met with a little humiliation at this juncture. For when, in obedience to the invitation, he had come as far on his way as Dieppe in France, in the end of October, he found letters of a contrary strain, advising him not to continue his journey; for that all things were at a stand in Scotland. It seems the reformers, being uncertain what turn their affairs might take, began to reckon it more secure to be allowed the worship of God after their own manner in private assemblies, than to push too hastily for greater freedom, and by failing in the attempt perhaps lose all. This upon the main seems to have been a prudent resolution; and if adhered to, might have gained their point in a more regular and peaceable manner than what followed. But Mr. Knox thought otherwise, as appears by the long letter he wrote from Dieppe, in which, after a mixture of upbraidings and exhortations, set off with a good deal of boasting of his own importance, he concludes with putting them in mind, that "the reformation of religion and of publick enormities appertains to more than the clergy or chief rulers called Kings."—This letter had the desired effect, and so wrought on those to whom it was directed, that immediately on the receipt of it, they drew up and subscribed a bond of mutual union and defence, at Edinburgh on the third of December 1557.—

In

in this bond they engage to stand by one another at all hazards, in defence and maintenance of "faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to the people." And here for the first time they distinguish themselves and their adherents by the new title of *The Congregation*, no less than seven times repeated, and with this singular speciality too, as being the congregation of the Lord, in opposition to the as yet established church, whom they are pleased to call the congregation of Satan. From this time we shall find the *Congregation* and the *Lords of the Congregation* much talked of in our annals for some years, till they got themselves settled on a more secure and enlarged footing: and then we see them dropping this new coined translation of *Ecclesia*, and returning to the old one of the *Kirk* or *Church*.—Soon after subscribing this bond, the Lords and others that concurred with them convened together, and after deliberation on what was fittest to be done, they concluded upon the two following articles, which I shall set down at full length, as being the first regular appearance that our original reformers have made, and of use to shew something of their genuine principles, when left to their own unbiassed sentiments.

1. "It is thought expedient, advised and ordained, that in all parishes of this realm the Common Prayer be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days, publicly in the parish churches, with the lessons of the old and new testament, conform to the order of the book of Common Prayer. And if the Curates of the parishes be qualified, to cause them read the same: And if they be not, or refuse, that

"the

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“ the most qualified in the parish use and read
“ the same.

2. “ It is thought necessary that doctrine,
“ preaching, and interpretation of scripture be had
“ and used privatley in quiet houses, without great
“ conventions of the people thereto, while after-
“ ward that God move the Prince to grant
“ public preaching by faithful and true minist-
“ ters.”

On the first of these articles it has been debated, whether the book of common prayer there recommended was the prayer-book of England, or the form of Geneva, which, when it appeared, was called the Common Order: And tho' for my own part, I am convinced that it was the English book, either first or second of Edward VI. yet I join in opinion with Bishop Keith, that the decision of the controversy either way is not material: Since it is evident on the very face of the article, that a common form of prayer to be read publicly in the church was then the known and desired mode of worship, and that our reformation was begun with, and founded upon a liturgy of some kind and in some shape or other. This is the main point in question now-a-days on the head of worship; and the example of the *Congregation* at this time, as far as it has weight, clearly points out what side of the question they favour. I say, as far as this example has weight: For I produce it only as *argumentum ad hominem*, not as essential to the merits of the cause, which can be defended without it. Indeed the lawfulness and expediency of set forms of prayer in the public worship of God, is a theme which has been largely discussed by many an able pen, and is not much controverted now by the sensible part of those who do not use any.

From

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From the second article it is observable, as I took notice in the history of Mr. Rough, that in those days, preaching and hearing sermons was not, as now, reckoned a part, much less the whole of public worship. The prayers were to be read publicly in the parish kirks on Sundays and holidays: Preaching was to be performed privately in quiet houses, without great convention of people, and no fixed time mentioned, but only, it would seem, when it could be conveniently done. Had both these parts of this fundamental ordinance of our Scottish reformation been duly attended to, it had prevented much of those confusions and disorders, which that age and the next saw our country groaning under for a number of years. And had Mr. Knox on his return confined himself to the observance of it, as he well and warrantably might have done, the laudable work might, and in all probability would, have been carried on and perfected in a more laudable way, and to as good purpose. It is true, such a quiet compliance with this prudent and peaceable appointment would have lost him much of that applause which the "pithiness of his conceived prayers," and the fervency of his bold preachings, procured him among his admirers both then and since; tho' to balance that loss, it would have saved much of that reproach and obloquy, just or not, which his memory lies under with many to this day.

In consequence of this new determination among the reformers, the Earl of Argyle took the Carmelite Douglas to be his chaplain, and carried him to the Highlands with him. At his appearance of an avowed breaking off from the establishment, the Primate Hamilton was highly

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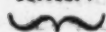
highly offended, and wrote to Argyle in an authoritative manner, but with more discretion and softness than had been usual in such cases before, desiring him to put away Douglas, and promising to furnish him with a catholic chaplain in that heretic's stead. To which the Earl returned a decent and mannerly answer, thanking his Lordship for his professions of kindness, but declaring his resolution to abide by what he had done, and not be kept any longer in that state of ignorance from which he was now getting free. In this correspondence, even as recorded by Knox, we find nothing uncharacteristic on either side.

Keith.p.67.

The Archbishop on the one hand holds it forth as his duty, and within his office, to suppress heresy, and prevent schism, and the Earl, on the other hand, expresses his abhorrence of heresy or faction, and his readiness to produce his chaplain at proper time and place, to give account of his faith and doctrine, whether it be conform to the true standard or not. And both of them behave to one another with more deference and outward politeness than had appeared from the Episcopal side for some years past, or was shewn to the Episcopal side some years after. Yet soon after this correspondence, the Primate, with a view no doubt to terrify these insulting preachers, gave way to the rage of persecution and renewed the old rigour, at a very improper time indeed, and in a very imprudent manner.

One Walter Miln, who in his younger years had travelled into Germany, and upon his return had been settled Priest at the kirk of Lunan in Angus, had, upon an information of heresy in the time of Cardinal Beton, been forced to abandon

in an au- abandon his charge, and had absconded ever since: LETTER  
 discretion But being now apprehended in the town of Dy- XXXIV.  
 uch case art, he was carried to St. Andrews, and being  
 glas, and brought before the Archbishop and some of his  
 chaplain suffragans, was by them sentenced to the flames,  
 rl return- and burnt accordingly, on the twenty eighth of  
 nking his April 1558. He was a worn-out decrepit man,  
 , but de- of eighty two years of age, yet expressed himself  
 t he had both on his trial and at the stake, with a cou-  
 that state rage and composure that amazed his very ene-  
 ting free- nies, and among the last words that he spoke,  
 by Knox, hoped and wished he might be the last who should  
 urther side suffer death in the land, in such a way and up-  
 s it forth on such an account. The condemnation of this  
 supple- old man, who had been in a manner forgotten,  
 Earl, on- and by the course of nature had not long to-  
 of heresy- live, was as foolish a step as the clergy had  
 his chap- taken of a long while. Yet no warning had any  
 ceount of effect upon them; For while the resentment of  
 nform to his late stroke of ecclesiastic severity was hot in  
 of them- people's minds, they were so thoughtless as at-  
 tence and- tempt their yearly procession thro' Edinburgh, on  
 from the- the feast of St. Giles, the patron Saint of the  
 was shewn- city, with the usual pomp of carrying an image  
 er. Yet of the saint in great state thro' the streets, which  
 Primate upon this occasion they were obliged to borrow  
 insulting from the Gray Friars, the town's image having  
 rsecution- been stolen some days before. But the mob  
 y impro- soon plucked it from the bearer, and threw it in  
 dent man- the dirt, then broke it in pieces, and spoiled the  
 whole pageantry. What a ridiculous blunder  
 ger year- was this in the ecclesiastics, when they knew  
 n his re- what a torrent of opposition was now every where  
 of Lunat- set loose against images, thus to insult and in-  
 of heresy- fame an ungovernable populace by the practice  
 forced to of an idle ceremony, which might have been  
 abandon- Vol. II. K forborn

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forborn without any hurt to either their interest, or their religion?

However, when they had recovered from the fright of this assault, they put on a face of confidence, and appointed a meeting to be held at Edinburgh in November following. All the intervening time, both parties were busy enough in looking after their respective concerns, and the Queen Regent still endeavouring to manage and keep in with both, tho' with as much of a bias to the old way as was consistent with her present views. The congregation on their part drew up a supplication to her in a strange mixed style of submission and threatening; and to the supplication they added the following demands.

- Keith.p.8c. 1. "That it may be lawful to meet publicly  
"or privately to common prayers in the vulgar  
"tongue. 2. That it shall be lawful to any  
"qualified person to interpret scripture at such  
"meetings. 3. That baptism and the Lord's  
"supper be administered in the vulgar tongue,  
"and this last in both kinds, according to our  
"Saviour's institution. 4. That the wicked and  
"scandalous lives of churchmen be reformed  
"according to the rules contained in the new  
"testament, the writings of the ancient fathers,  
"and the godly and approved laws of the Em-  
"peror Justinian, which three they are willing  
"shall decide the controversy between them  
"and the clergy: So that the grave and godly  
"face of the primitive church may be restor-  
"ed, ignorance expelled, and true doctrine and  
"good manners may once again appear in the  
"church in this realm."

These demands are certainly very reasonable, and the proposing such an authentic and orthodox

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interest, thodox standard for deciding the controversy, discovers what true Catholick principles prevailed as yet among the reformers, notwithstanding of their complaints against the establishment, which they wish to be rectified, not thrown down.—  
 What a pity it was, that the strain of the sup-  
 plication was not corresponding to the subject of it? But this was still the misfortune, owing perhaps to a national fieryness of temper, that the disagreeable manner counteracted the reasonable matter of their petitions, and was more effectual in disgusting, than the other was in gaining over, those in power to whom they were addressed. The last of these demands seems indeed to have an invidious aspect, in throwing such a random aspersions on the clergy in general. But that there was too much ground for it, appears from the complaints of even their own writers,\* which sufficiently shew that the demand

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\* There is extant a paper about this time, of date January 5, 1559, under the title of the counsel given by the Dean and chapter of Aberdeen to my Lord Bishop of Aberdeen the ordinary, (who was then William Gordon, of the family of Huntly) at his desire for reformation to be made, &c. and signed by Robert Erskin Dean, and nine of the Chapter, among whom is John Leslie then Parson of Oyne, and afterwards Bishop of Ross: In which they advise "that my Lord of Aberdeen cause the kirk-  
 "men within his dioces to reform themselves in all their scandalous manner of living, and to remove their open concubines  
 "as well great as small, under the pains contained in the law  
 "and acts provincial, and the Chapter shall do sicklike among  
 "them, as well on themselves, as their servants and those under  
 "their jurisdiction:" And then after some other particulars they conclude thus, "And that the premises by the help of  
 "God may take the better effect, the Dean and Chapter  
 "humbly and heartily pray and exhort my Lord their ordinary,  
 "for the honour of God, relief of his own conscience, and well  
 "of



LETTER XXXIV. mand here made was not the result of ill-nature, but of a general necessity.

The ecclesiastic convention which met at Edinburgh in November 1558, agreed so far to these demands, as to allow prayers to be used, and the sacraments to be administered in the vulgar tongue, provided the reformers would keep up the mass, and acknowledge Purgatory and praying to the saints. But this they neither could nor would submit to; as indeed what was thus required of them, was far more material and interesting to both parties, tho' from different views, than all that was granted to them. The Regent for her part kept them in good hopes, and to serve her political ends allowed them for the present to have their worship in their own language, with this only exception, that, for preventing tumults they should not assemble publicly in Edinburgh or Leith. With this concession they seemed to be satisfied, and for a while behaved quietly, as not even to allow Mr. Douglas, Argyll's Chaplain, to officiate in Leith as he proposed. Soon after this the Parliament met, and the

“ of his diocess, and because all they that are contrarious  
 “ the religion christian, promise faithful obedience to the Pre  
 “ lates, so that they amend their own lives and their inferior  
 “ conform to the law of God and holy church, that therefore  
 “ his Lordship would be so good as shew good and edifying ex  
 “ ample in special, in removing and discharging himself of the  
 “ company of the gentlewoman with whom he is greatly slandered  
 “ without which be done, the obstinate say they cannot accept coun  
 “ sel and correction from him who will not correct himself, and  
 “ that his Lordship will cause his servants reform themselves  
 “ because next himself it is meet he should begin at his own  
 “ household : all which being done, they verily believe all shall  
 “ come well to the honour of God and reformation of the Dio  
 “ ces of Aberdeen, and they promise his Lordship their hearty  
 “ concurrence to the utmost of their power.”

Congregation

congregation designed to present a supplication to that supreme court, much to the same purpose with that which had been laid before the convocation. But the Queen Regent, by her usual excuse of the necessity she was under, to court the ecclesiastical state for their consent in the affair of the matrimonial crown, and promising to befriend them when that point was gained, got them diverted from presenting it at that time.— Yet, to prevent any handle which might be taken against them from their silence on this occasion, they drew up and offered a protestation, which was indeed read in Parliament, but was not, as they desired, inserted in the records. Only the Regent told them she should remember their protest, and put a good end to all things that were in controversy among them. In this protestation, as recorded by Knox, there is one article which does not altogether correspond with the pacific professions that have hitherto appeared in this reforming congregation, but rather seems to threaten the violence and disorder that followed. For they protest, 3dly “that if any tumult or uproar shall arise among the members of this realm for diversity of religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who do now most humbly seek all to be reformed by an order. But rather whatever inconvenience shall follow for lack of order taken, may be imputed to those that do refuse the same.” I would be almost inclined to think that this writer or his interpolator had fabricated this article of his own head, as I am sorry to find such a turbulent and imprudent declaration making part of a paper which, in imitation

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Spotswood,  
p. 120.

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of the Lutherans about thirty four years before may be thought to have given our Scotch reformers a title to share in the distinguishing appellation of *Protestants*.

In this Parliament the matrimonial crown was granted, and the Regent was empowered to send it over to France by the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews. But whatever it was owing to, whether to any suspicion of danger from the honourable commission, or that they did not choose to be so long absent from the business they were now engaged in, these two Lords never made out their Embassy, and the crown matrimonial, which the Regent had laboured so much to procure, was never sent. However, as she has now gained her end, it was to be expected she would have made good some of her promises to the congregation; and their writers cry out against her for not doing it. But the case was this. She had been obliged to make as favourable promises to the other side also, and it was no wonder if they thought they had as good right and fully more ground to depend upon her countenance. She had promised to both parties from views of interest, but she was attached to one of them by principle, and that one had as yet both law and custom in its favour. Yet when left to herself, being a Princess of great moderation and prudence, she took much pains to prevent the divisions which she saw arising among the people about religion, and to that purpose she recommended mutual visits and entertainments among the nobility, as a likely mean to cement differences and root out their animosities. But all would not do: the congregation demanded too much, and too boisterously, and the clergy would yield nothing.

before nothing: Bad language and scurrilous epithets were bandied to and fro, which were mutually irritating, and equally disgraceful to both parties. Sometimes indeed, but rarely, argumentation and reasoning were proposed, but the disputants could never agree about the terms; an instance of which we have preserved in an epistolary Equivalence between Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Croisaguel, and John Willocks the reforming preacher in Ayrshire, about the sacrifice of the mass; A.D. 1559: Mr. Willocks insisting on having the cause judged, if not only, at least ultimately, by the word of God; and the Abbot flying off to the aid of doctors, as he calls them, a list of whom he gives in the following confused order, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Damascene, Basil, Ambrose, Hilary, Jerom, Ambrose, Augustin, Theophylact and Tertullian, "whose writings." He says, "are a thousand years old, and of whom a great part suffered martyrdom for Christ's sake," tho' of all this dozen there were only two, Irenæus and Cyprian, that were martyrs for religion. In the management of this contest, both sides seem to have overstretched, Mr. Willocks in affirming the Roman mass to be such idolatry as is condemned in scripture, and the Abbot in boastfully pretending to defend it, out of these old fathers, who all of them, except Damascene and Theophylact, (whom as saying a little that way he has artfully but absurdly foisted into his catalogue) knew nothing of it, as he was taught to use it. I am not to enter here into this part of the dispute, tho' I cannot help expressing my opinion that, however much superstition and abuse may prevail in the modern mass of the Church of Rome,

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as confessedly different from the old eucharistical service of that church, and unsupported by the liturgical practice of the first five hundred years, it was no advantage, in point of argument, to our reforming society, to be so forward as they were, in painting it out under the odious colours of scriptural idolatry. For tho' that stretch of declamation served to inflame the minds of the vulgar, who could not enter into the merits of the cause, it could not but harden the judicious and sensible part of the people, to hear such a sacred and solemn affair spoken of in such a disgusting and irreverent manner. And if the zeal of reformation had led them to employ the fervor of their eloquence against every presumptuous species of idolatry, there was one at that time too prevalent among themselves, as well as among their opponents, which they would have been as laudably employed in rooting out of people's hearts, even covetousness, which, without any force of interpretation, an Apostle expressly says is idolatry. Be in this what will, it was a mutual taken confidence on both sides which, as I said, prevented a proper discussion of the question, and, as is common in all such cases, both parties boasted of their own success in the unavailing correspondence.

About the same time too, and with a view still to settle matters, the Queen Regent advised the Privy Council to call a national council of all the Prelates and learned clergy in the realm, that they might strive to provide some method for healing the present sores, and restoring peace to the church and state. Accordingly they met at Edinburgh on the second of March; and this was the last national synod of that church that ever Scotland

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yr. To this synod the congregation gave in LETTER  
 some articles of reformation, desiring 1. "That XXXIV.  
 publick prayers be used, and the sacraments  
 ministered, in the vulgar tongue. 2. That  
 Bishops be elected by consent of the gentry  
 of the diocess, and parish priests by consent of  
 the parishioners. 3. That such incumbents as  
 are insufficient for discharging the pastoral of-  
 fices, be deprived of their benefices, and others  
 put into their places, who shall be found  
 qualified and willing to instruct the people by  
 constant and daily preaching. 4. That all im-  
 moral or unlearned churchmen be excluded  
 from administration of the sacraments, and all  
 other ecclesiastical function." Here again we  
 meet with nothing that can be called altoge-  
 ther unreasonable, or could be said to look like a  
 design of a total breaking off from church obe-  
 dience, or overturning the old model of church  
 government. And it might have been hoped, that  
 so many neighbouring examples of late would  
 have induced the synod to pay some regard to  
 these requests. But nothing of that kind had any  
 weight with them: For to the first they answer-  
 ed, "that they could not dispense with using any  
 language but Latin in the publick prayers, as  
 being appointed by the church under most se-  
 vere penalties, which cannot be infringed with-  
 out violating the majesty of God." To the  
 second, "that what is decreed by the Canon law,  
 concerning the election of Bishops and Pastors,  
 ought to be maintained entire, because the elec-  
 tion of Bishops being a privilege of the crown  
 with consent of the Pope, to determine any thing  
 in opposition thereto when the Queen was so  
 young, would be indiscreet to her, and a trea-  
 sonable

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“sonable encroachment on the royal prerogative.” To the two last they agreed, “that the decree of the council of Trent shall take place, which orders all churchmen within four months to attend their cures in person, or lose their benefices.”

This was standing stiff to their old forms, and shewed a fixed resolution not to make the least concession. In the article indeed of the election of the clergy, they had some shadow of reason from what they pretended of deference to their young and absent sovereign, if they had not clogged it with bringing in the decree of their Canon law, and the consent of the Pope, which was but an artful colouring to blind people’s eyes, as they knew how the Pope claimed the right and in fact frequently exercised the power of disposing of benefices, not only without, but even against the sovereign’s consent. But the congregation’s request, whether proper to be granted or not, is a proof that hitherto they had no objection to the office, title, or precedence of Bishops, as such, but only in this, as in their former petitions desired to have their election to, and exercise of their office, put under what they thought useful and necessary regulations: And the synod’s taking formal notice of it, even with the burden of a refusal, is a testimony that they had no quarrel with them on that score, nor suspected them of intending a total rejection of the order. However, this peremptory denying the use of the vulgar tongue in the public worship, which had always been, and justly too, a favourite point with the reformers of all nations, and which the Regent had so lately granted to the congregation, may be said to have been the main cause of all the

prerogative, upon followed, and which, as I observed before, from the third article of their publick protestation, seem to have been conditionally threatened.

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For now the Regent, having carried her two capital projects, by keeping pretty fair hitherto with both parties, and finding the churchmen, whom she always favoured, beginning to exert themselves with what she thought a becoming spirit and vigour, resolved to support them with the royal authority. And when the congregation sent the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, to solicit the continuance of her promised indulgence, she gave them such an answer as made them apprehend a storm ready to fall upon them, which was likewise hastened, sooner perhaps than otherwise it would have been, by one of their ministers being hardy enough to preach publicly in the town-kirk of Perth. This raised her indignation to the highest pitch; and when Lord Ruthven, the Provost of the town, whom she had ordered to go and haltise these innovations, told her he had no power over people's consciences, she vowed in great wrath to make both him and them repent it, and immediately gave orders, by the advice of her council, to summon all the ministers to appear before her at Stirling on the tenth of May. But when she got account what vast numbers of both gentry and commonalty were preparing to attend their preachers to the diet, she hearkened to the Laird of Dun's intercession, and desired him to persuade them to disperse, with a solemn promise that the diet should not be held, nor any prejudice done to the preachers.

A.D. 1559.



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This gentleman, having a great deal to say with the Congregation, among whom he was a principal leader, wrote to the gentry, who were assembled at Perth on their way to Stirling, to dismiss their followers, as there was now no fear nor appearance of danger. They hearkened to his advice, and most of the common people went home: Only a few gentlemen and some of the ministers remained at Perth. Yet when the day came, and none of the ministers appeared, they were all denounced rebels, and every body inhibited, under pain of treason, to assist or harbour, or in any shape entertain them. This was the worst and most unjustifiable step that ever the Regent took, and whoever advised her to it, as it is not likely she would have taken such a step without advice, have all the miserable consequences of it to answer for. The Laird of Dun, who was a man universally esteemed for his integrity, was highly offended at this so flagrant instance of double dealing, and justly suspecting danger to his own person among such courtiers, withdrew with all privacy to Perth, where he easily apologized for the advice he had given, and informed his friends there how implacably the Regent and council were set against them.

I am, &c.

LETTER

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## L E T T E R XXXV.

*John Knox joins the Congregation at Perth—  
And begins the Destruction of the Churches and  
Monasteries—Reflections on these Acts of Violence—Further Proceedings of the Congregation—Continued Demolition of Churches, &c.  
—The Lords of the Congregation after various Treaties, deprive the Queen of the Regency  
—On the Arrival of Troops from England to assist the Congregation, she takes Shelter in the Castle of Edinburgh, and dies there.*

&c.  
LETTER  
WHILE the minds of the reformers were in that ferment, which the Queen's breach of promise, and their own danger had occasioned, it happened, (whether luckily or unluckily, let different parties say) that John Knox arrived from France. We had left this champion of the cause some time ago at Dieppe, sadly vexed at the disappointment he had met with, but still waiting a favourable opportunity to renew his

LETTER his endeavours and display his zeal in his own  
 XXXV. country. In the mean time, a providential change  
 of great importance had occurred in the neighbouring kingdom. The Popish Mary of England, after an inglorious and bloody reign of scarce five years, had died on the 17th of November 1558, and was peaceably succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, who had always declared herself a Protestant. This was a favourable event for Knox, who well knew what use to make of it. Only it had happened unluckily, that he had lately written and published a virulent book against "the government of women," which he heard the Protestant Elizabeth was as much offended at as the Popish Mary had been. In order therefore to remove the unfavourable opinion of his sentiments, which this publication might occasion, and to clear the way for his intended return to his own country, he wrote from Dieppe to Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary, on the subject of his book, not openly retracting the main position of it, but softening and palliating his doctrine with the convenient supposition of a *Providential* right, on which hypothesis, he says to Cecil "if any think me either enemy to the person or regiment of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived in me: For the miraculous work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel, I do acknowledge, and I will obey the power of his most potent hand, raising up whom best pleased his mercy, to suppress such as fight against his glory, albeit that nature and God's most perfect ordinance repugneth to such regiment," &c. This is a sufficient proof of the man's versatile genius, and what confidence he had in his own

April 10,  
 1559.

his own abilities, on any side of a question which he would see convenient to espouse. LETTER XXXV.

Having therefore, by this seasonable piece of sophistical flattery, opened a door for the freedom of getting home, and for answering any other exigencies that might occur, he took his departure from Dieppe, and on the second of May reached Edinburgh, where staying only two nights, he proceeded to Dundee, to comfort the brethren there, and from thence to Perth, where the convention above mentioned had assembled. This was a very critical juncture, and the presence of such a powerful and zealous orator would be most acceptable; so upon the eleventh of May, being called upon to mount the pulpit, he failed not to declaim on the usual theme of idolatry, and to shew what positive precepts there were for destroying all instruments and places of it. Immediately after sermon one of the established clergy very foolishly ventured to expose an image that was in the kirk, to try how the people's affections stood that way, after Knox's vehement harangue on the subject. At this one of the bystanders expressing some disgust, the Priest rashly gave him a blow, and in return the other threw a stone and broke the image. The enraged populace looked upon this as a signal for attack; some fell upon the Priest, who had much ado to escape with his life, others ran to the altar, and defaced whatever they thought had the appearance of superstition. In a little while great numbers assembled, "not of the gentlemen nor of such as were earnest professors," says Knox, "but of the rascally multitude," and finding nothing to do in the town's church, they ran to the Franciscan and Dominican



LETTER nican Monasteries, which they burst open, and soon  
 XXXV. spoiled of all that was in them, leaving nothing  
 but the bare walls. From them they marched  
 in triumph to the Carthusian Monastery, com-  
 monly called the Charterhouse, which they plun-  
 dered in the like manner, and then so completely  
 demolished that noble building, that in two days  
 scarce a vestige of it was to be seen. Mr. Knox  
 boasts much of the disinterestedness of this rascally  
 multitude, as he calls them, in laying no hands  
 on the rich spoil for themselves, "their con-  
 sciences," he says, "being so beaten with the  
 word, that they had no respect to their own  
 particular profit, but only to abolish idolatry  
 and all places and monuments thereof." And  
 the modern admirers of these doings still lay hold  
 of this, as a glorious instance of self-denial in the  
 conscientious reformers. Tho' after all, there  
 seems to be nothing in it but what may be easily  
 accounted for, from the unpremeditated fury of a  
 thoughtless mob, whether Popish or Protestant,  
 and which has been exemplified by all profes-  
 sions, both before that time and since, upon sundry  
 occasions, where it has been seen, that a pre-  
 sumptuous fit of zeal or ill-nature, when it has silenced con-  
 science, has got the better of avarice also.\*

However

\* Of this, besides what has been in our own day, and within  
 the compass of almost every one's knowledge, we have a quite  
 similar instance that happened in Knox's lifetime, and even  
 among a set of Popish idolaters and image worshippers. In the  
 history of Charles V. by Principal Robertson, we are told, that  
 in the insurrections in Spain, in the beginning of his reign, "a  
 tumultuous spirit seized the inhabitants of Burgos, Zamora,  
 and several other cities, and tho' their representatives saved  
 themselves by flight, they were burnt in effigy, their houses  
 razed to the ground, and their effects consumed by fire: And

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However the destroying work was now begun; LETTER  
 and this attempt at Perth, as it was the first fruits XXXV.  
 of Mr. Knox's appearance after his return from  
 exile, before which we find no symptom of such  
 daring and riotous spirit, so it was an introduc-  
 tion to all the lawless and unchristian violence  
 of the kind that followed. I am far from ap-  
 proving, or pretending to vindicate these mo-  
 nastic institutions, which seem to have been be-  
 gun without necessity, and carried on in such an  
 irregular and unbecoming manner, as gave great  
 offence to all lovers of decency and good order.  
 Yet I cannot help looking upon this horrid me-  
 thod of putting an end to them, as an act of the  
 most savage barbarity, and most palpable injus-  
 tice in the perpetrators, who had no more right,  
 either by the law of God or man, to drive a monk  
 out of his cell, than to take Mr Knox's coat off  
 his back. At the same time, I cannot altogether  
 join in the outcry which the Popish party have  
 made about the sacrilegious guilt of thus des-  
 troying or taking away what had been once given  
 to God: For, before the force of this charge be  
 sustained, it ought to be made appear that God  
 had accepted the donation, lest our Saviour's ap-  
 plication of the pharisaical pretence of *Corban*  
 should hold good, as perhaps, upon enquiry,  
 it would be found to have been too often the case,

such was the horror which the people had conceived against  
 them as betrayers of the public liberty, that not one in these  
 licentious multitudes would touch any thing, however valu-  
 able, that had belonged to them." What word was it, we might  
 say, that the consciences of these licentious multitudes were beaten  
 down at that time, if indeed they had any pretence to conscience  
 at all, which it is much to be suspected is asleep on every such oc-  
 casion?

LETTER XXXV. in most of these monastic foundations. It is true these buildings and lands were dedicated to religious uses, by their devout founders, and so may be thought to have been unalienably appropriated to such purposes. But it is equally true, that such appropriations are things merely external and not essential to religion as such; and consequently may, without any real prejudice to the substance of it, be separated from it, when and how those in proper authority, whoever they are, shall see expedient. Yet that this "rascally multitude" at Perth, I use their own Knox's language, had authority, or were excusable, either before God or man for what they did, I neither can nor ever will acknowledge, tho' it is not to be denied that desirable enough effects have been oftentimes produced even by wicked instruments. In a word, to shut up what may be said on this disagreeable subject, I am for my own part entirely of his mind, who said "he would neither build a monastery, nor destroy one."

After this bold but shameful step towards reformation at Perth, most of the stranger people we are told went home, and Mr. Knox was left in the town to instruct the flock, because, as he says, and it is the truest character he could give them, whatever meaning he had under it, "they were young and rude in Christ." What the nature of his instructions was, we may judge from the effects they produced. In the meantime, the congregation understanding that the Regent was making preparations for punishing this riotous insurrection, reassembled at Perth, and wrote a letter to her in such terms as, instead of craving pardon for the outrage of a foolish mob, seemed designed rather to vindicate what they

It is true, had done, and openly dare and defy the Magistrate. Nor is this much to be wondered at, if we consider that the church, in which they had been bred, had been at pains, thro' a course of years, by exalting the spiritual power above the temporal, to sink the sovereign in the people's eyes, and to diminish the respect due to him, wherever what they were pleased to call religion was concerned.

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XXXV.

Besides this letter to the Regent, they wrote also to the commander of the French forces in Scotland, warning him not to proceed to harsh measures against them: And to the Nobility who were at court, justifying what they had done at Perth, as being done at God's commandment, and telling them, that "tho' all authority established by God is good, and to be obeyed of all men, under pain of damnation, yet they ought to understand there is a great difference between the authority, and the persons of those

\* How unlike is this conduct to that of the christian people of Antioch, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius the first, after an insult upon his authority by the rascally multitude of the city, in refusing his edicts, and throwing down and defacing the public statues set up in honour of him? And how different is the bullying humour of Knox, (who, we may presume, if not the original framer, was at least concerned in the penning of that provoking letter,) from the amiable and submissive deportment of the Antiochian Bishop Flavianus upon this dangerous occasion? This venerable old prelate, in the depth of winter, took a journey of many hundred miles, from Antioch to Constantinople, where the Emperor resided, and there prostrating himself before him, so mollified and wrought upon the incensed monarch, by such a truly christian speech as deserves to be engraven on brass, and by offering his own gray head a victim for his heart-broken flock, that he not only obtained a full pardon for the heinous offence, but even drew tears of compassion from the Emperor's eyes.

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LETTER "placed in authority:"\* And that the church  
 XXXV. men might not pretend they had been taken un-  
 wares, they directed a letter to them too, under  
 this peculiar address, "To the generation of An-  
 tichrist, the pestilent Prelates, and their fol-  
 lowings within Scotland, the congregation of  
 Christ Jesus within the same faith;" ordering  
 them to desist from their former cruelties, and  
 threatening them with the severest vengeance of re-  
 taliation, if they do not. Notwithstanding all this  
 the Regent made ready her forces to attack Perth.  
 But by the mediation of friends, a compromise  
 was made, in consequence of which she got access  
 to it in a peaceable manner, and the congrega-  
 tion left it, after having entered into a new  
 bond of association, on the last day of May.

Here again the Regent unluckily took some  
 measures which the opposite party deemed a  
 breach of the agreement, on which the Earl of  
 Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrews, who were  
 of the congregation, had hitherto adhered to.  
 The Queen, deserted her and joined their friends.  
 On the fourth of June, the Regent with her  
 small army went to Falkland, and the Lords of  
 the congregation, with Mr. Knox in their com-  
 pany, moved to Crail, where on the ninth he  
 preached, and on the tenth at Anstruther, in both  
 which towns his preaching brought about the  
 breaking down of altars and images, "but still,"  
 he says, "with more anger than avarice." On  
 the morrow being Sunday, he marched with his  
 party to St. Andrews; and there in fulfilment

\* A distinction this of a new coinage, which was afterwards  
 put in practice by a set of men, who "fought for the King  
 against Charles Stuart."

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f a prediction which now for the first time he <sup>BETTER</sup>  
 e boasts of having made in his exile, that he <sup>XXXV.</sup>  
 ould preach there in open audience before he  
 ed, and in despite of the Archbishop, who, tho'  
 tended with a hundred men in arms, durst not  
 ppose him, he preached such a sermon, on the <sup>Spotswood,</sup>  
 bject of our Saviour's driving the buyers and <sup>P. 124.</sup>  
 ellers out of the temple, that immediately after  
 he people spoiled all the churches in the town,  
 nd levelled the Dominican and Franciscan mo-  
 asteries to the ground. Let it be observed here,  
 hat this was done on a Sunday, under Mr. Knox's  
 ye, and at his instigation, and that too not by a  
 rascally multitude," as at Perth, but by the  
 rovoft and Baillies, with the whole town at  
 heir heels. Was this employment for the Lord's  
 ay? Was it a work of either necessity or  
 nergy? Or, had it been both, might it not have  
 eferred till to-morrow? Could there have been  
 greater profanation of the Sabbath, than this?  
 And how would Mr. Knox have thundered out all  
 he curses of scripture, and all the oratory of Bil-  
 ingsgate, against a less profanation of it in an  
 pposite cause? Besides, the impudent application  
 f our Saviour's example, who was Lord of  
 he Sabbath and temple both, and had hereditary  
 ight to turn whom he pleased out of his Father's  
 ouse, did that example either entitle or warrant  
 Knox and his party to throw down the house, be-  
 ause of the corrupt use that was made of it? But  
 t was his orders, and in those days that was  
 ough, on Sunday or any day, to destroy what-  
 ever he thought fit to call idolatry.

When account of this havock was brought to  
 he Regent at Falkland, she marched on the  
 morrow with her troops towards Cupar, and was  
 met

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met by the other party with their army, at  
moor near that town. But without coming  
an engagement, another cessation of hostilities  
patched up, and both armies retired. Mean  
the people of Perth were complaining of the har-  
ships which they suffered from the Queen's gar-  
rison there, upon which the Lords marched  
a body to their relief, and on the twenty  
being Sunday again, they drove out the garrison  
and reinstalled Lord Ruthven in the Provostship  
of the town. The next day they destroyed the  
fine abbey and royal palace of Scoon in the  
neighbourhood, with the Bishop of Moray's  
lodgings, in spite of Mr. Knox's pretended re-  
monstrances against it. From this exploit they  
posted next to Stirling, to prevent the Regent  
getting possession of that pass, and there destr-  
ed all the religious places, and among the re-  
the famous abbey of Cambuskenneth. After three  
days abode at Stirling, on this desolating business  
they set forward to Edinburgh, for reformation  
to be made there, as Knox calls it. But by the  
way they halted a little at Linlithgow, where they  
made the same thorough work as at Stirling.  
And tho' they were not above three hundred in  
number, their approach struck such a terror at  
Edinburgh, that the Queen and Lord Seton the  
Provost left the city to the will of the reform-  
ing party in it, who, before the end of June the  
the Lords from Stirling came up, had ruined  
the monasteries in and about the town, except  
the abbey of Holyroodhouse, which they only  
plundered, "so that," says Knox, "we were the-  
" less troubled with putting order to these places.  
But now is it not amazing how such an unheard-  
of devastation could have indeed been effectuated

Keith.p.94.

the short space of seven weeks, from the eleventh LETTER  
 May, when they began at Perth, to the end XXXV.  
 June, in which time near to twenty of these   
 religious fabrics had been laid in ruins in different places, and scarce a drop of blood spilt in the whole business! Strange, that none of the  
 alots on the other side would stand up in the  
 barrel, and risk a few lives in defence of their  
 venerable images, tho' not many years ago, they  
 had taken so many lives for but seeming to speak  
 lightly of them! I know there are some, who will  
 readily bring in the hand of God here,  
 and perhaps it cannot be well accounted for any  
 other way: Yet if we admit such an interposition  
 of providence, it ought to be considered  
 indeed permitting the fall of the superstition  
 which had so long prevailed, but not as giving  
 sanction to, or approving by success, the tumultu-  
 as and disorderly methods of putting down that  
 superstition.  
 At the same time, while I have not the least  
 sympathy with the cause which now seemed to  
 be depressed, when I consider how cruel and un-  
 merciful it had been when it was uppermost, I  
 cannot help feeling for the situation of the Queen  
 regent: A stranger of a polite nation, engaged  
 with the boisterous humours of a fierce and un-  
 tractable people: A woman neither mean-spirited  
 or bad hearted: A mother too, entrusted with  
 the management of an only child's hereditary  
 kingdom; Led by what she had seen at home,  
 to an admiration of these sumptuous buildings,  
 originally devoted to what she thought the ser-  
 vice of religion, and now, under pretence of re-  
 vision, reduced to so many heaps of rubbish by  
 lawless rabble: And in the midst of all these  
 confusions,



**LETTER** confusions, herself pushed forward on the  
**XXXV.** hand to violent measures, by weak or wicked  
 counsellors, and amused on the other with com-  
 promises and pacifications, which, sometimes by  
 mistakes on her own side, and as oft by volun-  
 tary infractions on the other, still came to noth-  
 ing in the end. No wonder that she broke  
 out sometimes into these sudden bursts of passion,  
 which her bitter enemy Knox so indecently up-  
 braids her with, and which, coming from such  
 a pen, we need not doubt, have been much  
 exaggerated. Yet whatever she might have lost  
 in temper, her courage and activity never failed  
 her. For tho' on the first alarm, she had thought  
 proper to retire for safety to Dunbar, yet on  
 hearing that the congregation had seized the coin-  
 ing irons of the mint, under some pretence or  
 other of their own devising, she laid hold on this  
 so palpable encroachment on one of the undoubted  
 prerogatives of royalty, and published a pro-  
 clamnation to recal the lieges to their allegiance,  
 by representing these turbulent seducers in a true  
 and proper light: Which, tho' it was answered  
 by a counter-proclamation, had the effect of creat-  
 ing jealousies and coldnesses among the reformers,  
 and thereby was likely to weaken them a good  
 deal. So the old method of conference and  
 accommodation was applied to; and the congre-  
 gation, finding their numbers decreasing, and the  
 zeal of many waxing cold, were so modest in their  
 proposals, as only to desire that the French soldiers  
 should be sent home, and themselves have liberty  
 to worship God according to their consciences.

While this mediation was going on, the Regent  
 getting account of the divided state of the  
 congregation, was advised to move towards Edin-  
 burgh.

burgh, which she did on the twenty third of July, and that day came within two miles of the city. Such a sudden and unlooked for march filled them with the utmost consternation, and the more so, as they suspected Lord Erskine, the Governor of the castle, to be none of their friends: So they thought fit to accept of the terms offered them, that all strangers of the congregation should depart out of Edinburgh, on the 25th of July, and leave the city open to the Regent and her retinue, with this mutual stipulation, that till the tenth of January next she should give no molestation to the new preachers, nor the congregation use any violence against the churchmen or religious houses. In consequence of this agreement, the lords of the congregation, after drawing up and subscribing a third bond, or covenant of mutual faith and assistance, went off to the West country, with Mr. Knox in their company; and Mr. Wilcox remained preacher in Edinburgh. The Regent then entered into the city, and for this time adhered so strictly to the terms of the late agreement that, tho' she used many fair and discreet methods to have the mass publicly set up, she proceeded to no compulsion, and the reformed party kept the exclusive possession of the high church without much disturbance.

During these transactions at home the King of France Henry II. had died, and was succeeded July 8, by his son Francis II. our Queen's husband, a 1559. youth of little more than sixteen years of age. This change, it is thought, was a great and irreparable loss to our country. For tho' Henry was sufficiently attached to the Romish forms, yet being a shrewd politician himself, and much interested in his councils by his prime minister the

LETTER XXXV. constable Montmorency, who was a wise moderate man, and by the two great Princes of the blood the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé who both inclined to the Protestant cause, he was more disposed to manage the affairs of Scotland in these troublesome times, by mild and pacific measures, than by the rigour of authority and open force. But upon his untimely death a new system of politicks was adopted. Montmorency was discharged from court, the two Princes of the blood were ill looked on, and the Guises our Queen's uncles, becoming now by that relation the principal favourites and directors, advised the prosecuting the Scottish rebels, as they called them, with the utmost severity, and with all the force that France could furnish. The effect of this advice soon appeared in two separate letters of the month of July, the one from the new King, and the other from our Queen, both addressed to her natural brother the Prior of St. Andrews, reproaching him with ingratitude in the strongest terms, and threatening him with the utmost severity of royal vengeance: All which, as matters now stood, was but a vain display of sovereignty, and served no end but to draw from this artful ambitious man, who began already to know his own importance, a canting and evasive answer. But writing was not all that was done. For in September there came over a thousand French soldiers, with abundance of money and military provisions, and the men were immediately employed in fortifying the town of Leith. About the same time too came the Bishop of Amiens, as Legate from the Pope, and with him three doctors of the Sorbonne, who, if we may credit Bishop Leslie, were very successful in restoring the old rites, and

moderate animating by their example our Prelates and LETTER  
 ne blood ferior clergy to a commendable diligence in XXXV.  
 of Conde their respective functions: But our other histori-  
 he was ns represent this legation as tending to very little  
 Scotland purpose, and where the truth lies, is best to be  
 and pacifi discovered by the events which so soon followed.  
 and open Some weeks after this were taken up in a pa-  
 new syst er-war, and numbers of letters, declarations, and  
 atmorenc roclamations from both sides were published and  
 Princes of spered thro' the country, full of mutual re-  
 e Guise roaches and accusations, the Regent vindicating  
 that relat er doings from the topic of lawful authority,  
 rs, advise and the congregation justifying the outrage of  
 hey call their actions by calling God to witness for  
 h all the e uprightness of their intentions. They had  
 ect of thi tely got a considerable reinforcement to their  
 ers of thi arty by the accession of the late Governor, now  
 King, and led the Duke (from the Ducal title of Cha-  
 ed to be herault, conferred on him by the French King  
 rews, re me years before,) who was reconciled to the  
 strongest congregation by his eldest son, now Earl of Ar-  
 ost seven n, a zealous proselyte to the Protestant persua-  
 atters now on. With this addition of internal interest, and  
 gnty, and interrupt, if possible, the fortifying of Leith,  
 artful am e congregation, after various meetings and de-  
 w his own erations, came at last in a body to Edinburgh,  
 answer. open violation of the late agreement: And at  
 For in e same time they wrote a letter to the Regent, oa. 18.  
 d French no had retired from Holyroodhouse to the gar-  
 d military on at Leith for the security of her person, re-  
 employed siring her to evacuate Leith of the foreign troops  
 the same d threatenng in case of refusal to expel them  
 as Legate force. To this bold message, the Regent re- oa. 21.  
 doctors ed with equal spirit, expostulating with them on  
 op Leslie s rebellious stretch of arrogance, charging the  
 rites, and ke in particular with ingratitude and breach of  
 in



LETTER XXXV. promise, and authoritatively commanding them all, under pain of treason, to leave the metropolis directly. The herald who carried this message they detained in Edinburgh three days: And in the mean time assembling all together, the Lord Ruthven gravely proposed the deposition of the Regent from her office and authority by a solemn sentence of their convention: which, after much altercation upon the propriety and impropriety of the measure, being referred to the two preachers Willocks and Knox who were present, was by a most scandalous and impertinent application of an instance or two out of the old testament determined in the affirmative. An act of deposition was drawn up accordingly, and proclaimed by sound of trumpet at the market cross of Edinburgh, a copy of which Mr. Knox has thought fit to preserve for the instruction of posterity. This done they dismissed the herald, with a letter of intimation to the Regent, signed by "your Grace's humble serviteurs, the council having transferred the authority unto the next parliament, erected by common election of the Earls, Lords and Barons convened at Edinburgh of the Protestant faction."

Yet these Earls, Lords and Barons, who all together were only twenty nine in number, gave themselves to have had but a poor opinion of the validity of this act of theirs, since we still find them applying to the Queen for the removal of the French soldiers out of the kingdom, which if divested of authority, she had no more concern with, nor power to order, than a private subject had. And the commanders of the English troops that came to the assistance of the congregation, still spoke of her and acknowledged

Keith,  
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ing them as Regent, without any regard to, or LETTER  
 notification given them of what their friends had XXXV.  
 pretended to do against her. How she herself  
 received it when it was intimated to her, we are  
 not told: For immediately after this, open hos-  
 tilities commenced on both sides. The congre-  
 gation summoned the garrison of Leith to sur-  
 render, and attempted to scale the fortifications,  
 but were repulsed. Money too began to be scarce  
 among them, and a supply of a thousand pounds  
 which they had procured from the English Go-  
 vernor of Berwick, was intercepted, and came  
 not to their hands. And now the hopes and spi-  
 rits of the party were brought so low, that on  
 the sixth of November they were glad to de-  
 camp from Edinburgh at midnight, and never  
 halted till they reached Stirling. There Mr.  
 Knox refreshed their drooping spirits with a ser-  
 mon from the eightieth psalm; and a resolution  
 was formed to look once more to England, and  
 send a formal deputation to Elizabeth for assist-  
 ance. In the mean time it was agreed, for keep-  
 ing up the cause, that one part of their chiefs  
 should reside in and about Glasgow, and another  
 in Fife, and that for carrying on the necessary  
 correspondence, Mr. Balnaves should attend the  
 Duke at their head, on coming to Glasgow,  
 caused all the altars and images in the churches  
 to be broken down, and seized and plundered  
 the Archbishop's palace: And on the twenty ninth  
 of the month they emitted a ridiculous proclama-  
 tion, in name of Francis and Mary, King and  
 Queen of Scots, "commanding under strictest  
 penalties all the lieges, especially the clergy, to  
 " join

Spott. and  
Keith.

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“ join themselves to the reformed congregation  
“ and to give open testification of their conver-  
“ sion, with plain confession of their faith, and  
“ renouncing of all manner of superstition and  
“ idolatry.” This was followed on the four-  
teenth of December by another, “ prohibiting  
“ and discharging by the same authority all  
“ consistorial courts for upholding Antichristian  
“ dominion, and by name the consistorial court  
“ of Brechin, under pain of death.” The Pres-  
byterian church historian Mr. Alexander Petrie  
who was preacher to the Scotch congregation  
at Rotterdam after the restoration, tells us he got  
these proclamations among some papers belong-  
ing to the Laird of Dun, and boasts as much  
of them as if they had been legal and autho-  
rized deeds, for warranting the procedure of the  
reformation. When the congregation departed  
from Edinburgh, the Regent took possession of  
it, on which all the reformed party left it, and  
the high church was consecrated anew by the  
Bishop of Amiens. A band of soldiers too was  
sent to scour the country of Fife, who taking  
their route by land, plundered the houses of all  
the disaffected that lay in their way on both  
sides the Forth, but after various skirmishes, were  
at last, on the arrival of an English fleet in the  
Frith, on the fifteenth of January, obliged to pull  
back again to Leith the same way that they came  
with considerable loss. Upon this new appearance  
of success, the reforming gentlemen of the Mearns  
took heart, and going to Aberdeen, demolished  
the monasteries of the Dominican and Carmelite  
Friars in the New Town, but were prevented in  
their designs upon the cathedral and religious  
fabrics in the Old Town by the Earl of Hunt-

and the Laird of Balquhain. The Bishop LETTER  
 William Gordon had, some time before, when XXXV.  
 the plundering work was going on in the  
 south, disposed of the jewels and precious uten-  
 sels belonging to the cathedral, in keeping to  
 the Earl of Huntly and to the several Canons, be-  
 fore witnesses, and under bonds of restitution:  
 but what became of them, or whether and to  
 whom they were restored, we have no account.  
 That little was left, which had not been thought  
 worth the removing, the Mearns men got their  
 hands on, and carried with them.  
 Mean time the application to England had, af-  
 ter a great deal of formality, succeeded, and the  
 English army of two thousand horse and six  
 thousand foot entered Scotland in the beginning  
 of April 1560, and were joined in a day or two  
 by all the leading men of the congregation from  
 all parts. Queen Elizabeth has been much blam-  
 ed for thus patronizing, and so powerfully sup-  
 porting the rebellious subjects of another Sove-  
 reign, both because of the real injustice of the  
 act, and bad tendency of the example. How-  
 ever, it was justifiable in the subjects to make the  
 application, is a point of casuistry which, some  
 say, was determined by necessity, and others  
 say no necessity can determine, so long as  
 scripture maxim holds, which Mr. Knox him-  
 self at other times pleads from, that evil should  
 be done, even to procure good. But in  
 what Elizabeth did, she seems to have had both  
 policy and provocation to bear her out. It was  
 a policy, such indeed as all crowned heads  
 use, by, to prevent, by any means that came in  
 their way, such an accession to the power of France,  
 which an absolute sway in Scotland would have made  
 to



LETTER to it. Besides, that she was early irritated by  
 XXXV. the provoking step, which, on her sister Mary's  
 death, the King of France had taken, in causing  
 his daughter in law assume the title of Queen of  
 England, and quarter the arms of that crown  
 with the arms of Scotland and France, in all the  
 plate and household furniture belonging to him  
 and her husband the Dauphin: And in this  
 prudent claim they still persisted after the Dauphin  
 became King on his father's death, and were  
 actually keeping it up at this very time. This  
 was certainly wounding Elizabeth in the most  
 tender part. It was proclaiming her illegitimacy  
 in a most public and affronting manner, and  
 was undoubtedly such an insult as, if she were  
 really a lawful Sovereign, she had all the reason  
 in the world to resent. But be this as it may,  
 and on whatever side the blame may be thought  
 to ly, so it was in fact, that a powerful assistance  
 from England came, so powerful indeed, and so  
 seasonable, as in all human appearance preserved  
 the congregation from sinking under the weight  
 of superior authority, notwithstanding of their  
 bold suspension of the Regent, and the mighty  
 boasts of their own numbers and constancy. Upon  
 this event the Regent took shelter in the Castle  
 of Edinburgh, as she feared her person not to be  
 safe enough in open lodgings; and in her company  
 went the Archbishop of St. Andrews and several  
 other counsellors. For no sooner was the English  
 army joined by their friends, but they began their  
 operations against Leith with various success for  
 some weeks, in which time there were sundry  
 proposals of accommodation spoken of, but to no  
 effect: On which the congregation entered into

four

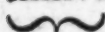
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fourth covenant of association signed on the twenty seventh of April by seven Earls, seven Lords, and about a hundred and twenty gentlemen of best note. Yet still the garrison of Leith kept their ground, and seemed rather to have the advantage in what sallies they made upon the besiegers : Till about the middle of May, that a reinforcement of two thousand men came to the English army, with assurance of still greater succours, if necessary, which visibly cast the balance, and brought the besieged very low. Mean time the Regent had been seized with a lingering distemper, which being heightened, as it was no wonder, by the grief and anxiety of her mind, increased so fast upon her, that on the tenth of June it put an end to her days. Her behaviour at her death was such, as even her reviler John Knox is obliged to represent in a different light from the usual ugly view in which he had thought it to exhibit her character; and Archbishop Spotswood, who probably had the account from his father the Superintendant, who knew her well, says "she ended her life most christianly." In general it may be allowed, that had she been left to her own good sense and moderation in the management of the public affairs, uncontrolled by unpopular orders from France, and unprovoked by the brutal barbarities which fell out at home after Knox's last return from Geneva, she would in time have settled the divisions of the kingdom in such a way as would not have left that indelible stain, which blackens the face of what is called the reformation in Scotland.

Keith.  
p. 125.

A.D. 1560.

I am, &c.

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XXXVI.

## LETTER XXXVI.

*Peace concluded between France and England—  
 Concessions granted to the Nobility and People of  
 Scotland—A Parliament held for the Redress  
 of Grievances—Legality of it disputed—  
 abolishes Popery, and establishes the reformed  
 Confession of Faith—Account of the Reformers  
 First Book of Discipline—Of an Act  
 passed for the Destruction of the remaining Cloisters  
 and Abbey Churches—And of the Superintendants  
 appointed, according to the Book of  
 Discipline.*

A Few days after the death of the Queen  
 Regent, Commissioners arrived both from  
 France and England, in order to compose the  
 differences that had fallen out in Scotland. The  
 King of France finding it difficult to contend with  
 the power of England, and yet not willing that  
 he or his Queen should debase their dignity, by  
 stooping to a treaty with their own rebellious  
 subjects.

subjects, had granted commission to enter into a <sup>LETTER</sup> reconciliation of differences arisen with the <sup>XXXVI.</sup> Queen of England, by assembling men on the borders." Accordingly the commissioners from both courts met at Berwick on the fourteenth of June, and after adjusting preliminaries, came to Edinburgh on the sixteenth. There they found the Regent dead, but nevertheless went on with the business of their commission: And having spent some time in debating all the points that were in agitation, at last, by virtue of the full powers they were invested with from their respective Sovereigns, they came to a final agreement on the sixth of July, which was signed <sup>A.D. 1560.</sup> in the part of France by the Bishop of Valence and the Sieur de Randan, and on the part of England by Secretary Cecil and Wotton Dean of Canterbury. In this agreement the affairs of Scotland are not particularly mentioned, as it had been thought too derogatory from the majesty of Sovereigns to treat on an equal footing with subjects: And therefore this middle way was taken, that the nobility and people of Scotland should offer petitions for obtaining redress of their grievances, and the King and Queen, at the earnest desire of Elizabeth, whom by the sixth article of the agreement, they now acknowledge their rightful and lawful fellow-sovereign, should condescend to make such concessions as might tend to introduce a good harmony and understanding between them and their people. These concessions are seventeen in number, all engrossed in the strongest terms, for the security of the petitioners: And as there are three of them which have a particular connection with our present subject, and will afterwards be referred to, I shall here set down the substance of



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Keith,  
p. 137.

them. 4. " Concerning the petition relating  
" the assembling of the States, the deputies have  
" agreed that the States of the kingdom may  
" assemble, in order to hold a Parliament, on  
" the tenth day of July now running, and that  
" on the said day the Parliament shall be ad-  
" journed, and continued from that day to the  
" first of August next, during which interval  
" the deputies shall order a dispatch to the King  
" and Queen, to advertise them of this con-  
" session, and to supplicate them most humbly  
" accord to it: And this assembly shall be  
" valid in all respects as if it had been called  
" and appointed by the express commandment  
" of the King and Queen, provided that no man  
" shall be treated of before the said first day of  
" August. 13. It is agreed and concluded, that  
" if any Bishops, Abbots, or other ecclesiastical  
" persons, shall make complaints that they have  
" received any harm in their persons or goods,  
" these complaints shall be taken into considera-  
" tion by the Estates in Parliament, and that  
" such reparation shall be appointed as to the  
" Estates shall appear reasonable: And in the  
" mean time it shall not be lawful for any per-  
" son to give them any disturbance in the enjoy-  
" ment of their goods, nor do them any wrong  
" injury or violence, and whoever shall contra-  
" vene this article, shall be pursued by the nobility  
" as a disturber of the public weal and tranqui-  
" lity. 17. Whereas, on the part of the nobles  
" and people of Scotland, there have been pre-  
" sented certain articles concerning religion and  
" certain other points, in which the Lords De-  
" puties would by no means meddle, as being  
" of such importance that they judged them pro-

" p.

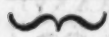
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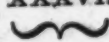
per to be remitted to the King and Queen; LETTER XXXVI.  
 therefore the said nobles of Scotland have engaged, that in the ensuing convention of Estates some persons of quality shall be chosen to repair to their Majesties, and remonstrate to them the state of their affairs, particularly those last mentioned, and such others as could not be decided by the Lords Deputies, and to understand their intention and pleasure concerning what remonstrances shall be made to them on the part of this kingdom of Scotland." All these articles of agreement are beforehand ratified and confirmed by Francis and Mary, King and Queen of France and Scotland, by letters patent under their hands and seals, at Remorement, June 2, 1560. Two days after the treaty was concluded, the articles were publicly proclaimed at Edinburgh, and on the sixteenth of July the English army departed to Berwick, and the French put to sea in English bottoms.\*

\* With them went, from a foresight of what was like to follow, Archbishop Beton of Glasgow, who carried with him all the public records of his see. When Queen Mary returned to Scotland, she constituted him her Ambassador at the court of France, and upon her death, King James her son continued him, notwithstanding of his different principles, in the same character, till his death, which happened not till 1603. In this station of high trust he carefully preserved the letters, instructions, and other papers committed to him by his royal constituents, all which, with what he carried over with him, he left at his death to the Scots College at Paris, where they have been lately deposited in excellent order by the care and industry of two of our countrymen, Mr. Lewis Innes, Rector of that College, and his brother Thomas, so well known by his "critical essay on the ancient inhabitants of Scotland." From this valuable repository many discoveries relative to our history have of late years been made, and some of the mistakes or wilful impositions of our leading historians in some momentous points laid open.

Upon

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Upon the third day after the departure of the troops, there was a solemn thanksgiving kept in the high church of Edinburgh, where, says Knox, the "most part of the chief ministers of the realm were at the time:" In which thanksgiving, among other expressions suitable to the occasion, they mention their confederacy with England, which they call "that most godly league contracted in God's name," and they pray to God, "that he would retain them and their confederates so firmly together by the power of his holy spirit, that Satan have never power to divide them again at variance or discord." Yet England was at that time as truly and strictly presbyterian as it has been at any æra ever since, even at the famous æra of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, when this old strain of thankfulness was forgotten, and the English prelacy declared by the pretended successors of these reformers, an intolerable grievance. Things being thus prepared, the next step was to distribute the ministers among the principal burghs in the kingdom; but such was the paucity of preachers, that only the eight towns, Edinburgh, Leith, St. Andrew, Aberdeen, Perth, Jedburgh, Dundee, and Dunfermline, could at first be provided. At the same time, to keep up some appearance of the reformation, they nominated five Superintendents to be placed in the five districts of Lothian, Glenbowie, Fife, Angus and Argyle. All this was done before the first of August, but by what authority we are not told. In the treaty between the deputies it was agreed that the states of Scotland might meet on the tenth of July, but it was expressly restricted, that nothing should be transacted before the first of August. This appointment

ent therefore is no deed of the states, and can <sup>LETTER</sup> be considered as a plan to be proposed, <sup>XXXVI.</sup>  
 as a standing and authorized settlement.   
 When the first of August came, the Parliament  
 met, and was very numerous. Bishop Keith has  
 given us, out of the Cotton Library, a list of its  
 members, consisting of one Duke, thirteen Earls,  
 sixteen Lords, six Bishops, twenty one Priors and  
 commendators, an hundred and five Barons by  
 name, and the commissioners of twenty two burghs,  
 with many other barons, freeholders and land-  
 ed men, all without armour." At their first  
 meeting, a difficulty was started, and great de-  
 bates ensued concerning the legality of it: One  
 party maintaining, that as the Sovereign had sent  
 a commission, nor authorized any to represent her  
 person, no Parliament could be held: Others  
 reading the fourth article of the treaty as a suf-  
 ficient warrant for their meeting: And this opi-  
 nion by a majority of voices prevailed. Yet it  
 still doubted whether this was a legal Parlia-  
 ment, for want of the royal consent, and as the  
 regalia of the kingdom were not carried in state,  
 unusual on such occasions. But admitting the  
 lawfulness of the meeting according to the con-  
 ditions in the treaty, it may still be questioned  
 whether every branch of business done in it was  
 legal, even by these concessions. The deputies  
 themselves had expressly refused to meddle with  
 the religious differences in the kingdom, which  
 they leave entirely to the cognizance of the So-  
 vereign; and yet in direct opposition to this mode  
 of proceeding, the principal employment of this so  
 much magnified Parliament was to regulate every  
 thing that concerned the religious disputes, and  
 gave nothing to the Sovereign to do, but to ra-  
 tify



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tify its decisions. For as soon as the Lords the articles were chosen, and other customary malities adjusted, the very first thing we find entered upon, is a supplication from the congregation against Popery, the then established religion, all its branches. To this supplication a favourable answer was made, and the ministers were desired to draw up, under separate heads, the sense of that doctrine which they wished to have established by law. Accordingly in four days a *Confession of Faith* was completed, and was by permission openly read before the states, without any the least word, as we are told, being said in opposition to it. Then a diet was appointed for collecting the votes, and it is remarked that of three of the temporal estate, the Earl of Arundel and the Lords Borthwick and Somervil dissenting, giving no other reason but "that they would believe as their fathers had done." On the other hand the Earl Marishal made a speech in favour of the confession, and declared that to him the profound silence of the Prelates seemed to be an irrefragable testimony of its truth. The justness of this inference perhaps will admit of some doubt: But it cannot be denied that the Prelates are not to be commended for their silence, what ever may be thought of their prudence, at such a trying time. Whether their remonstrance would have answered any good end or not, it was their duty to have made the experiment, and they have stood up, as they gave the meeting their presence, in defence of what they professed to believe was the orthodox faith, when they saw it boldly and daringly opposed, by men whom not many months before, they had pronounced to be a set of detestable Hereticks. Their doing so would have

Spotfwood,  
P. 150.

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Lord, <sup>LETTER</sup> ~~XXXVI.~~  
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ast taken out the sting from the Earl Marishal's  
 ech, and might have prevented what Mr. Knox  
 astingly said to Queen Mary, soon after her re-  
 rn, when he told her to her face, "that the  
 ignorant Papist cannot patiently reason, and  
 the learned and crafty Papist will never come  
 in your audience, Madam, to have the ground  
 of their religion searched out; for they know  
 they are not able to maintain any argument,  
 except by fire and sword, and their own laws  
 be judges."  
 This *Confession* therefore, thus recommended  
 om the one side, and so feebly or not at all  
 posed from the other, received the sanction of  
 e states on the seventeenth of August, and Mr.  
 nox has given us a full and exact copy of it.  
 is divided into twenty five heads, and conti-  
 ed to be the established formula in Scotland  
 more than eighty years, till the Westminf-  
 confession, which is now the legal standard,  
 tled it out, but whether in conformity with,  
 to the improvement of the old one, may be re-  
 rred to a comparison betwixt them. This ma-  
 rial point being gained, there was an act passed  
 the twenty third, for abolishing the mass, by  
 which the sayers and hearers of mass are, for the  
 st fault, to suffer confiscation of all their goods,  
 and a corporal punishment at the discretion of  
 e judge, for the second banishment, and for the  
 ird death. How are the times changed, and  
 at ugly alterations does power and prosperity  
 ork upon peoples tempers? It is not above  
 twelve months since these very men humbly peti-  
 oned for liberty of conscience, and seemed wil-  
 g to rest satisfied with being allowed to worship  
 od quietly in their own way. And yet no sooner

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are their circumstances changed, and themselves set in something like a throne of judgment, but the corruption of human nature appears, the flame of an intemperate zeal break forth, and they boldly express and demand all that severity and rigour of which they had so very lately, and with much justice, complained. Nor is this change of spirit upon a change of times peculiar to the reformers. The opposite party come in for a share of it too. There is preserved, among the papers I spoke of in the Scots college of Paris, an original letter from the Archbishop of St. Andrew to the Archbishop of Glasgow, at this time in France, in which among other complaints he says "it might be sufficient to ony that would be content with this new opinion, to use their own consciences with thairself, and nocht to cummer otheris, to best them or banische thame the cuntrie, without that they do sicklyk, or at leist to hald all the benefices and lyvings fra thame." Why did not the Primate think of this sooner, when he had Adam Wallace and Walter Miln before him, who would have thought liberty of conscience sufficient? And with what propriety could he now in his crest-fallen state, complain of a practice however iniquitous in itself, of which he himself in the days of his power, had set repeated examples? This is another of the many instances where it appears, that the spirit of Popery, as contrary to the spirit of the gospel, has influenced the reformation, and kept in sundry corruptions which were equally as Antichristian as many of those that were thrown out.

But to go on: On the twenty fourth of August there were other two acts made: One abolishing the Pope's authority within the realm, and

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 realm,

e other rescinding all former acts not agreeing
 with the *Confession of Faith* now ratified, and ap-
 proved by the estates. In the abolishing of the
 pope's authority, there is a particular clause in one
 of their acts which deserves to be taken notice
 of, where they order "that the Bishoprick of
 Galloway be adjudged to the Bishop of Athens,
 without the Pope's Bulls." We shall hear
 more of this Bishop afterwards: What I would
 observe in the mean time is, that this reforming
 parliament, as it is called, does not seem to have
 been such an enemy to Episcopacy as to think it
 unlawful to dispose of Bishopricks, and even to
 take into their own hands the power of that dis-
 posal, which had long run in another channel.
 These three are the only acts which our histori-
 ans mention as passed at this time, tho' it is cer-
 tain there were several others about some of the
 affairs of state: And it is strange that our two
 church-writers of different characters, Knox and
 Spotswood, who both take notice of the restrict-
 ing article of the treaty, against meddling with
 matters of religion, should particularize the only
 acts that were a direct contravention to that ex-
 press restriction. But this was not the only devi-
 ation from the agreement, by virtue of which they
 met. For by the thirteenth article it was appointed
 that any complaints from the Prelates about their
 wrongs should be heard and redressed by the es-
 tates: And yet, as we are told by a letter from a
 Thomas Archbald, Chamberlain of the Archbi-
 shoprick of Glasgow, to the Archbishop, of date
 August 28th, 1560, the injured churchmen were
 never allowed time to present their bills, under
 pretence of hurry of other business, till the favou-
 rable project was carried, and then the Parliament

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P. 483.

LETTER broke up in all haste, without taking notice
XXXVI. any thing that should come from their now humi-
 led adversaries, and only emitting this self-vind-
 icating declaration, that "because none of the
 "kirkmen had given in their bills of complaint
 "therefore the Lords and Nobility had done
 "their duty, according to the articles of peace.
 It would seem indeed, by the silence of the Prelates when the point of doctrine was under discussion, which one should have thought, was the proper sphere for them to have moved in, that their only view in being there at all, was to take care of their benefices, and watch every opportunity of getting them secured, according to the article agreed to for that purpose. Upon which too probable supposition they might have seen, and no doubt did see their error at last, in letting go what they should have reckoned the substance in hopes of catching the shadow, and by the worldly minded piece of policy losing both. How would Knox and Buchanan have triumphed over them upon this severe and merited dis-appointment, if it could have been done without exposing the shuffling and evasive iniquity of their own friends in the management of it? For the reason they have denied themselves that pleasure, and observe an affected silence on the whole affair.

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 P. 491.

When the parliament was dissolved, the preachers, we are told, were busied in drawing up a form of church-polity, for the order that should be observed in preaching and ministration of the sacraments, in the election and maintenance of pastors, and other things relating to discipline. And the care of this great work was committed to some of the most able of them, of whom John Knox

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as one, and from the nature of the composition seems to have been the principal one. It is called the *First book of Discipline*, and consists of nine divisions beside subdivisions. As some of the framers of it wished to conform as near as possible to the ancient model of government, it appoints superintendents, with some remains of episcopal power and precedence, and lays out ten districts under the old name of dioceses to be filled with them, viz. Orkney, Ross, Argyle, Aberdeen, Brechin, Fife, Lothian, Jedburgh, Glasgow and Dumfries.* In the second head of the *Sacraments*, enjoins "sitting at the Lord's table, as most convenient to that holy action, and thinks it nearest to what Christ and the Apostles did; that the minister break the bread and distribute to those that are next him, commanding the rest every one with reverence and sobriety to break with other, during which time some such proper places of scripture ought to be read as the minister shall appoint." In the fourth head about ministers, it says, "other ceremonies than the publick approbation of the people and declaration of the chief minister we cannot approve: For albeit the Apostles used the laying on of hands, yet since the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary."—about readers. "To the church which cannot

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This constitution had indeed some appearance of a Prelatical plan, and the ingenious author of the *Fundamental Charter of the Presbyterian Church* has collected out of the histories and General Assemblies of these times no fewer than thirty instances of a visible superiority which these superintendents were vested with, and exercised over the ordinary class of ministers, tho' at the same time clogged with such levelling and inconsistent incumbrances, that it can no way be adjusted to the primitive model in the most primitive point of view.

"presently

LETTER XXXVI. "presently be furnished with ministers, must be appointed that can distinctly read the *Common Prayers* and scriptures, for the exercise both of themselves and the church, until they grow to a greater perfection, because he who is now a reader may in process of time attain to a further degree, and be admitted to the holy ministry." And again on the subject in the ninth head, "In great towns we think expedient, that every day there be either sermon or common prayer, with some exercise of reading the scriptures: The day of public sermon we do not think the common prayer needful to be used, lest we should foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayer as they come to the mass, or give them occasion to think that these are no prayers which are conceived before and after sermon." In this last clause we see they make a distinction between *Common prayers* and what they call *Conceived*, or as the darling phrase now is, *extempore* prayers, and that they feared the people's fondness for the common prayers, which they were acquainted with, might, if not guarded against, lead them to disregard the conceived sort, which they could know nothing of till they heard them. Well too, that now when they had found the beneficial effects of preaching, it began to be thought more essential and deserving of greater attention than about three years ago, when they presented their first petitions to the Regent: And in this we may easily perceive the peculiar finger of Knox who, in little more than a year's time, had turned conceived prayers and bold preaching to such unexpected advantage. Upon this head the book further adds, that "in every church

"Sunday

Sunday in the forenoon the word must be preached, sacraments administered, and marriage solemnized when occasion does offer: In the afternoon the catechism must be taught, and the young children examined upon it in audience of the people: When there is neither preaching nor catechism in the afternoon, the common prayer ought to be used; four times in the year we think sufficient for the ministering the Lord's table, and to prevent the superstition of observing Easter and such like, we appoint the first Sundays of the four months of March, June, September, and December for that service."

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In the article concerning the punishment of those that profane the sacraments, it is said, the Papistical Priests have neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments of Christ, because that in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation," consonant to the 22d head of their confession, which describes lawful ministers to be only those that are appointed to the teaching of the word, or into whose mouth God hath put some sermon of exhortation. And herein, besides the lameness of the description which the meanest judgment cannot but find out, there is ground to suspect a particular touch of Mr. Knox's hand in attributing their own peculiar faculty of exhortation, as they phrase it, either to immediate inspiration, as the sound of the phrase bears, or to their own superiority of gifts, natural or acquired, above the poor Papistical Priests, whom he always vilifies as a race of contemptible ignorants.

In the 6th head about the *Patrimony of the Church*, which is the precious jewel that they still have

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XXXVI. have an eye to, after inveighing bitterly against some of the most zealous of their own profession on this score, they say, "the Gentlemen, Barons, Earls, Lords and others, must be content to live on their own just rents, and suffer the kirk to be restored to her right and liberty." "The sums necessary for preserving good order and discipline within the kirk must be lifted out of the tenths, viz. the tenth of corns of all sorts, of hay, hemp, lint, fish, calf, lamb, wool, foal, cheese, besides all things doted to her patrimony, and annual rents in burgh or land pertaining to Priests, Chantries, Chaplainries, Colleges and Priories of all orders; which ought to be retained for the kirk within the towns or parishes where they are doted. Furthermore, to the upholding of the universities, and sustentation of the Superintendants, the whole revenue of the temporality of Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons lands, and of all rents of lands pertaining to cathedral kirks whatever, ought to go." And of these vast revenues, with the contributions of merchants within burgh, they appoint Deacons annually chosen to be collectors, and to account for them to the Superintendants, or to the general assembly of the kirk.* This book

* Archbishop Spotswood tells us that when the Prince of Hamilton heard of this strange device which a certain nobleman called a *devout imagination*, he sent a Mr John Brand to tell James Knox from him, "that however he had introduced another form of religion and reformed the doctrine of the church, whereof it might be there was some reason, yet he should be well not to shake loose the order and policy received, which had been the work of many ages, till he were sure of a better to be settled in place thereof," and urged his advice

discipline thus finished, was presented to a convention of the estates, but was not received with all that approbation which the compilers had looked for. Their high claim upon the church lands grew an odium upon the whole scheme, as the great men who had already laid their hands upon some of them, did not chuse to part with them all at once, in compliance with what they were pleased to call "a devout imagination." Yet, to humour the party as far as their interest was not concerned, and to testify their concurrence in zeal against idolatry, this convention passed an act for demolishing all such cloysters and bey churches as were not yet destroyed, the execution of which was committed for the West parts to the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glen-arn; for the North, to Lord James the Queen's mother; and for the incountries to some zealous persons of best note. In consequence of this shew of authority for finishing the work, which the fury of a lawless rabble had begun, every thing almost that was sacred and venerable went to wreck; churches, libraries, vessels, registers, sepulchres, were ruined without distinction, in compliance with Mr. Knox's sage and senatorial counsel, "that the only way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests." This pleasant business would give his pious heart some solace unless the Highlanders take to break wild colts, by fastening them with two tethers, and as they slacken the one, tightening the other strait, till the creature be tamed and brought near the rider. But Mr. Knox, either trusting to his own authority and influence, or abominating every thing that came from the *Bloody Bastard*, as he always calls him, went on in his way. The event shewed that the Archbishop's advice was good, and Knox himself was soon convinced of his error by following it.

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Spotswood

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der the grievous disappointment of his darling project: And that he was delighted with it, appears from the conclusion of his own account of it, where, after magnifying the hand of God in it, he breaks out into this ejaculation, "O that we would rightly consider the wonderful works of the Lord our God!"

Another piece of honourable kindness conferred upon him, was their dispatching messengers thro' the kingdom, to call up the principal of the clergy to Edinburgh, to give an account of their faith and religion before the new judicature. From Aberdeen, we are told, were summoned four Divines, Alexander Anderson, Secretary principal of the university, who was afterwards deposed by the Laird of Dun, Superintendent of Angus; John Leslie, official; Patrick Myrre, treasurer; and James Strachan, one of the canons, to be questioned before the Council at the town-house of Edinburgh, by John Willock and John Knox. We have two very different relations of this dispute, one by Knox, and the other by Bishop Leslie, each in favour of his own side of the question, but with a visible parity in the strain and language of the two relations. Nor were these the only favours that Knox met with from this convention: For before he broke up, he got a good number of them persuaded to subscribe his book of discipline, with this unwelcome proviso, "that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and beneficed men which else have adjoined themselves to us, brook the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining and holding the ministry and ministers for preaching of the word and ministering the sacraments."

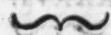
Keith,  
p. 496.

ments." This was a disagreeable condition, LETTER  
 at there was no help; better put up with some- XXXVI.  
 ing, than lose all. For tho' this partial and li-  
 mited subscription could not be thought to have  
 the force of even such legal sanction as was cur-  
 rent at that time, yet it gave the book in ge-  
 neral some sort of countenance, by securing a  
 considerable party in its favour.

In consequence of these previous steps, they A.D. 1561.  
 proceeded on the ninth of March to the admis-  
 sion of Mr. John Spotwood to be Superinten-  
 dent of Lothian, at the desire of the churches  
 of that district, and by charge and power from  
 the Lords of the secret council. This gentleman  
 had passed a course of regular education in the  
 university of Glasgow about the beginning of our  
 religious controversies, and, like many others in  
 these doubtful and uncertain times, withdrew in-  
 to England, where he became familiarly ac-  
 quainted with Archbishop Cranmer, and was by  
 him confirmed in the belief of these old truths  
 which were now revived. Upon his return ma-  
 ny years after to his own country, he was pre-  
 sented by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, who  
 was a great pillar of the reformation, to the  
 parsonage of Calder which then happened to  
 be vacant, tho' whether he was in holy orders  
 or not, we are not told. In this station he was,  
 when nominated to be one of the superinten-  
 dents of the new erection, and now at this  
 time formally installed in that office by John  
 Knox as minister of Edinburgh, who has given  
 us a full detail of all the solemnity. He appears  
 by all we hear of him, to have been a man of  
 great repute and esteem among all ranks, and  
 sufficiently qualified to have born this assumed



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character in a fuller and more regular manner. At what time, or in what manner the other superintendents of the original nomination were admitted to their respective charges we have no distinct account. Only we find them soon after appearing upon the public stage, and distinguished by that designation viz: For Fife, Mr. John Wisram, who had been subprior of St. Andrews, and whom Mr. Wishart in his last moments called "the good man" from whose hands he was willing to have received the Eucharist, if he could have got it in both kinds, which the Prelate would not allow: For Glasgow, Mr. John Wollox, who had been colleague with Knox, and gave decision in the grand question of suspending the Queen Regent's commission: For Angus and Merns, John Erskine Laird of Dun, a gentleman indeed of unblemished reputation, who had early appeared with great candor and uprightness on the reforming side, but a mere layman, without the

\* I am sorry to see something that looks a little unfavourable to his memory, in an admonition which he is said to have given to all under his charge, at the time when the Queen was at Hamilton after her escape from Lochleven, and in which he loaded his then unfortunate Sovereign with the blackest epithets, and in a style too which, upon bare suspicion only would not have been expected from one of his acknowledged prudence and moderation, and will not be thought a suitable return to the degree of regard which that distressed Princess had, in the days of her glory, expressed for him. He seems indeed to have been, as were all the then preachers were, much managed by and under the influence of John Knox: And this may serve to account for the glaring partiality which Archbishop Spotwood the superintendent's son everywhere discovers towards Mr. Knox, and which I doubt not, had been early instilled into him by his father's being so much prepossessed that way, as he was but 20 years of age when his father died in 1585, and could know little of him about Knox, who died in 1572.

manner. If pretence to the clerical character in any LETTER  
 e other fope : And for Argyle, Mr John Carswell, who XXXVI.  
 n were d been rector of Kilmartine, and seems to have  
 we no d en a man of some consequence in the Queen's  
 a after the ereft : For in 1566 she creates him Abbot of  
 ftinguish Columkill and Bishop of the isles, " as fully and  
 John Win freely as if he had been provided thereto in  
 drews, and the court of Rome." In 1567 he joined the  
 ents called rds at Hamilton who declared for the captive  
 he was w een, and fat in their Parliament as Bishop of  
 he cou the isles, for which he was censured by the Ge-  
 ne Prela ral assembly, and died not long after. Why  
 John W r. Knox was not appointed to one or other of  
 k, and g se superintendencies, as there were other five  
 ending the be disposed of, and which were never filled up,  
 Angus, and somewhat surprising, and has been interpreted  
 gentlemen a sign of his disapprobation of any thing that  
 had ear t looked like a Prelacy or imparity in the  
 nefs on the urch : Tho' at the same time his contriving  
 without th h a model and acting under it cannot easily  
 be reconciled to such an interpretation. But  
 e unfavoura man no doubt had his own ends to serve,  
 d to have f d would see it more conducive to the main cause,  
 Queen, was d more honourable to himself, to remain what  
 which he le was, minister of Edinburgh, and placed on the  
 pithers, and w was, minister of Edinburgh, and placed on the  
 not have b tch-tower of the metropolis, from whence he  
 e and moder ould inspect all the affairs of church and state,  
 the degree d be, under the title of the humble John  
 s of her glor ox, the superintendent of all the superinten-  
 en, as most dants in the kingdom.

I am, &c.

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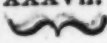
## L E T T E R XXXVII.

*Reflections on the State of the Reformation in Scotland—The Rejection of Episcopacy, and Plea of Necessity for it, considered—List of reformed Bishops abroad—Sketch of Ecclesiastical Affairs in England—Account of the Council of Trent concluded—Rise and Progress of the Socinian Herefy.*

**H**AVING now brought the history of what is called the *Reformation in Scotland* to its commonly received æra of its legal settlement, before I proceed any further in my account of the new establishment, I shall take the liberty to offer a few reflections which naturally arise from, or are connected with, the ecclesiastical transactions of these last fifty years. We have seen a new form of a church arising, not like a phoenix out of the ashes of the old one, but upon the ruins of a church which, tho' not on the footings of pure antiquity, yet because of a long and

and continuance, may in that sense be called an old church; and we have seen that new form set up in a peculiar manner, such as had never been before, and has not been altogether copied by any denomination of church builders since. There are two capital points of ecclesiastical concern which those of the Protestant name in Scotland are divided about, and in which both sides would be appealing to the first reformers for a decision: And these are the *Mode* of public worship, and the *Form* of church-government. As to the first of these, it is as clear as any thing can be from history, that these reformers used prayers that were read; and readers are as standing an office among them as ministers or choristers. In all the petitions from their general assemblies to the civil authority, for the maintenance of the kirk, there is always mention of readers, and a suitable provision demanded for them: And that it was their business to read prayers in their sacred meetings, we have been expressly told thro' all the stages of their history we have hitherto touched at. Yea, as far down as the year 1563,\* we find an act of the privy council ordering the reparation of kirks by an assessment on the minister and parishioners proportionately, because, as the act bears, "thro' lack of repairs the preaching of the word of God, ministrations of the sacraments, and reading of the common prayers ceases, and the people therethro' becomes altogether without knowledge

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\* In the general assembly of December that year, on the motion about Thomas Duncanson, schoolmaster and reader in Glasgow, who had committed fornication, and made public resistance for it, "whether he should be restored to his office in

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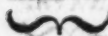
"ledge and the fear of God." What prayers they were which they read, is not material to the main hinge of the controversy; nor does it affect the question in general, that the reading of prayers began now to be looked upon in an inferior light, in comparison of preaching, which have endeavoured to account for already. It is enough that they had prayers read, and had a particular order of men appointed for that office, which in some places seems to have been joint to that of the schoolmaster, for want, I suppose, of a proper living for both. But tho' this class of reformers for some time retained both the office and officer, their pretended successes by degrees, jostled out the prayers from the office, and only reserved a chapter or two of scripture to be read at discretion, and before the preacher entered, by the schoolmaster, who, from that part of his employment, was still called *the Reader*.

As to the other debateable point of church government, this much may be gathered from what we have as yet met with, that the generality of our first reformers, especially those of the laity, who were the great body of them, seem

"the kirk or not," it was ordained that he should abstain from the said office, till the kirk of Stirling made request to the superintendent for him, and he present the said request in the next assembly: Which is the same formality of procedure that is observed in the same assembly with Alexander Jarden minister of Kilspindie for a like scandal, and shews that the reader was church-officer as well as the minister.

\* In many parishes the small allotment of victuals that is paid to the schoolmaster, is called the *Reader's* Meekness this day, tho' in most places the scriptures have followed the fate of the prayers, and the reader reads nothing in the kirk part of the sacred service, unless it be the line of the psalm which he sings it.

we had no aversion to the order or office of LETTER XXXVII.  
bishops, however virulently some of their preach-  
might have spoken against that order, or  
ed in opposition to it. All their public re-  
onstrances hitherto look favourably that way,  
d their new-constructed fabric of Superintenden-  
had no doubt been designed as a resemblance,  
o' but a lame one, of the old model. How  
Knox, the great champion in this cause,  
shed well or ill to a Prelacy of any form, I  
all not enquire; as I take him, and so will  
ery impartial person that looks into his own  
count of himself, to have been a man who def-  
ed all superiority, civil or ecclesiastical, which  
all not humour his own taste, or clashed with  
y of his particular notions or schemes. He  
s a true disciple of Calvin, and madly attach-  
to every thing that favoured of the Geneva  
ven. I know very well what has been said  
Calvin's respect to pure and primitive episco-  
cy, and how much many of his expressions in  
letters indicate that respect. But expression  
one thing, and practice is another. Had he,  
others of these original reformers, been sin-  
re in such expressions, what should have hin-  
red them from putting their professions into  
actice, and obtaining that true and valid epis-  
pacy, which we are made to believe they en-  
tained such a value for? The plea of necessity,  
loudly and plausibly brought in here from al-  
st every quarter, will not upon examination  
found so satisfactory as is given out: Tho'  
is the favourite argument for vindicating the  
lers of the reformed churches abroad, and  
ncing, from sympathy more than solidity, any  
doubts about the validity of them, when such  
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doubts can be cleared up no other way. For if we are to consider what is called Episcopacy in its genuine and original constitution, as instituted by the Apostles, and continued thro' the first three hundred years, neither hampered with the incumbrances, nor burdened with the adventitious trappings of foreign connections, which is the proper, if not the only, light in which it ought to be viewed, there is ground to think such an Episcopacy might have been found by the reformers upon the continent, if not at their first outset, yet in process of time, and before they had been obliged to encroach upon the old privileges of it in their subsequent establishments. There were Bishops at various times and in various places, true real Bishops in the undisputed order of Apostolic succession, who forsook the corruptions of the church of Rome, and were capable, upon proper application, to have supplied the reformed societies with that hierarchy which so many of them pretended to hold in veneration. And as this is an observation not much attended to in discussions of this nature, and will not, I hope, be thought too great a digression from my main design, I shall beg leave to offer a list of such Bishops of the description as I have met with, in what little I have had opportunity to read of the ecclesiastical histories of these times.

Sleidan,

I. I shall begin with the worthy and well known Herman, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, who, about the year 1543, when the German reformation was well advanced, taking hold of a decree from both the Emperor and the Pope, for redressing the disorders complained of, called a synod of his canons and clergy, and proposed

way. He proposed to them a system of articles, both doctrinal and ritual, which he had drawn up for that purpose. But being opposed by his clergy, and continuing by his Archiepiscopal authority to prosecute his undertaking with a truly orthodox zeal, he was first, at the instigation of the Canons of his cathedral, attacked by the Emperor in 1545, and then summoned by the Pope to appear within sixty days at Rome, to give an account of his proceedings. This citation he neglected; upon which the Pope next year excommunicated him: And Herman appealed from the Pope, whom he no longer acknowledged as judge, to a lawful general council, before which he engaged to pursue and prove his charge against the papal pretensions. But being grieved at the obstinacy of some, and the double dealing of others of his clergy, and unwilling to expose his people to the hostilities of war, with which the Emperor threatened him, he soon after released the states of the Electorate from their oaths of allegiance to him as their prince, resigned his dignity, and retired to his own paternal inheritance of Meurs upon the Rhine, where he lived privately and comfortably till the year 1552, when he died.

2. To him I shall join one of his successors, tho' at some distance of time: Gebhard Trufches, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne in the year 1577, who, having embraced the reformation was driven out of Cologne, but sustained himself a good while at Bonne, one of his electoral cities, till having lost it too he withdrew into Holland, and after staying some time there returned to Germany in the year 1589, where he died soon after.

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3. Gerard

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Sleidan,

Ibid.

Duret.

Collier's  
Dict.

3. Gerard Geldenhaur, Archbishop of Utrecht embraced the Lutheran doctrines, and retired into Germany, where he wrote the history of Holland and of the low countries, and was killed by highwaymen in the year 1542.

4. Andrew Dudithius Bishop of Five Churches in Hungary, was a man of good parentage, learning and probity, and is commended by the celebrated historian Thuanus for his parts and erudition: The Emperor Ferdinand sent him to Trent as his ambassador, soon after which he turned Protestant, and went to Poland, where he died in the year 1589.

5. John Alasco, of noble birth, was a Polish Bishop, and turning Protestant, was called over by Edward VI. to England, where he officiated as pastor to the Dutch congregation in London. In Queen Mary's time he removed with his friends to Denmark, from whence, being inclined to Calvin's principles about the Eucharist, he was obliged to retire, and settled sometime at Frankfort, while the divisions among the refugees subsisted there, but was soon recalled by the Protestants of his own country, where he was much respected even by the then King himself and died in the year 1560.

6. Peter Paul Vergerius Bishop of Justinianople in Istria, was bred a lawyer, and in that capacity was employed by Pope Clement VII. in 1533 against the Lutherans in Germany, where he acted with great vigour and dexterity, and to the entire satisfaction of his employer. Pope Paul III. continued him in the same office, and was so well pleased with his fidelity, that in 1536 he gave him the Bishoprick of Justinianople, and as a further reward of his services was to have made him

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m a Cardinal in 1541. But some enemies  
 ving whispered into the Pope's ears that his  
 ng abode in Germany had given him some taint  
 the Lutheran errors, this so struck him that, to  
 ear himself from that imputation, he went home  
 om Rome to his See, and began a confuta-  
 on of what he called the German Apostacy.  
 his undertaking led him to turn over and ex-  
 mine the writings on the Lutheran side, which  
 hilst he was engaged in, instead of discovering  
 d confuting their errors, he found himself  
 tched and almost convinced by their argu-  
 ents. And now laying aside all thoughts of the  
 ardinal's hat, he applied to his brother John Bap-  
 t Vergerius, Bishop of Pola in the same coun-  
 , and begged his advice what to do. The  
 other in a great fright lamented his situation :  
 at upon consulting the scriptures on the con-  
 verted tenets, he too joined in his brother's  
 conviction, and acknowledged the falsity of their  
 mer doctrines. On this they began a refor-  
 mation in their own diocesses, both in doctrine  
 d worship, and with no small success for some  
 ne. This attempt made such a noise, that the  
 onks and other emissaries from Rome, thinking  
 ir all at stake, run up and down among the  
 ple of Justinianople, and what with threats  
 the Pope's resentment, what with artifice of de-  
 mation, incited them to murder their Bishop  
 a work of great merit. The Bishop, to avoid  
 s tumultuous fury, retired to Mantua to his  
 friend the Cardinal Gonzaga: But being  
 secuted here too with calumnious accusations,  
 went boldly to Trent, to purge himself before  
 e council which was then begun to sit there.  
 hen the Pope heard of this, tho' ungratefully  
 forgetting

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forgetting the man's former services, he would have had him in his power, yet not to get any handle of his impeding the freedom of council, by seizing a Bishop who had come to he wrote to his Legates not to allow Vergerius seat in their meetings, and to order him to go. Being thus driven from Trent, he returned to Venice, where the Pope's Nuncio, John Casa Archbishop of Benevento, (the same who wrote that filthy piece in praise of the peculiarity of Italy,) artfully advised him to go to Rome to satisfy the Pope who, he said, still had a favour for him. But Vergerius being wise enough not to trust himself in such hands, the nuncio forbade him in the Pope's name, to return to his diocese. He was therefore obliged to take shelter in Padua one of the Venetian cities: And while he resided in it, he was witness to the miserable condition and tragical end of Francis Spira, a lawyer of Citadella: Who having some years before embraced the newly revived doctrines, and being now frightened by the bullying menaces of the nuncio on the one hand, and decoyed on the other by the persuasions of his own relations, to make a publick and solemn abjuration of the same, fell into the most horrible perturbation both of body and mind, and after some weeks of insupportable agony, in spite of all bodily remedies or spiritual consolations, dyed in the deepest despair in the year 1548. This shocking spectacle had such an effect upon Vergerius, who was one of the unhappy man's spiritual comforters, that from that moment he resolved to bid adieu to his native country, and retire to any place where he could enjoy and profess the purity of the Gospel with freedom. Accordingly he left Padua

removed first to the Grisons, and then to the LETTER XXXVII.
 Meline, where he got account of the death of
 brother the Bishop of Pola, whom, it was
 thought, the Monks had poisoned. After some
 stay in that country, he accepted of an in-
 vitation from Christopher Duke of Wirtemberg
 and settled at Tubingen, where he died in the year
 1555.

Gerard Rousseau was first a Dominican Fri-
 ar, but quitting the habit he travelled into Ger-
 many, and became acquainted with the Protestant
 doctrines, which, on his return he preached in the
 court of the Queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I.
 This learned and religious Princess procured him
 the Abbey of Nérac, and after that the Bi-
 shoprick of Oleron, and protected him against all
 persecutions of his enemies. He was a man
 of good qualities, and of an exemplary life, and
 the first in France who gave the communion
 in both kinds, but did not fully approve of either
 Luther's doctrine or Calvin's in all points: He
 died in the year 1551, by the means of a
 fever. Arnaud, who thereby procured the Bishop-
 ric for his son, Odet, Cardinal de Chatillon, and brother to
 the famous Admiral Coligni, was Bishop of Beau-
 mont, where he held two synods against the Here-
 ticks in the years 1554 and 1557, but afterwards
 rejected the reforming scheme that was going
 on, and in 1561 upon the holidays of Easter ad-
 ministered the Eucharist after the Protestant form
 in the chapel of his episcopal palace, having re-
 fused to celebrate mass in the cathedral. Pope
 Pius IV. in a private consistory deprived him of
 his purple, and he himself came over to England,
 where he died in 1571.

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9. John Antony Caraccioli, of the princely family of Melfi in Naples, was consecrated Bishop of Troyes in Champagne in 1551, and after the conference at Poissi in 1561, was convinced of the truth of the doctrine professed in the reformed churches: And being desirous to profit all the people of his diocese, which he thought could not so well be, unless the reformed preachers in the church were submitted to his government, and acknowledged him as their Bishop, he made an application to them for that purpose, and was cordially received and submitted to in that character. This he learned by a letter from Peter Martyr, who was then at Troyes, to Beza, in which he not only approves, but likewise rejoices in the brethren's submission to the Bishop's authority, as being likely a mean to advance the Protestant cause. However the Popish Bishops being fretted to see a person of the same character and dignity with themselves keep his place and office, and exercise all the functions of it in the reformed way, and fearing the consequences of such an example, applied to the King against this Protestant Bishop, and got him turned out by the royal authority. On which the honest man retired a part of his family inheritance upon the Loire, and died there in the year 1569.

10. James Paul Spifame was Bishop of Nevers, and upon the breaking out of the civil wars in France, went to Geneva, and declared himself Protestant. Soon after, Calvin sent him to Orleans to the Prince of Condé, who knowing his abilities, employed him to the diet of the German states at Francfort, to justify the proceedings of the French Protestants, and solicit the Empire's assistance. On his return to Geneva after this

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princely design which did not succeed, he was accused of design to betray the Protestants, and be reconciled to the church of Rome, in hopes of a new shoprick: For which and some other alledged misdemeanours, probably too by some political manoeuvre of Calvin's jealous spirit, he was condemned to lose his head, and was beheaded accordingly.

Now here are no fewer than ten instances, well attested in history, besides many others perhaps that have not come so much to public knowledge, of Bishops who were men of some figure, and having renounced the errors of Popery, could have preserved the episcopal order and succession in any society that chose to accept of it. And if a calculation of numbers could be made, it might perhaps appear that, in proportion to the difference in this respect between the two orders of churchmen, there were as many reforming Bishops in those days as reforming Presbyters, altho' it be the common report in this country that "the reformation was carried on by Presbyters." I know the Popish party will say, and all these men I have mentioned, with the various titles of Hereticks and Apostates, and will boldly affirm, that after their sovereign the Pope had laid his Anathemas upon them, they lost their powers, and were no longer Bishops. But they should remember that when they say so, they contradict their own school divines, Thomas, Scotus, Bonaventura, Aureolus, Capreolus, Vasquez, &c. who all of them, in their commentaries upon the great text of "The Sentences," agree that Non potest Papa Episcopo, quantumcunque degradato, ordinandi potestatem auferre," the Pope cannot from a Bishop, however much de-

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Collier's Dictionary, Thuanus, &c.

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graded, take away the power of ordination. And as for the charge of Heresy, that is a mere begging the question, and deserves no other treatment than to be retorted on the objectors.

However it is not with them, I have to do present: It is with people who profess an esteem for true primitive Episcopacy, and seem to lament the woful necessity that deprived them of the blessing, as the Presbyterian President of the synod of Dort, Bogermannus, said to the English Bishop Hall, when the Bishop put him in mind how fit a remedy Episcopacy is for suppressing dissension and contention, "Domine, non sumus æque felices, my Lord, we are not so happy. What was it that stood at first between them and that happiness? There were Protestant Bishops scattered indeed here and there who, if the primitive example had been followed on all sides might have done as the primitive Bishops did: as hot persecutions as even those to which they were exposed. Might not, for instance, the reforming Princes of Germany who protected the Monk Luther; might not the independent republic of Geneva, which received and supported the lay-preacher Calvin, have applied to and desired the favour of a Herman, a Vergerius, Gerard Rousseau, to take them by the hand, and model their reformed church on the old, and their own confession, venerable plan? Indeed, the more I view the strange and inconsistent proceedings of those times, I am still the more convinced that there has been a defect somewhere. I might have said every where, upon this score; and a defect too which seems to have had its rise in that very church which now exclaims so loudly against it. The Bishops for a con-

ages, had been accustomed to behold the pa-
 mony and temporal endowments of the church
 with such an eye of affectionate admiration, that
 they thought, when these were at any time taken
 withheld from them for whatever cause, they
 did nothing more to do as Bishops. From the
 bare and naked possession of that title, they seem to
 have reckoned themselves neither obliged nor even
 most empowered, to ordain clergy or preserve
 their own order, or in a word, to perform any
 part of the episcopal function; which mistaken no-
 tion was one grievous impediment in the way of
 regular reformation on the side of what con-
 tem any of the episcopal order had in it.

And then from the other side, it is to be ob-
 served that, the most of the first reforming preach-
 ers, who had any right to the clerical character,
 having formerly been Monks, would naturally
 being with them from their cloysters that indif-
 ference and want of esteem, not to call it aver-
 sion or contempt, for Bishops, which the Monas-
 tick fraternities had either by long custom or by
 express exemption, been used to entertain.—
 Hence they would naturally indulge themselves
 in the conceit, that as they had been in use to
 preach and preach where they pleased, and to
 have their numbers kept up at the discretion of
 their Abbot or Prior, who was for the most part
 only in low orders, and sometimes in no orders
 at all, they might still carry on the old method
 under the new form without submission to, or de-
 pendence upon, any Bishop whatever. It may
 therefore be said with too much truth, that the
 defect in the reformed system, so much re-
 gretted by some, and complained of by others,
 has been in a great measure, if not altogether, oc-

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caſioned by theſe two inſtances of corruption which the Romiſh church, from her views on worldly policy, had early begun and long encouraged, an impudent ſelf-conceit in the Monks and a ſtrange forgetfulneſs of ſpiritual character in the Biſhops. The lay-powers too who embraced and ſupported the reformation, when once they had fingered the rich patrimony of the church would not be willing to reſtore ſuch an ample ſhare of it, as might be thought neceſſary for the ſupport of the Epiſcopal order, eſpecially that degree of pomp and affluence, which they had been taught to look upon as eſſential to the character of a Biſhop. Theſe concurring circumſtances indeed may be ſaid to have formed a kind of accidental neceſſity, in the lax ſenſe of the word, but ſuch a neceſſity at the ſame time had a good deal of choice in it, and might have been removed, if all parties had been ſincere and honeſt in the buſineſs.

What I have ſaid about the reformed church abroad is equally applicable, if not more ſo, to the caſe of our own reformers at home. From their ſcheme of ſuperintendency, as it was propoſed and managed, tho' it ſeemed to carry a kindly aſpect towards Epiſcopacy, yet was at bottom but an unneceſſary mimicry of that form, which by their connections with, and obligations to England at that time, they might have obtained in reality. There were two or three nominal Biſhops who had joined the reforming party in this country, Stuart of Caithneſs, Bothwell of Orkney, and Hamilton of Argyle; I call them nominal Biſhops; becauſe, by an abuſe of long ſtanding, they were only named to, and put in a ſort of poſſeſſion

corruption views long the Monks l charac who en when one he church an am cessary specially which the ntial to the rring d e formed sense of ne time might last ead and hon ed church more so, home. it was to carry was at orm, wh ons to E obtained inal Bish n this co Orkney, nominal g stand n a for possess

session of the temporalities of, the See, without ing proper orders for the office, and sometimes hout any orders at all. But they had like- e one real, duly ordained Bishop on their side, exander Gordon, of the family of Huntly, who l been first designed for the See of Glasgow, t being set aside by the Pope who preferred mes Beton, was by way of amends honoured t with the empty title of Archbishop of Athens, l then provided to the Bishoprick of the Isles 1553, from whence he was chosen for Gallo- on the death of Bishop Durie in 1558, and that station sat as one of the spiritual estate the late Parliament.

It is true, these nominal Bishops, even with Bi- p Gordon at their head, might not have been ough sufficient to have duly founded a re- rmed Episcopal church after the truly primi- e model. But our reformers were now in fair way of being assisted in the polity of the urch, as they had been in the affairs of state, om England, if they had been as solicitous out the one as they were about the other. his requires to be more particularly accounted t, as the last view we took of church-matters the neighbouring kingdom was far from pro- ising any such friendly aid to the cause of re- rmation. The Popish Mary, who had succeed- l her Protestant brother Edward in the year 553, had early begun to discover her attach- ment to the exploded rites, and her indigna- on at the usage her mother Catharine had met ith. Some of the Bishops who had renounced e Pope under Henry's strait reins, and had egun to boggle a little under the lax govern- ment of the young Edward, such as Gardiner

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 Keith's Ca-
talogue,

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of Winchester, Bonner of London, &c. nevered about to the old point, and openly declared the sentiments which they had all along kept lurking in their hearts. Such of that order as were sincere in their professions, and stedfastly adhered to the reforming scheme which all had once concurred in, either provided for their safety by a timely flight out of the kingdom, or if they staid, under the insidious colour of public disputation with their adversaries, were apprehended and thrown in prison. The first public thing that Mary did, was to send for Cardinal Pool, a distant relation of the royal family to whom Henry had once given a pension for carrying on his education, but had withdrawn it, and got him attainted in Parliament for publishing a virulent invective against him on his rupture with Rome. Upon this welcome invitation, Pool came over in 1554, fortified with the character of Pope's Legate, and the next year after having his attainder reversed by a Parliamentary decree, he in the Pope's name and authority absolved the whole nation of England from their guilt of schism and apostacy in the two late reigns, and solemnly reconciled them to the Apostolic See. And here let it be observed that all this time, and at the performance of this so capital and peculiar act of spiritual function, this Cardinal Legate, who had already been one of the three Presidents in the council of Trent, was only in Deacon's orders, and was not advanced to the high order of Bishop till some time after this, by three English Bishops, Heath, Bonner, and Hodgkins. This was one of the many new devices which the Popes had invented to sink the dignity of their brethren Bishops, deck

Sec. no. 1. Deacons, the lowest of the three Aposto-
 degrees, with red hats and affected titles, and
 thereby exalting them above those, who, by ori-
 ginal institution and ancient practice, were their
 superiors. So many co-operating causes do we
 find in this corrupt system of Popery towards
 that disregard of, and departure from, the Apo-
 stolic plan of Episcopacy, which now so unhappily
 prevailed.

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After this parade of reconciliation was over,
 the old burning business was renewed. And
 for Pool was a good natured, humane man,
 and was once thought a little favourable to the
 puritans, to whom his house, when abroad,
 was always open, yet the impetuous and time-
 serving zeal of Gardiner and Bonner, taking hold
 of the Queen's bigotry and sourness of temper,
 brought numbers to the flames from different
 parts of the kingdom. * It is somewhat surpris-
 ing, notwithstanding of the Queen's forwardness
 in having the church in England resettled upon
 the old footing, Archbishop Cranmer the Pro-
 vident Metropolitan should have been spared so
 long; for he suffered not till March 1556, and
 the See of Canterbury was not disposed of till
 his death. The expedient of lay-deprivation had
 then, it seems, been then thought of, tho' it was
 a wonder that the Pope's Bulls had not been
 applied to, or the hated Archbishop put out of

It has been computed that in this combustion there perished
 Bishops, Cranmer of Canterbury, Ridley of London, La-
 tier of Worcester, Hooper of Gloucester, and Ferrers of St.
 Asaphs, twenty one inferior clergymen, eight lay-gentlemen,
 four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, fifty five women,
 and four children. Enough and more than enough to disgrace
 the annals and blacken the memory of any people who went by
 the sacred name of christian.

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1558.

the way sooner: However, now upon his death Pool was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and every thing, except the best part of the old temporalities, which to the Pope's great disgust, Queen still kept hold of, seemed to be in flourishing and prosperous a train as could have been wished. But this fair prospect did not long. For in little more than two years Queen died, and Pool did not survive her many hours. Her sister Elizabeth, who had been frequently in danger, but had still been preserved more from maxims of state-policy than any other consideration, was immediately proclaimed without the least disturbance, and crowned about six months after. The See of Canterbury, which the cruelty of Mary had opened for Pool, was now vacant by the hand of nature, if not of providence, and was canonically filled with Dr. Matthew Parker, who had been Dean of Lincoln at Edward's time, and on his nomination to Canterbury, was on the 17th of December 1559 consecrated in Lambeth chapel by the four surviving reformed Bishops, William Barlow formerly of Bath, now elect of Chichester, John Scory formerly of Chichester, now elect of Hereford, Miles Coverdale of Exeter, and John Hodgkin formerly of Bedford, who had all of them received Episcopal character, thro' the same hands as some of the greatest Bishops in Queen Mary's time. *

* About forty years after this, a foolish story was trumped up under the ridiculous title of the Nag's-head consecration, to which the people believe, that the solemnity was performed clandestinely in a farcical way in a common tavern, which has been again confuted, in a more serious manner indeed, and with more strength of demonstration, than the weakness of the calumny the character of its author, deserved.

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Now from this short sketch of the posture of LETTER
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 affairs in England, it is manifest that our reformers might have been easily assisted in modelling the Scottish church, upon a much nearer resemblance to the original plan, than that mixed polity scheme, which they were induced to set in imitation of it. Yet so far were they from hiring any such foreign assistance, that they even did not make a proper use of what few helps their own country afforded them. For that very shop Gordon of Galloway, who had declared for them, and appears in his subsequent behaviour to have been as hearty, on what might be called the church side of the question, as any of them, tho' in end he differed from the great body of them in politics, yet tho' a Bishop he was assisted by in the nomination of superintendents or chief ministers, and the superintendency of the West where his diocese lay, was given to an obscure Franciscan Friar of that country, John Willocks. Not only so, but when the Bishop desired, in one of their assemblies to be admitted into that society, he was put off with a limited sort of commission for the purpose of visitation, and at another time, on some vague accusation, was even suspended for a while from the exercise of the ministry in any shape. So jarring and incongruous in its constitution is this new polity of a church, and so little encouragement had even the most primely inclined Bishops, to accede to it, notwithstanding of that appearance of regard to prelacy which the flattering sound of *superintendency* carried along with it. Yet such as it is, we must in our historical narration put up with it for a while: And to this narration I shall very soon proceed. Only, before I begin to look into the general

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neral assemblies of the reformed kirk of Scotland it may not be improper to take another view of the great general assembly of the Pope's kirk at Trent.

We had left the fathers of that council frightened away by the approach of the Protestant Maurice of Saxony, with a numerous body of troops in the year 1552. After which, in terms of a treaty of Passaw, the religious differences in Germany were debated between the Emperor's agents and the Protestants, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, and to little purpose; till upon Charles's resignation in 1556, his brother Ferdinand, who succeeded him in the Empire, and seemed to have been the honestest man of the two, came to some sort of terms with them a second time and again renewed his applications to the Pope for re-assembling the council, to put a final remedy to these divisions. Upon which, the Pope Pius IV. published a Bull in 1560, convening the council again at Trent, against Easter of the next year. However, because of the paucity of attendants at that day, the first session, which was the seventeenth from their first meeting, was not held till the 18th of January 1562, in which, besides common formalities, there was no material business done. In the eighteenth session there was a decree made concerning prohibited books, and an index of them drawn up: But it was not published while the council sat, for fear of offending the Lutherans, if they should have seen their own writings condemned. In the two next sessions the ambassadors from France embarrassed their proceedings a good deal, by insisting on some ceremonies, which were at last adjusted, and the council went on: And because it was desired that

the points of faith should not be handled till the
 Protestants were heard with their objections, this
 matter was deferred till another meeting. In the
 mean time, the ambassadors from the Emperor
 and the King of France, from Hungary and Bo-
 hemia, and from the Duke of Bavaria, all propos-
 ed that, for gaining the Protestants, communion
 of both kinds should be allowed, and the proposal
 was debated in several meetings. Yet notwith-
 standing of this powerful interposition, an eva-
 ngelical decree passed in the twenty first session,
 that "it was a matter of faith to believe that com-
 municating in one kind, as to the laity and
 clergy who do not consecrate, is sufficient to
 salvation." And so, without taking further
 notice of this so pressing and long complained of
 grievance, they went on to define the sacrifice of
 the mass, which in the twenty second session is
 declared to be "a sacrifice propitiatory for the
 living and for the faithful departed, offered to
 God alone, tho' sometimes in honour of the
 saints, and out of regard to their memory."—
 In the twenty third session on the 15th of July 1563
 decided the doctrine of the sacrament of orders:
 In the twenty fourth on November 11th defined
 marriage to be a sacrament, but not preferable to
 virginity or celibacy: The twenty fifth and last
 session on the 3d of December established Pur-
 gatory, indulgences, and invocation of saints: And
 when they referred all disputes and contested senses
 about the meaning of their decrees, to the Pope's
 single and absolute determination. Accordingly
 the Pope soon after digested all these various de-
 crees into twelve distinct articles, which he added
 to the twelve articles of the Apostles creed, and
 published to the world under the title of *the Creed*
of the Council of Trent as the only standard of the

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Catholic faith, to be received by all Catholic people, and sworn to and subscribed by every clergyman on his admission into orders.

Thus ended this famous council of Trent, the last and consummating council of the Roman church, after having sat, from first to last, eighteen years, under five successive Popes: In all which time, instead of healing any one sore, or reforming any of those disorders which their own Emperors and Kings complained of, they rather confirmed and widened the Protestant breach by their stiffness and obstinacy, and drove up the contended point of the Papal supremacy to almost a greater height than it had been at before, if the several sovereigns of that communion had been as tame and submissive as their predecessors, and had not been taught, by Protestant examples, to stand more up in defence of their royal prerogatives than had been done in former times.

* The world has been favoured with two different histories of this council of Trent: One, under the fictitious name of Paolo Soave Polano, by father Paul Sarpi, a divine of Venice, and Provincial of the order of the servits (or servants of the blessed virgin, a religious order set up at Florence in the year 1232) who, at a time that Paul V. was contending about his powers with the republic of Venice, wrote a history of this council by way of answer to the insolent claims which the Pope was making upon the privileges of the republic. This work of father Paul's, by its candor and plainness in exposing the base intrigues of the Papal party for packing and overawing the council, was highly provoking to the Pope and his courtiers, but was well received by the Venetians, and indeed by the greatest and best part of the Roman communion: And such reputation was the man in, for sanctity and integrity that, after his death, the people prayed at his tomb, and they were expressly prohibited by Pope Urban VIII. The other history was written about 50 years after this first one, by Stefano Pallavicini, who was made Cardinal by Pope Alexander VII. in 1659, and to support the Papal cause in many things contradicted father Paul's account, but was answered by a treatise on that subject by

But while the controversy about reformation was thus carried on in an open and public manner, there started up a private and disunited sect, who, on the bare ground of their own reasoning and scruples, set up a new belief, not in any of the former controverted articles of the times, but in the grand, and then uniformly received article of the nature and merits of that blessed Person, from whom they still took to themselves the common name of Christians. This sect appeared first in Italy, where a Lælius Socinus and his nephew Faustus were bred, and have the honour, such as it is, of giving the distinguishing name to the whole tribe, tho' neither the most conspicuous nor the most active among them. For, cotemporary with them and of the same country, were John Paul Alciate a gentleman of Milan, George Landrata a Piedmontese physician, James Paleologus a Dominican of Rome, and fundry others, who, on beginning to vent their novelties, being forced to leave Italy for fear of the inquisition, took shelter in the Protestant countries of Switzerland and Geneva, but meeting with no favourable reception from Calvin and his associates, they went at different times and in different characters to Poland and Transylvania, where the civil broils and divisions gave them scope to publish their notions with freedom. Faustus Socinus had got possession of the papers, which his uncle Lælius had written on the subject of Christ's divinity, and these were the only materials he had to go to work with. This was a new field of contro-

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led the new Gospel of Cardinal Pallavicini: And to this day, the history of St. Paul is as the most genuine and authentic, has the concurrence among all denominations, except among the Jesuits and others of the Pope's creatures.

verly,

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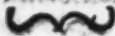
verly opened, where none of the dissenters from the Romish church had hitherto appeared, where these subtilizing gentlemen concluded might be attacked, if not with success, at least with some share of fame and reputation.

The old heresy of Arius, which had long made a noise, was now exploded and almost forgotten, and the reformers in the several parts of Europe agreed with Rome in the old catholic doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ. This Arius scheme therefore, Socinus and his companions thought fit to revive, with this improvement, to make it appear their own, that whereas Arius absurdly enough to be sure, would have Christ to be a sort of being between God and creature, or in other words, a created God, which carried inconsistency in the very sound, the Socinians maintained that he was altogether a mere man, and had no manner of existence before his incarnation; that all the design of his office was not to redeem mankind, but to instruct them, and that his death on the cross was with another view, and had no other effect, but only to be a pattern of heroic virtue, and a confirmation of the truth of his doctrine. In consequence of this, they denied the original pollution of nature, the necessity of grace, and the efficacy of sacramental institutions. They had other strange conceits about the immensity and omniscience of God, about the operations of the human mind, and the nature and duration of a future state. But these debasing notions about the person and offices of Jesus Christ, are the distinguishing tenets of the party, and make the capital figure in their writings, which are both numerous and useful. Yet they all continued for a while to per-

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Christ, and to worship him on the footing of LETTER
 being, as it were, a vice-god, invested with XXXVII
 sovereign power over all creatures: Till within
 few years after their first appearance, one of
 their disciples, Francis David, opposed this prac-
 tice, upon the unanswerable argument, that no
 worship or adoration ought to be given to a
 creature, however high or excellent. This man
 created much trouble to the sect, and split them
 into two factions. Socinus himself died in the
 year 1604 near Cracow, but the party did not die
 with him. They maintained their ground long
 in Poland, where they had schools, published ca-
 tchisms, and for some time engrossed most of
 the Protestant name. In Prussia too and Hol-
 land they had long footing, but were little heard
 of in England, till during the confusions of
 Charles the First's time, that a John Biddle
 preached and openly avowed their tenets, and
 suffered for them. After which, sundry others
 followed in the same paths, particularly among the
 dissenters from the established church. It is on-
 ly of late years that some of her clergy, seized
 with the infection, have broke off from her com-
 munion, and formed themselves into separate so-
 cieties, where their worship is conducted by a
 clergy entirely agreeable to their own prin-
 ciples. As error is catching, and novelty always
 spreading, it is probable we may soon have the
 Unitarians added to the many other sects of this
 divided country. It seems already a matter of
 doubt, whether the real sentiments of many among
 us be not conspicuous enough both for station and parts,
 so far distant from those of Socinus, as
 their character and outward profession would
 not bear out. I am, &c.

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On the Death of her Husband the King of France

Mary returns to Scotland—The two first

General Assemblies of the Kirk had been held before

she arrived—She issues Proclamations in

favour of the Reformers—Little Effect of

Condescension—Proceedings in the third General

Assembly—Augmentation of Stipends demanded

—Right of Patronage admitted.

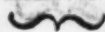
WHILE our reformers, after the parliamentary decrees in their favour, were busied in setting their affairs to rights, an unexpected event happened, in which both parties believed themselves equally interested. On the fourth of December 1560 died Francis II. King of France and husband to our Queen, who was now a widow, without issue, and only eighteen years of age. As soon as certain accounts of this important change reached Scotland, agents were dispatched to the Queen from both the contending

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ties, the Prior of St Andrews from the reformation, and Leslie afterwards Bishop of Ross from the other side, to secure the royal favour as early as possible, and counteract one another. Among the instructions given to the Prior he was particularly admonished "not to condescend that her Majesty should have mass publicly or privately within the kingdom, otherwise he would betray the cause of God to the utmost danger." The other agent was instructed to a contrary purpose; and both, we are told, delivered their several commissions with sufficient fidelity. The Queen of England too sent her compliments of condolence to our Queen, and at the same time demanded from her a formal ratification of the late treaty, which Mary, politely enough, and with great appearance of reason, evaded. Yet Elizabeth was so much offended, that she would neither allow Mary's envoy Monsieur d'Oysel to pass through England to Scotland, nor give the Scottish Queen herself any assurance of a free and unmolested passage to her own kingdom. This ungenerous behaviour made a strong impression on the mind of Mary, but did not retard her departure from France. She was accompanied to Calais by six princes of Lorraine, her uncles, and a great number of the French nobility of both sexes, and after tarrying there some days, embarked on board one of the galleys which the King her brother-in-law had provided for her. All the first day she kept her eyes still towards the coast of France, till the darkness intercepted her view. At night she ordered a couch to be spread for her upon the deck, and charged the pilot to awaken her how soon she returned, if the land of France was still in sight. As they had made little way during the night,

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night, when morning came, she had still the satisfaction of beholding the coast of France, and fixing her eyes upon it, as long as she could distinguish the land, she was often heard to say, "Farewell France! Farewell, beloved country! I shall never see thee more." At last the wind proving favourable, she lost sight of her dear France; and a providential fog contributing to her escape from the English ships that were sent to intercept her, she landed safe at the port of Leith on the 20th of August 1561. Such a happy arrival occasioned an universal rejoicing throughout the kingdom, and people of all ranks and denominations were eager to congratulate the return of a much extolled Sovereign, who had not been seen in her own country for more than thirteen years. But as ecclesiastical business is my principal concern, I shall now return to it, and only take notice now and then of such of the civil transactions of this agitated reign as are more immediately connected with the subject I have in hand.

The reformed society had already, under shade of parliamentary authority, held two general assemblies of their kirk: The first on the twelfth of December 1560, consisting of forty members, of whom only six are in the list of ministers, viz. John Knox, Christopher Goodman, John Row, David Lindsey, William Harlaw, and William Christieson. The rest are called *Commissioners for Kirks*, and seem all to have resided south of the river Dee. At this meeting the great business seems to have been, to give in the names of such as should be appointed for reading the common prayer publicly in all kirks, and congregations, and of those who should be found

urther qualified for the greater work of *Ministry* LETTER XXXVIII.
ing and Teaching, in consequence of which scrutiny
 e find in Kyle eight that were capable to be read-
 s, and only one "apt to teach;" and for mini-
 ing and teaching in Angus and Merns, are appoint-
 among others, John Erskine laird of Dun, and
 John Fullarton Laird of Kinnaber. The second
 Assembly sat down May 26th, 1561: And in both
 these assemblies application was made to the estates,
 who then ruled every thing as if there had been no
 sovereign, requiring idolatry to be suppressed, and
 sharp punishments to be inflicted on such sayers
 and hearers of mass as should be informed upon by
 name.

Thus matters stood in favour of the reformers
 when the Queen arrived: Who on the very fifth
 day after, by the advice of the Protestant council
 whom she had chosen, issued a proclamation, strict-
 ly enjoining all her liege subjects "that none of
 them take in hand, privately or openly, to make
 any alteration or innovation of the state of re-
 ligion, or attempt any thing against the same,
 which her Majesty found publicly and uni-
 versally standing at her arrival in this her realm,
 under pain of death." At the same time com-
 manding, under the same penalty, that no person
 dare to molest or invade any of her Majesty's ser-
 vants and French domesticks, in any place, or on
 any pretence whatever. It might have been
 thought that such a gracious and early instance
 of condescension would have satisfied the party
 and made them easy: But it had the contrary
 effect. The Earl of Arran, immediately and in
 presence of the very Heralds who made the proclama-
 tion, gave in a formal protestation that, notwith-
 standing of what thanks they owe to her Grace for
 allowing

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allowing the true kirk of God to go forward, "if any of her servants shall commit idolatry, saying mass, or being participant in it, this proclamation shall be no protection nor safeguard to them in that behalf, but that it shall be lawful to inflict upon them the pains contained in God's word against idolaters, wherever they may be apprehended, without favour." And John Knox, on the very Sunday after, inveighed bitterly against the royal proclamation, telling the people from the pulpit that "the Queen's single mass was more frightful to him, than thousand armed enemies landing in any part of the kingdom to suppress the whole religion." This rough and unmerited opposition, on his very first entrance into government, could not but vex the Queen, and prepossess her with an early disgust at both the persons and principles of such a discontented sect, who could so abuse such a voluntary instance of lenity and moderation, which she ran the risk of disobliging her friends of her own profession. For however little Knox and his followers might have thought this proclamation in their favour, or rather hurtful to their cause, yet Bishop Leslie, who was to the Queen a strict Papist and a loyal subject to his sovereign in all her fortunes, saw this action of hers in another light, and notwithstanding of his unshaken affection to her, laments it as the unhappy source "from which all the mischievous schisms, enmities, and seditions that followed in Scotland took their rise." Knox tells us, that for this sermon he was called before the Queen, who charged him with impugning her government in a formal treatise on purpose, and with continuing to stir up her subjects against her. To the first part

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which charge he answered, not by his former sub-
 fugue of the providential right, which he did
 think so necessary now as it was to pacify the
 Queen of England, but by boldly affirming that
 to this day he reckoned himself alone more able
 to sustain the things laid down in that work, than
 any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it." *
 the other part of the Queen's charge Knox
 avowed, that "subjects may resist by the
 sword when God gives them the power and
 means, and therefore he says, when Princes ex-
 ceed their bounds, to take the sword from them,
 to bind their hands and to cast them into prison,
 till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no
 disobedience against Princes, but just obedience,
 because it agreeth with the word of God."
 which were the arguments produced by this great
 man of the reformers, in his zeal against Pope-
 and arbitrary power. But was this the ready
 way, either by the nature of the doctrine, or the
 manner of delivering it, to open their sovereign's
 eyes, and reconcile her to the new scheme
 which they were so earnest to get universal-
 ly and thoroughly established? Yet so humane
 was the Queen, and so willing for the sake of
 peace to gratify these people, even by doing vi-
 olence to her own principles, that within a few
 days she emitted another proclamation charging
 and commanding her lieges, "that none of them

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At the same time he owned his having heard, that an En-
 glishman had written against that book, but he had not read him.
 The Englishman was Dr. John Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of
 London, who had been an exile for his religion after Edward's
 death as well as Knox, and immediately on Knox's *Blast*, as
 called it, coming out, published a *Harbour against the Blast*,
 in which he confuted all the Blaster's sophisms with great strength
 of argument both from scripture and reason.

" take

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“ take in hand to purchase or send for com-
“ sions from Rome, for confirmation of any
“ made of kirk lands to whatsoever persons, for
“ the sixth of March 1559, nor to use or proce-
“ upon any commission that might have, or
“ since that time.”*

A.D. 1561.

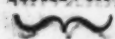
Notwithstanding all this compliance on the Queen's side, the preachers went on exclaiming on all occasions against her having mass privately in the chapel of her own palace, and in meeting in November, they proceeded so far to state and debate the question formally, “ Whether the subjects might put hand to suppress the idolatry of their Prince or not?” The preachers maintained the affirmative, and many of nobility pled on the other side. To determine which difference, it was proposed to write to Geneva for the resolution of that church, and John Knox offered himself for that service. But Lethington the secretary, who had a great sway among them, and pretended as yet to have a care of the Queen's interest, cautiously altering, as he well might, that much lay in the manner of information, undertook the business and so got the proposed application put off at that time. By this we see how gradually the influence of Calvin and his Genevan consistory was creeping in among our preachers, by the in-

* However little the preachers might think themselves obliged to the Queen, certain it is that these royal proclamations which then had the force of law, were by the lay-part of the reforming society reckoned so strong and secure in their favour that when the Earl of Huntly happened about that time to have a private conversation, that “ if the Queen desired it he would set up the mass in three shires,” the lord James took him roundly up, and told him “ if he made but a mint that way, he would put the Queen's proclamation upon him.”

and authority of John Knox, to the exclusion of the first proposed plan of reformation "according to the godly and approved laws of the Emperor Justinian," which Knox well knew would never have countenanced such presumption. In the present case, there was the less occasion for it, as not only by her acts of royalty, but even in private conversation the Queen was so far from expressing an inflexible bigotry to her own opinion, that there appeared about her a moderation and mildness of disposition, which if properly and gently managed, might have been turned to the very best account.

There had been, some months after her leaving France, a conference held by appointment at Meaux, a small village not far from Paris, about the religious disputes in that kingdom. On the one side were four Cardinals, near to forty Bishops, and some of the ablest divines in France. On the other side were twelve or thirteen Protestant ministers, with the famous Theodore Beza from Geneva to assist them. The King and his mother were present, and the controversy was fixed to two capital points, the one relating to the true church, and the other to the Eucharist. The Cardinal of Lorraine, on the one side, insisted that, as an indispensable preliminary to any accord, the Protestants should admit the reality of Christ's body in the Eucharist, in the highest sense the church had put upon it: On the other side Beza would by no means come in to that demand, and in the course of his explaining the doctrine of his church on this head he said, "that the body of Jesus Christ is as distant from the bread and wine, as the highest Heaven is distant from the earth." This expression so shocked and irritated

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tated the Prelates and Popish divines, that at that time, their spirits being mutually fretted, there was nothing but jangling and ill humour among them: And the Pope, not relishing such private and partial meetings while his general council was sitting, peremptorily discharged any further proceedings in it, so that after some months fruitless contention, the meeting broke up, as might have been looked for, without coming to a final resolution in any thing. Copies of what passed on the Protestant side in this conference were sent over to England, and one of them coming into the hands of Randolph, the English resident at court, he presented it to the Queen who, as Cecil tells in a letter of October 24th 1561, received it graciously and read it, with this modest observation, "that she could not reason, but that she knew what she ought to believe." In the same letter he says, that in a private conversation with our Queen upon these topics, she expressed her hopes "that the Queen her sister will not take the worse that she is not resolved in conscience in those matters that are in controversy, seeing it is neither of will nor obstinacy against God and his word." To which he answered, "he was glad to hear that of her Grace, that she was not wilfully disposed, and he trusted to her Grace and the Queen his mistress of good mind and accord in that as well as in other matters." And speaking of Knox's behaviour he says, "I commend better the success of his doings and preachings, than the manner thereof: His prayer is daily for her, that God will turn her obstinate heart against God and his truth, or if the holy will be otherwise, to strengthen the hearts and hands of all his children."

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and elect, stoutly to withstand the rage of
 all tyrants," &c. in words, says Randolph,
 terrible enough. How was this Princess, how
 any woman indeed to be pitied, in being at
 the mercy of such a man, who had such a sway,
 and was so violently prejudiced against her!
 She herself declares it was not obstinacy that
 agitated her, and yet he goes to God in prayer
 with a charge of obstinacy against her in his
 mouth. Was this praying in faith? Or with
 what propriety could he pray that God would
 change her obstinate heart, when his rough and
 characteristic deportment to her could have
 a tendency but to harden her still more against
 the truths of his, which, notwithstanding of his
 confidence, were in many points disputable,
 where they were true, might have been pro-
 ved with more credit to himself, and more good
 effect upon her, in a softer and more persuasive
 manner?

In December this year the third general as-
 sembly met, and among other petitions, presented
 to the Queen and council a grievous supplication *
 about a riot committed in Edinburgh by the
 Marquis de Elbeuf, one of the Queen's uncles,
 which I mention, only to shew how ready the
 members of these assemblies were to lay hold of
 every thing which they thought might affront or

The supplication cries out most lamentably, "Who hereto-
 fore has heard within the bowels of Edinburgh, gates and
 doors under silence of night burst up, houses searched with
 hostility, seeking a woman, as appeareth, to oppress her," &c.
 This woman, one Alison Craig, whom they make such a tragi-
 co-moist about, is said to have been a familiar of their friend the
 Earl of Arran's. The English resident, Randolph in a letter to
 Secretary Cecil of December 27th expressly says in modest lan-
 guage "the Earl of Arran is known to have had company of a

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distress their sovereign. In this assembly a petition was made to the Queen for due maintenance of the ministry, which she had promised to uphold, and which, they said, could not be held without it. It seems the zeal of their converts had not been warm enough to support the clergy, or they had still retained that part of the unreformed creed, that they could not be ministers without legal stipends. In compliance however with this petition it was proposed in council, that the beneficed clergy of the old form should give up a certain proportion of their revenues, for paying the extraordinaries of the Queen's household and maintenance of the reformed ministry. At this proposal the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with the Bishops of Moray, Ross and Dunkeld, in name of their whole church, considering that now they held their livings only at the court's good will, agreed with much hesitation, and offered a fourth part. But that being found not sufficient, they were obliged to yield a third, and in order to ascertain the value, they were required to give in a list and true rentals of all benefices within a limited time, those to the south of the Grampians before

“good handsome wench, a merchant's daughter in this town. And the first edition of Knox's history has it in plain terms, that the riot was committed “in despite of the Earl of Arran, who” where the said Alison was suspected to have been.” But supplication from the assembly takes no notice of Arran's connection with the woman, whether decent or not. It was the Queen's uncle that was the butt of their complaint. For Arran was once the godly, and had been so zealous as to protest against idolatry, so was not to be slandered with any such infamous traffick. This godly zealot, who had the vanity to propose himself for a husband to Queen Elizabeth, and upon seeing his own sovereign received hopes of obtaining her, having by his foolish conduct under a mask of religion entangled his father and friends in a dangerous quarrel with others of the nobility, turned at last distracted and after many years confinement died a complete idiot.

the 24th of January next, and all on the north
 against the 10th of February thereafter. In con-
 sequence of the several acts of council to this pur-
 pose, rentals were transmitted to court of all the
 benefices in the kingdom, two parts whereof were
 to remain with the beneficed persons, and the third
 part to be paid to collectors nominated by the
 queen, out of which her Majesty undertook to af-
 ford a sufficient maintenance for the new preachers.
 This appointment could not be very agreeable
 to the old possessors, and it was as little acceptable
 to those for whose benefit it was designed. The
 preachers declaimed against it as a corruption, and
 Knox said publicly of it in the pulpit, "that it
 could not prosper, for he saw two parts freely
 given to the devil, and the third divided between
 God and the devil."

Yet it might have been thought sufficient to
 keep them in some kind of temper, that the mo-
 dification of their stipends was put into the hands
 of a committee of their own leaders, and their good
 friend Wishart of Pittarow appointed to be their
 moderator. But, as the present historiographer for
 Scotland observes, "they found it to be a more
 easy matter to kindle zeal, than to extinguish a-
 varice; these very men, whom formerly they had
 swayed with absolute authority, were now deaf
 to all their remonstrances:" And no doubt it
 was abundantly mortifying to find their hopes frus-
 trated, and all their pretensions eluded, by those
 from whom they thought they had reason to ex-
 pect better things. Such of the old possessors as
 joined them, had interest enough at the court,
 which was long directed by a Protestant council,
 to get their thirds remitted to them, and none was
 more forward to obtain this remission than their

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Hist. p. 231.

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great patron the Lord James, for his rich Priorie of St. Andrews and Pittenweem; the Earl of Argyll too and the Lord Erskine came in for large pensions upon the thirds, and it has been observed that the most of the pensioners upon that fund were Protestants.* Yet they could not but know that the court had done all for them that they had any right to look for. They had now liberty of conscience, not only allowed them by connivance, but even secured to them by royal authority, and tho' the ecclesiastic estate had agreed to their reforming scheme, they had *them* sadly humbled, their powers crushed, their public worship silenced, and their own new form set up over the greater part of the kingdom: And to crown all their wishes, a provision was granted them out of the pockets of their very persecutors, and a provision too which, if their most zealous abettors had done them justice might have satisfied them for a while, and been enlarged, upon an increase of their numbers, in a peaceable and regular manner.

From this time therefore of an allotment of land being designed for them, however improperly managed for their behoof, they may in some sort be considered as a formed and constituted society, under their own officers, and possessed of something like a legal sanction. For to call this a church, in the old primitive and apostolic sense of that venerable term, carries more difficulty

* Besides all this, it seems, that the money received was not properly accounted for, and their own Pitarrow, who as comptroller, had the management of it, was so great an eyesore to them that they used to say of him, "the laird of Pitarrow was a good man, but the devil take the comptroller."

than the foundation which they built upon, puts LETTER
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 in our power to get over. The fabrick indeed
 which they raised at their first outsetting, was spec-
 ous and showy enough in some particulars of a
 semblance to the original building, as their su-
 rintendents represented the ancient Bishops, un-
 der a new Latin name, instead of the old Greek
 one. But still there was a fundamental defect in
 the construction, by the want of such a proper and
 essential mode of conveyance and succession as the
 pattern, which they seemed to copy after, had all al-
 together in the times of its greatest purity and sim-
 plicity proceeded upon. However, under all this
 defect, we must now take a view of them as if they
 had been a church, because from this time forward
 the society which had long born that name, gra-
 dually sunk into obscurity, and at last dwindled
 away almost to nothing. Only now and then
 a few of the Romish party appeared in its de-
 fence, and maintained a sort of running fight
 against their now authorized adversaries.

Thus in the year 1562, one of their priests, a
 man named Wingate at Linlithgow, published some fly-
 ing papers addressed to the Queen upon the sub-
 jects in controversy, acknowledging, in plain
 enough terms, and in the strongly expressive vulgar
 language of those days, the necessity of a refor-
 mation, but petitioning for it in a regular way:
 and some little time after, the same person challeng-
 ed Mr. Knox himself, and sent him no fewer than
 thirty three questions upon the disputed doctrines,
 requiring a satisfactory answer to each of them.
 But the people now in power crushed this tick-
 ling correspondence by a seasonable interposition,
 and the officious challenger was forced to flee to Ger-
 many, where he was made Abbot of the Scots mo-
 nastery

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XXXVIII.

nastery at Ratibon; and died in that station. To discourage further attempts of the kind, especially when it was seen that not only the poor Priests but even the churchmen in high degree were spared, when any transgression of the new law could be laid to their charge. For about the year 1563, the Primate himself, the Prior of Whithorn and some others of the dignified clergy, were cited for having said mass, and brought before the court of justiciary at Edinburgh on the twentieth of May, the Earl of Argyle, hereditary justice general, sitting personally in judgment, at the particular requisition of John Knox. The issue which was, that the pannels, rather than submit to a lay court, surrendered themselves to the Queen's will, who, to humour the prosecutors, committed them to prison for a while in different places, and afterwards released them by her prerogative, which gave great offence, and raised a hideous cry against her.

Thus the governours of this new church went on with as high a hand as their predecessors on the old establishment had done. In all their assertions, which for the most part they held twice in a year, we find the preachers insisting strenuously on two capital points which they never forgot, the destruction of idolatry, and the augmentation of their stipends. In this latter article indeed they were generally put off with good words and promises, which, as I said, their own friends at the court took care to evade, and on which occasion it deserves to be taken notice of, that they never scruple the right of patronage, which for of their pretended successors now a days cry out vehemently against. For in answer to an objection

tion. The made to their demands in the Queen's name, LETTER
 and, especially, that she could not think of divesting her crown of XXXVIII.
 poor Prie- patronages, the assembly of December 1563
 ee were declared, "It is not our mind that her Majesty or
 e new be any other patron of this realm should be de-
 bout Eab- frauded of their just patronages, but we mean
 Whitho- that whensoever her Majesty or any other pa-
 ry, were tron does present any person to a benefice,
 at before the person presented shall be tried and exa-
 the two- mined by the judgment of learned men of
 reditary the kirk, such as presently are the Superin-
 ment, at tendents appointed thereto: And as the pre-
 The issue- sentation of benefices pertains to the patron,
 than sub- so ought the collation thereof, by law and
 ves to reason to pertain to the kirk, of the which
 prosecuto- collation the kirk should no more be defraud-
 in differ- ed, than the patrons of their presentation."—
 by her o- which we see that the first reformed kirk of
 and raise- Scotland admitted lay-patronage, but reserved the
 church w- privilege of collation to the superintendent, who
 essors on this particular was vested with all the power
 their assen- or claimed by any Bishop. It is also worthy of
 twice in observation, that, in their assembly held in Decem-
 nuously 1563, when "for avoiding confusion in rea-
 age, on- soning, it was agreed that a moderator should be
 forgot, appointed to moderate in every assembly, Mr.
 mentation John Willock superintendent of the West was
 indeed the first they appointed to that office." In the
 rds and subsequent assemblies held for several years, little
 friends ab- business was transacted than what related
 which oc- to the planting of kirks and punishing of offen-
 of, that in- s; in both which cases they had many diffi-
 which for- ties to struggle with, from the feeble and yet
 ys cry out- reformed state of their society. But it was not
 to an ob- before they obtained a considerable acqui-
 sition of strength and confidence, from a strange
 revolution

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revolution in the publick affairs of the nation which in my next letter I shall proceed to lay before you.

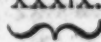
Mean time, I am, &c.

L E T T E R XXXIX.

The Reformers encouraged by the ruin of the Family of Huntly—Various Proposals of Marriage to Queen Mary—She prefers Lord Darnly, and marries him—Birth of James VI.—Repeated Instances of Darnly's Misbehaviour—He barbarously murdered—The Queen marries Earl of Bothwell—Is imprisoned by the moderate Lords—Makes her Escape into England.

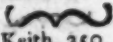
SOON after her arrival in Scotland, the Queen had bestowed the honours and profits of the Earldom of Murray, which had been recovered to the crown during her mother's regency, on her bastard brother the Lord James, Prior of St. Andrews, and had also intrusted him with great share of the publick administration. He had been from the first, a principal leader among

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the nation, and now by his high trust at court, LETTER
 and it much in his power to favour and support XXXIX.
 them in all their demands. On the other hand, 
 the Earl of Huntly, by his influence in the North,
 where Murray's new Earldom mostly lay, and
 by his inclining now more to the Queen's prin-
 ciples than to the other side, tho' for some time
 he had balanced between, and even trimmed a
 little with both, was a powerful enemy to the
 reforming interest, at least in the Northern parts.
 This created a jealousy between him and Murray,
 which either by accident or design, was inflamed
 to such a degree, that Huntly was driven to the
 unhappy resource of taking up arms in his own
 defence. At the same time the Queen was mak- A.D. 1562.
 ing her progress thro' these parts, and was pre-
 sented upon by those about her, to issue her edicts
 against Huntly, and to grant a commission to Mur-
 ray to pursue him. Upon this, Murray drew out
 the militia of the neighbourhood, and came up
 with Huntly at Corrichie, about ten miles West
 from Aberdeen, where an engagement ensued,
 in which Huntly was defeated, and being an old
 impetuous man, was trodden to death in the pur-
 suit. His second son John was carried prisoner
 to Aberdeen, where the Queen lay, and butchered
 by the executioner. His eldest son, who had no
 concern in the affair, was thrown into prison, and
 his family and friends brought to the brink of
 destruction. This disaster was a double advan-
 tage to the reformers, as it destroyed an enemy,
 and exalted a friend who now had the whole
 sway, and could manage and rule the Queen as
 pleased, without a rival.
 About this time the Queen, now in the prime
 of youth and beauty, began to be addressed from

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all quarters of Europe to change her widow-state and her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine had made several proposals to her, sometimes of the Emperor's second son, sometimes of the Duke of Orleans, and once even of the King of France her brother-in-law, in hopes of a dispensation from the complying court of Rome. This intelligence alarmed Queen Elizabeth, who had already conceived a pique at her for having in her husband's time assumed the arms of England, and for the imprudent demand which the artful Lethington had made to Elizabeth, immediately on Mary's coming to Scotland, that she should be declared apparent heir of the English crown. To prevent therefore such a rival's marrying again with a foreign Prince, and at the same time to entangle her conduct and embarrass her resolutions, she in an artful manner made offer to Mary of an English subject, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, a man of a worthless character, tho' at the same time a great favourite with Elizabeth. In this business Mary for some time saw it convenient to counteract Elizabeth's intrigues with an equal dissimulation, but at last rejected the proposal, when it was openly made, with the indignation it deserved. Our two historians, Knox and Buchanan, represent Queen Mary about this time as a foolish headstrong girl who minded nothing but sport and pastime, and had as little ability as inclination for attending to the public affairs. Yet the English resident Randolph, whom Elizabeth had placed as a spy about her, and who was far from being partial in her favour, tells in his letters, that "she for the most part attended the council board, and when she did, was employed in some female work, as sewing, embroidering, and the like." And in a letter

letter to Cecil, of the 8th of March 1564, he says, **LETTER XXXIX.**
 For expedition of poor men's causes, the Queen 
 here hath ordered three days a week, augmenting the judges stipends for their attendance, and sitting herself, for more equity oftentimes." Keith, 250.
 Which is an instance of her attention to charity as well as equity, that the two historians might, without any hurt to their character, have transmitted to posterity in her praise, amidst the many gross calumnies which they have recorded to her prejudice.

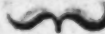
The next year the Earl of Lenox came upon the stage from England. This nobleman had been driven out of Scotland during the Earl of Arran's regency in Mary's childhood, and had taken shelter in England, where he was graciously received by Henry VIII. and married his niece lady Margaret Douglas, whom James the fourth's widow had born to her second husband the Earl Angus. Of this marriage there was a son Henry Lord Darnly, who in right of his mother and grand-mother was, next to Elizabeth and Mary, presumptive heir to the crown of England. In the father's return, a parliament was called to reverse his attainder, which had been an act of manifest injustice, and this raised a suspicion that Mary had some intention to marry his son. In February 1565 Darnly came down next, and presented himself to the Queen, who, it is said, was taken with him at first sight, as he was a youth of a handsome appearance and fine person. No doubt too, the consideration of his title by birth, and of his name and family, might have played with her, and meeting with the feelings of her own youthful heart, might have fixed her inclinations in his favour. But here again the

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cunning Elizabeth was at work with her artifice and dissimulation, protesting by her ambassadors against this marriage, at the same time that it is well known she was wishing it to go forward. The forming party at home likewise took upon them to be displeased with it, because both father and son at this time professed to be Papists; and the very men, both preachers and nobles, who afterwards were Mary's bitterest enemies upon Darnly's account, were Darnly's bitterest enemies, and fiercest opposers now. The Earl of Murray in particular, pretended his disgust at the match, sometimes in open language, and at other times by fullen and affected silence. But all had no effect. For in spite of the many hypocritical remonstrances from England, and all the disloyal opposition at home, she was married to Darnly by the Bishop of Brechin, in her own chapel at Holyroodhouse on Sunday the 29th of July, and the next day he honoured him with the title of King by public proclamation.

This marriage may justly be reckoned the first source of the many misfortunes, which either by her own rash conduct, or the malicious violence of her enemies, the unhappy Queen Mary afterwards fell into. For tho' the person she had now made her husband was outwardly of an amiable figure, he was proud and passionate, profuse and dissipated to an extravagant degree, and made most ungrateful returns to the accomplished Princess who had favoured him with the loveliest person in Europe, and adorned him with a share of her crown. It is no wonder that repeated disappointments, in a manner entirely of her own choice and from pure affection, flung her to the quick, and sunk that noble spirit of hers which had hitherto displayed such force

artifice and dignity. As soon as the marriage was
eternized, the malcontents, among whom her
favourite Murray was the chief, flew out into
open rebellion, and the whole remaining part of
the year was employed by their Majesties in pur-
suing the rebels from place to place, till in end
some of them submitted and were readily par-
doned, and Murray with such as adhered to him
fled to their old asylum of England, where Eliza-
beth, under a mask of disapprobation, secretly har-
boured them and gave them money. At home
Mary renewed her indulgences to the preachers,
who notwithstanding treated her and her husband
with continued insolence, and could neither be
quiet nor quiet while their dear friend was in dis-
favour. Yet the Queen kept up the just sense of
Murray's ingratitude, which she was determined to
punish in a legal way, and to that purpose had
summoned a parliament to meet on the twelfth of
March 1566: When lo, upon the ninth of that
month, a band of armed men, with her husband at
their head, broke into her chamber in the evening
while she sat at supper with her natural sister the
Countess of Argyle, and there in her presence
showing by, not only the reverence due from sub-
jects to a sovereign, but even the civility of gentle-
men to ladies, and the common tenderness of the
country rusticks to a woman in her condition of a
month's pregnancy, they brutally laid hands on
her French secretary David Rizio, a poor decrepit
foreigner, and violently hauling him out of the
room, barbarously murdered him at her chamber-
door with fifty six wounds. This horrid deed, so
odious in itself, and aggravated by so many in-
fernal circumstances, could not but cut any slender
thread of love and regard that the Queen might
hitherto

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hitherto have retained for a husband of such a position. But it answered the end for which was designed. The Parliament, in the midst of the confusion that would naturally ensue, was charged, and the Earl of Murray with his rebel associates appeared, according to a preconcerted plan the very next day at Edinburgh, where they boldly to the Parliament house, and took impositions of their being ready to answer to the demands which had been directed against them, which they knew none durst now appear to sue.

Mean time the Queen, by her own wise and prudent management, had got out of the hands of the conspirators, who had kept her confined in her own palace near two days in the utmost terror, and had escaped to the castle of Dundee with her husband in company, who now by public proclamation disowned his having any share in, or knowledge of the late treasonable actions, and thereby lost among all parties what little remainder of esteem or credit he had hitherto served. Here the distressed and agitated Queen was again prevailed upon, and in a manner obliged to take Murray into favour, and once more threw herself under the influence of a man whom it was impossible, after what had already happened, that she could either trust or esteem. Upon the change of affairs the new band of rebels found it prudent to decamp and provide for themselves. The most of them took shelter as usual, in England, and John Knox the dictator of Edinburgh, as in his own phrase was, "stept west to Kyle," his usual sanctuary on any dangerous emergency, there taking guilt upon himself of his having been, not a contriver, at least an abettor of the business.

murder. And indeed this suspicion, heavy LETTER XXXIX.
 is upon his character, is justified by his
 account of it, which he concludes with ob-
 serving, that "by the death of David, the noble-
 men were relieved of their trouble, and restor-
 ed to their places and rooms, and likewise the
 church reformed, and all that professed the
 gospel within this realm, after fasting and
 prayer, were delivered and freed from the ap-
 parent dangers that were like to have fallen
 upon them." Great things these, to be sure,
 all effectuated by the murder of a friendless
 stranger, and that murder executed on a Saturday
 eve, by way of preparation for the work of the
 morrow, which Knox says was the second Sunday
 of their fast in Edinburgh; a fast indeed, which
 this bloody scene in the midst of it, seems
 to answer too well the description reprobated by
 the prophet, of fasting "for strife and debate, and
 to smite with the fist of wickedness." And yet,
 useful as Knox is for the deliverance of so
 many professors by this murder, which he dimi-
 nely calls "the death of David," he is forced
 to own that an equal number of as zealous pro-
 fessors were by it thrown into the very same dan-
 ger from which the others had been delivered.
 The Queen having thus by her own address
 surmounted this dangerous storm, returned to Edin-
 burgh in April, and took up her lodgings in the
 castle, where upon the nineteenth of June 1566 she
 brought to the great joy of all her dutiful subjects,
 a son, in whose person the two
 kingdoms of Scotland and England were at last hap-
 pily united, and in whose posterity they continue
 to this day. The news of this joyful event was
 immediately announced to all the neighbouring Prin-
 ces,

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ces, and was received, wherever it was notified with great satisfaction. But the Queen's own future in it was much abated by repeated instances of her husband's increasing misbehaviour. A letter from the privy council of Scotland to the Queen-mother of France, dated October 8th 1567, and sent in their names by Secretary Lethington to the Archbishop of Glasgow, they lamented the King's imprudence and obstinacy in resolving to leave the kingdom, notwithstanding of all the Queen's intreaties and condescensions, to persuade him and bring about a reconciliation. Even Knox himself represents him in no very agreeable light; and as one instance of his impertinent fury, which the Queen could not but be displeased with when it came to her knowledge, he tells us, "the King wrote to the Pope and to the King of Spain and France, complaining of the state of the country, which was all out of order because the mass and popery were not again erected, and laying the whole blame thereof on the Queen, as not managing the Catholic religion aright." In this perplexing situation of domestic concerns, the Queen, still mindful of the affairs of state, went a progress, attended by the French ambassador Le Croc, and the lords of council, of whom Murray was one, to the border about the end of October, and there fell into a dangerous fever at Jedburgh, which kept her in the great fear of her court, more than a week in all which time Le Croc complains, in his letter to France, that her husband came little near her. But it pleased God that she recovered of her sickness, and having settled matters on the borders, she returned with her retinue towards Jedburgh, but by the way took up her residence

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the house of Craigmillar, where she proposed to LETTER
 lay till the baptism of the Prince, which was fix- XXXIX.
 ed to the middle of December.

While she lay at this house, Lethington in pre-
 sence of the four Earls of Huntly, Argyle, Murray,
 and Bothwell, made a proposal to her that, if she
 should be pleased to pardon the Earl of Morton,
 the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and the rest
 of Rizio's murderers, they then present should
 and means with the rest of the nobility to bring
 about a divorce between her and her husband,
 without her having any hand in it. The four
 Earls supported the Secretary's motion, and the
 Queen acquiesced in it only on two conditions,
 that the divorce should be gone about lawfully,
 and that it should no way prejudice her son,
 otherwise she would endure all torments rather
 than give her consent." Upon which the cun-
 ing secretary having used some dark and ambi-
 guous expressions, she positively answered in some
 heat, "I will that ye do nothing whereby any
 spot may be laid to my honour or conscience,
 and therefore I pray you let the matter be in
 the state that it is, abiding till God of his
 goodness put remeid thereto, lest ye, believing
 to do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt
 and displeasure." Towards the time appoint-
 ed for the baptism, the Queen and court moved
 to Stirling, and there on the fifteenth of Decem-
 ber, the foreign ambassadors being all arrived, the
 royal infant was baptized with great pomp, and
 with all the rites of the Romish church, by the
 archbishop of St. Andrews, and his name and
 titles proclaimed to the people by the heralds with
 sound of trumpet, "Charles-James James-Charles,
 Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Roth-

Keith, 353.

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“ say, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and
 “ Baron of Renfrew.” It has been charged
 upon the Queen as an unpardonable crime, that
 her husband was not present at this solemnity, and
 her enemies are pleased to assign some very ridiculous
 reasons for it. But if what Camden tells us be true,
 that Queen Elizabeth, who was always contriving to
 embroil matters here, had strictly enjoined her
 ambassador the Earl of Bedford, that neither he nor
 any one of his retinue should give the title or honours
 of King to Lord Darnley upon that account, no
 doubt it was thought proper that he should not
 appear at the baptism, because it would have been
 inconsistent with the Queen’s honour to have the
 regal title refused him at their own court, and it was
 necessary at that juncture not to quarrel with the
 Queen of England.

Keith, 360.

Soon after this solemnity, the King in one of
 his discontented moods went to Glasgow, where
 he was seized with a dangerous distemper, and con-
 tinued in a languishing way for some weeks. On
 hearing of this, the Queen took journey from
 Edinburgh to Glasgow, and abode with him some
 days, cherishing and comforting him by all the
 means she could think of. This, with the help of
 proper medicines, began by degrees to work a
 recovery: to perfect which, and for the convenience
 of the best physicians, she got him transported in
 a litter to Edinburgh, and lodged in a house in the
 suburbs for the benefit of good air, near to where
 the college now stands, where she continued to
 look carefully after his health, and attended him
 as frequently as the cares of government would
 permit. But he had not been in this lodging
 two weeks, when upon Monday the tenth of February

about one or two in the morning, the house was
own up with powder, and his body found lying
ed on the ground at some distance, without any
rk of violence upon it. Such was the miserable
of this unhappy youth, who, had it not been
his own cross humour, and the cursed insinua-
ns of a set of artful seducers who made a prey
him, might have enjoyed all the honour and
opiness that could be looked for, from the situa-
n to which he had been unexpectedly raised.
Immediately the news of this tragical affair
nt abroad, and various conjectures were enter-
ed about it. Many were ready to charge the
els of Morton and Murray with it. Some had
assurance to blast even the Queen's reputation
h it: But the general suspicion was against
the Earl of Bothwel, and papers were put up in
eral places, accusing him of the murder, and
ning his accomplices. The Earl of Lenox by
ters pushed the Queen for a speedy and vigo-
as prosecution of it, which she undertook to for-
rd, as soon and as duly as law would permit.
the twelfth of April was fixed for the trial of
the Earl of Bothwel, and a court of justiciary
th the accustomed formalities was held that day,
which Bothwel appeared as pannel, and be-
put to an assize was acquitted by an una-
nious verdict of the whole fifteen, not because
any designed blunder in the libel, as has been
iliciously alledged, but as the jury express
mselves, "because it was neither proved by wit-
nesses nor notified to be probable accusation."
Two days after this the Parliament met, and was
ed by commissioners, at the head of whom is
John Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate of
our kingdom and Legate born." And yet the

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first act of this Parliament is concerning religion and for security of the new form. On the nineteenth it rose, and either that day or the next bond was signed by a number of the nobility in favour of the Earl of Bothwel, bearing testimony to his acquittal of the King's murder, recommending him as upon many accounts a proper husband to the Queen, and pledging their joint assistance in defence of that marriage, "as they shall answer to God, and upon their fidelities and consciences, and in case they do in the contrary never to have reputation or credit in any time hereafter, but to be accounted unworthy and faithless traitors."

This was the most hellish trap, that could have been laid for the poor destitute Queen's ruin. And into this trap, either by misfortune or her own imprudence, she fell. For on the fifteenth of May next, after some previous measures taken with that view, all which may be considered as deviations from her former character, she was married to the Earl of Bothwel by Adam Bothwel the titular Bishop of Orkney of the new form, who afterwards became one of her most violent enemies and bitterest accusers in England. This was the fatal step that completely ruined her person, peace, and reputation: a step which, with all the palliations that may be offered for it (as many such, to be sure, it may admit of,) cannot fully vindicated. Indeed it can hardly be accounted for, much less excused, but by attributing to a certain dejection and debasement of spirit, which the unworthy and unmerited usage she had suffered for two years might have occasioned in a woman; and which seems for a while to have interrupted that penetration and foresight of which

till now given most conspicuous proofs, and af-
 wards displayed with amazing and admired
 re. LETTER
XXXIX.
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 But whatever may be said for or against this Melvil's  
Memoirs.  
 riage, the effects of it were both sudden and  
 entable: She soon had cause to repent her  
 nels, and the very man for whom she had both  
 bled and cast herself away, behaved to her  
 so provoking a manner, that she was often  
 rd, in the bitterness of anguish, to threaten  
 own destruction. To add to her misfortunes,  
 less than three weeks, her old enemies, and  
 e even of those who had so lately signed the  
 ve-mentioned bond, with the newly pardoned  
 el Morton at their head, took hold of this  
 riage with the suspected murderer of her hus-  
 d, to associate themselves under pretence of  
 enging that murder, and preserving the young  
 nce: And having gathered a body of men and  
 essed themselves of the city of Edinburgh, they  
 rched out on the fifteenth of June against the  
 een and Bothwel, who had also a considerable  
 y, and came up with them at Carberry-hill.  
 re the Queen, averse from the shedding of blood,  
 l trusting to Kirkaldy of Grange, who from the  
 ociated Lords gave her many fair promises, dis-  
 ssed her army, and surrendered herself to Grange,  
 o, with great professions of reverence, led her  
 horseback to his party. This was all they  
 ed at: For no notice was taken of Bothwel;  
 ostensible object of their indignation, nor for  
 days after this was there the least public men-  
 of such a man in the kingdom. That even-  
 they carried the Queen into Edinburgh, ex-  
 ed to the wanton insults of a tumultuous mob  
 opely collected on the occasion, and the next  
 day

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Keith, 404.

day, at her own desire they removed her to the palace of Holyroodhouse, where a serious consultation was held how to provide for their security after so daring and hazardous an attempt. To effect this, it was resolved to confine the Queen for life in the castle of Lochleven, the governor which was married to the Earl of Murray's daughter. To this fort she was conveyed in disguise that very night by the Lord Lindsay, the fiercest of all the party, and after a few days was stripped of all her princely attire, and clad in a coarse brown cassock. This done, they took an inventory of all her plate, jewels, and other moveables within the palace, broke up her cupboard, melted down the gold and silver, and converted all into coin. Not satisfied with all this, they dispatched their trusty Agent Lord Lindsay to Lochleven, who upon the twenty fourth of July by the same threats extorted from the solitary and friendless Queen a subscription to two papers of their own drawing, the one a resignation of the crown in favour of her son, and the other a commission of Regency to the Earl of Murray, both which she put her trembling hand to, amidst a flood of tears, and without reading a word of the contents.

Keith, 425.

In this melancholy confinement she was denied all the comforts of life. The French and English ambassadors, who were sent to mediate between her and her subjects, were not admitted to her presence. Her friends and servants were shut out from her: The Earl of Murray, when he came to pay her a visit, bullied her in a most brutal manner: His mother daily insulted her; and to complete her misery, she was reduced to languish in a most tormenting state of suspense about

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still uncertain what fresh barbarities, even to
 length of private assassination, might be con-
 sidered against her. Yet she still entertained hopes,
 as much as she could, formed plans of escap-
 e, which in end proved effectual. For in the
 morning of the second of May 1568, her Majesty,
 with one waiting maid, got out of the castle, and
 was conveyed in a boat to the south-shore of the
 Forth, where some trusty friends received her, and
 supported her directly to Lord Seton's house in
 Edinburgh, and from thence, after a few hours
 journey, to her friends at Hamilton. On this
 joyful news, great numbers of the nobility and
 gentry flocked to her from all quarters, and on the
 fourth of May entered into a bond of association
 for her defence, signed by nine Earls, nine Bi-
 shops, eighteen Lords, twelve Abbots, and ninety
 principal Barons. Meantime the Earl of Murray,
 who was acting as Regent, convened his forces
 with all diligence, and on the thirteenth intercept-
 ed the Queen's army, who were conducting her
 from Hamilton to Dunbarton, at a place called
 Redbank, not far from Glasgow, where a battle
 was fought, and ended in a total discomfiture of the
 Scots. The Queen herself, when she saw that
 all was lost, rode off at full speed, with a few faith-
 ful attendants, and never closed her eyes till she
 was full sixty miles from the fatal field. Then she
 took a resolution, contrary to the earnest intreaties
 of the loyal friends that were about her, to com-
 mit herself to the protection of her good sister of
 France: And accordingly, on the sixteenth, she
 took leave of honest Lord Harries, who never forsook her,
 and passed from Galloway, in a fisher boat, over
 the Solway Frith, and that same night landed at
 Berwick on the English side, from whence she
 went

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went to Cockermouth, and remained there till the English deputy assembled the gentlemen of the county, and conducted her in great pomp to Carlisle. Thus we have seen this unfortunate Princess, once the admiration of Europe, driven out of her own hereditary dominions by a junto of rebel subjects, and now landed, as she thought, in a safe asylum, out of the reach of their mercy. But alas! little to her comfort: For she was now fallen into hands, not indeed quite so savage as those she had fled from, but equally tenacious of their prey, and from which she could never work an escape, till a scaffold gave her the wished-for blessing. This is that strange Revolution which I said, placed our new church upon a seemingly more secure foundation, and gave them, from that time forward, a visible superiority over their rivals of the old form. We shall therefore leave the Queen for a while in her new sanctuary, and now the *Kirk* of Scotland improved the advantage which this Revolution held out to them. But I reserve this in my next.

Mean time I am, &c.

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LETTER XL.

*Proceedings in the Assemblies of the Kirk—The
Infant Prince crowned, and Murray declared
Regent—Account of the Regent's first Parlia-
ment, and Proceedings against the Queen—he
betrays Norfolk, imprisons Maitland—and is
himself shot on the Street of Linlithgow—Re-
flections on his Death, and Consequences of it.*

IN the General Assembly of the Kirk held in
December 1566, two things occurred that de-
erve to be taken notice of.—Mr Knox having pe-
tioned the assembly for leave to visit his children,
who were at their studies in England, he received
commendatory letters in ample form, and did also
advise the assembly, to take this opportunity of
writing to the English Bishops, in behalf of such of
the clergy as scrupled to wear the surplice, and
other clerical vestments of that church. Accord-
ingly the letter written by the assembly on this oc-
casion, is very properly made use of, to shew in
a favourable light the Superintendency in Scot-
land beheld the Episcopacy in England, as a pure
heretical church, “ who had renounced the Roman

LEITURR " Antichrist, and profest with them the Lord
 XL. " fus in sincerity, therefore wishing them the
 " crease of the Holy Spirit." Indeed, we are
 Keith, 565. told that this letter was delivered, and there-
 know not how it was received, or what acknow-
 ledgment of sisterly communion came from En-
 land, where Knox was well known, and where
 however useful his intrigues might be to the
 his principles could not be very acceptable to
 church.

The other affair, worthy of notice, that came
 before this assembly, was the Queen's having
 poned the Archbishop of St. Andrews to his
 mer jurisdiction, in confirming testaments, com-
 ing to benefices, and such other things as
 usually been judged in the spiritual courts; against
 which, a most vehement supplication was presented
 to the nobility, that they would prevent this
 Spotsf. 198. tempt " to cure the head of that venomous
 " which once, within this realm, by the power
 " hand of God, was so banished and broken
 " down." But whether it was owing to this
 plication, or any other cause, we do not find
 Primate exercising this restored jurisdiction,
 cept in the ill-judged instance of Bothwell's divorce,
 which opened the door to all the miserable con-
 ditions that followed.

Before the usual time of the next assembly,
 Queen was locked up in Lochleven. It sat
 on the 25th of June, and for eschewing confusion
 Keith, 572. we are told, the famous Mr George Buchanan,
 whom the Queen had given a large pension on
 Abbacy of Crossraguel, and who was now
 pal of St. Leonard's College in St. Andrews,
 chosen Moderator. Their great employment
 this meeting, was to cement the divisions which

Queen's present situation was like to raise LETTER XL
 among those of their own party. For many of the
 principal nobility, who had no good will to Bothwell,
 nor to the marriage, and therefore had
 never joined him or stood neuter on the first ap-
 pearance against him, now when they saw to what
 arrantable lengths the opposition was carried,
 what horrid inhumanity had been used against
 a betrayed Sovereign, declared openly against
 the unjustifiable enormities, and convened at
 Hamilton to concert measures for her deliverance.
 The associated Lords, who called themselves the
Privy Council, tho' they were only the four Earls
 Argyll, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, and the
 Lords, Hume, Ruthven, Lindsay, Semple,
 Auchmar, and Ochiltree, (for Murray all the
 time was abroad) being sensible of their own de-
 caying influence, and how needful it would be
 to bring over the other Lords if possible, wrote
 letters to them, intreating their concurrence to
 establish things in a perfect harmony. But the
 Lords at Hamilton, being at the time six Earls and
 seven Lords, of whom the greatest part were
 professors, as the style then was, would neither
 admit the messenger, nor receive the letters. So the
 assembly was applied to for their interest with, and
 authority over these outlanders, and John Knox,
 with other three brethren, were employed in com-
 mission, with letters from the assembly, desiring
 their punctual attendance in Edinburgh on the 20th
 of July next, when the assembly was to sit down
 again, and concluding "With certification to all
 and sundry, of what estate and degree soever they
 be, that compeir not, due advertisement being
 thus made, that they shall be reputed hereafter
 as hinderers of this godly purpose, and as dis-
 sembling

Keith, 575.

LETTER "sembling brethren, unworthy to be esteemed
 XL. "Christ's flock; seeing God of his mercy, at
 ~~~~~ "present, has offered some better occasion  
 "in times bygone, and has begun to tread  
 "Satan under foot."

However, this canting expostulation had no effect. These Lords were too wise, for their safety, to trust themselves in such hands at Edinburgh, and too much concerned for their Queen to countenance with their presence what was going on against her. They therefore sent their several excuses, at the same time declaring their unshaken resolution to abide by their Protestant profession and to adhere to and support the present reformation of the Kirk within the realm. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the assembly met on the 21st of July, and were joined by Morton and his associates, to give their assembly acts the sanction of the then pretended legislature, by virtue of which, sundry articles were proposed and agreed on among them; as, that the acts of parliament 1560 should be law in all time coming; that the ministers should be put in possession of the whole patrimony of the Kirk; that the horrible murder of the King should be condignly punished; that the young Prince should be properly educated in the high trust he was one day to execute; that nobility should beat down and abolish Popery, idolatry, and superstition, with every thing that may contribute thereto, and for this, to convene and take arms if need require; and that all Kings and Queens, hereafter in this realm, shall, before their coronation, take an oath to maintain the true religion now professed in Scotland, and to suppress every thing contrary to it, or not agreeing with it. These articles were subscribed by three of the

Edm.

is, and five of their Lords, (for Athol and LETTER :  
 ple, tho' the Queen's enemies, were Popish, XL  
 would not attend a Protestant assembly) and  
 several Barons and Commissioners of Burghs. Spott. 209.  
 This done, the assembly rose, and another so-  
 nity succeeded. The Lord Lindsay was by  
 time returned from Lochlevin, with the two  
 portant subscriptions which he had squeezed  
 in the captive Queen, and now a resolution was  
 en to proceed to the coronation of the Prince:  
 order to which, a messenger was again sent to  
 Lords at Hamilton, inviting them to give their  
 sence at Stirling on the 29th of July, for assist-  
 on such a solemn occasion. But they rejected  
 a proposal also, and retiring for security to Dun-  
 ton, entered into a new association for the  
 een's interest, and in opposition to these pro-  
 ceedings. Yet the ceremony went on; and upon  
 y 29th, 1567, the royal infant, little more than  
 ear old, was brought into the parish kirk of  
 Stirling, where, after a suitable sermon by Mr  
 Knox, and the coronation oath, as lately coined,  
 en by the Earl of Morton, he was first anointed  
 then crowned by the Bishop of Orkney. Mr Keith, 439.  
 ox, we are told, repined much at the anointing,  
 her as smelling of superstition, or because per-  
 med by a Bishop, to whose character it was  
 ought to belong. But if this was the cause of  
 Knox' grudge, he had the pleasure to see this  
 w honoured Bishop sufficiently humbled in the  
 y next assembly, which publicly deprived him  
 all function of the ministry, for the great scandal  
 had committed in marrying the Queen with the  
 of Bothwell, under which scandal he was as  
 ch lying at the coronation in July, as he was at  
 deprivation in December. Why this scandal  
 was

LETTER was not inquired into sooner, as there had been  
 XL. two assemblies since the commission of it, it  
 was easy to account for, if it was not with a view  
 to spare him, guilty as he was, for this present  
 vice, which they thought, it seems, could not  
 properly be done without him. However, the  
 being useful to the party, and ready to serve  
 turn, was, upon his submission, restored to  
 dignity next year, and thereby enabled to  
 in England, as a commissioned accuser of that  
 marriage which himself had performed, and which  
 at the time of performing, he knew to be as  
 furable as it could appear to him afterwards.  
 At this coronation, the English resident had  
 from his mistress not to be present, to give  
 of outward testimony of her disapprobation of  
 while, by her underhand dealing, she had been  
 instrumental in bringing it forward. It is  
 somewhat surprizing, that the Earl of Arbol  
 have assisted so actively as to carry the crown  
 state at it, when, only five days before, he had  
 sent advice to the Queen, by Sir Robert Mel  
 not to hazard her life, by refusing her subscription  
 to any paper that should be presented to her, assu  
 ing her, that nothing extorted from her by force  
 or done by her in prison, could affect her title,  
 do her any prejudice. Such duplicity and dissim  
 lation prevailed at that time among all ranks  
 people, and so impossible was it for the open  
 ed unsuspecting Mary to make her way, with  
 degree of propriety, thro' the many danger  
 snares that surrounded her on all sides.

Things being thus in so far prepared, the  
 of Murray, who, tho' absent we know not where  
 had been the great mover of all these bold machi  
 nations, made his appearance at Edinburgh on  
 eleven

month of August, and after having fed his eyes  
 in the sight of his now wretched sister at Loch-  
 na, was prevailed upon, by repeated entreaties  
 with much affected hesitation, to take on him  
 the office of Regent, which had been by such cruel  
 means procured for him, and which, on the  
 twenty second, he was pleased to accept, with all  
 formalities of swearing, and had his accepta-  
 tion proclaimed the same day at the market cross,  
 with a charge to all the lieges, "to give obedience  
 to the Lord Regent in all things, under pain of  
 treason." The first thing he did, was to pu-  
 ish an order, the very second day of his office,  
 calling in and destroying all the public seals of  
 the kingdom which carried the name and title of  
 the Queen. Then he bought the government of the  
 shire of Edinburgh from Sir James Balfour, a  
 man of a faithless one, of the Earl of Both-  
 well, and gave it to his old accomplice Kirkaldy  
 of Grange. He next got possession of the two  
 castles of Dunbar and Inchkeith, and demolish-  
 ed them both. Such of the gentlemen of the  
 shire and Lothians as he suspected of retaining  
 their old allegiance, were either summoned to ap-  
 pear before him and his council, or commanded  
 to enter their persons in such prisons as he should  
 appoint.  
 Thus the Regent went on, taking every me-  
 ans to distress and humble the Queen's friends,  
 and he thought proper to call, what is styled the  
 Parliament of James VI. consisting of four  
 archbishops and fourteen Abbots, twelve Earls,  
 seven Lords, three Masters, thirty commissioners,  
 burgesses, and five officers of state, in all eighty three  
 members. And here every thing succeeded to his  
 wish. His regency under the young King was  
 confirmed;

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XL.

Keith, 459.

D. cr. 15.

1567.



LETTER confirmed: The Queen's resignation was de-  
 XL. ed to be valid, and by one of the strangest blunders that could have entered into wise people's heads, and which to their public disgrace stand upon the records to this day, they declare, "the cause and occasion of the conventions by the Earls, Lords, Barons, and other true and faithful subjects, and their taking arms, coming to the open fields with displayed banners, and seizing the Queen's person upon the 15th day of June last bypast, and generally other things invented, spoken, written or done by them or any of them to that effect, from the 10th day of February that King Henry was slain, was all in the said Queen's own fault, in as far as by divers her privy letters written wholly with her own hand, and sent her to James Earl of Bothwell, chief executioner of that horrible murder, it is certain she was privy, art and part of the same." Now it is a fact that the most of the nobility here present, if not all of them, except Murray who took care to be out of the way, had, little more than eight months before this, given public testimony to Bothwell's innocence of this crime, and under their hands and seals recommended him to the Queen as a proper husband. But the great blunder, so glaring to common sense, is, that these Privy Letters, which are thus held forth as the original cause and foundation of all their proceedings against the Queen, were not, by their own confession, in their custody nor known to them till the twentieth of June, five days after they had seized the Queen's person, on which day the Earl of Morton, as himself judicially averred, on the twenty sixth, before two of his partners Athol

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ange, got them by some means or other into LETTERS  
hands.\*

XL

But to proceed: The general assembly sat down  
at the same time with the parliament, to be  
hand with their supplications, and to take care  
“the one thing needful,” the patrimony of  
kirk. Accordingly they got an act passed,  
that no other ecclesiastical jurisdiction be ac-  
knowledge within this realm, than that which  
is and shall be within this same kirk establish-  
ed presently, or which floweth therefrom, &c.  
and another for putting the article about the  
ords into execution, which, after all the fair  
misses that had been made them, was all that  
they could get done in their favour at this time.  
The Parliament too had long consultation what  
course to take with the Queen, and after some  
struggle by a few of the more moderate, it  
was concluded by the majority that she should be  
retained and kept in perpetual prison.

On the third of January four persons were ex-A.D. 1582.  
ecuted for the murder of Darnly, viz. Dalgleish,  
Spurn, Powrie, and Hay, all of them servants  
of the Earl of Bothwell, who tho’ they all charg-  
ed their master and themselves, yet none of them  
could be influenced to asperse the Queen at the  
least distance with any foreknowledge of it.  
On the fourteenth of February an act of council  
came forth, ordering the lead to be taken from

The forgery and infamous design of these pauntry letters,  
in which so much noise has been made, even by some eminent  
divines, to the prejudice of this injured Princess, have of late  
been fully proved by our ingenious countrymen Goodal and Tyt-  
and last of all by the English *Whitaker*, a writer of uncommon  
power and accuracy, and who has settled the point of Mary’s  
innocence, beyond all contradiction.

LETTER the cathedral churches of Aberdeen and Elgin, and sold for sustentation of the Regent's army, and charging the Earl of Huntly, as sheriff of Aberdeen, and Dunbar of Cumnock, sheriff of Elgin, with the Magistrates of the two burghs, and the two Bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, Gordon Hepburn, who were still on the Popish side, to assist and support the council's servants, Alexander Clark and William Birnie, in executing this scandalous and disagreeable order. The Queen, after her escape from Lochleven, fortified Murray power, which for some months he exercised with great rigour and cruelty on all who had appeared on the Queen's side, but especially against the Hamiltons, to whom he had long born a mortal spite.

\* A tradition is preserved about Aberdeen, that this William Birnie, having shipped a cargo of this lead for Holland, was with ship and cargo off the Girdleness, as a judgment, some day, on such sacrilegious traffic.

† An unlooked for affair put an interruption to his proceedings for some time. Our Queen, on her landing in England, had written again and again to Elizabeth, complaining in the terms of the usage she had met with from her rebellious subjects, and earnestly requesting her good sister's protection and assistance against them. Upon which, Elizabeth, tho' well pleased to see her hated rival now so much in her power, found herself obliged by all the ties of equity, and even rules of decency, to take notice of these complaints. Accordingly she sent a sharp message to Murray, whom she knew she had at her beck, telling him that howsoever he and others had forgot their duty to their sovereign, she would not neglect her sister and neighbour Queen, and therefore requiring him to send commissioners to give account of his proceedings against his Queen, otherwise she would restore to him with all the power she had. In consequence of this message, the Regent set out himself, attended by his associates Morton, Thrington, the Bishop of Orkney, and some more, and came to York, the place appointed, on the fifth of October. The

the chief of that family the Duke of Chatelher-  
 lt, who had been mostly abroad since the Queen's  
 marriage with Darnly, on his coming home,  
 wrote a letter to the general assembly, which was  
 then sitting, recommending such measures as might  
 tend to restore the peace of the kingdom. But  
 the assembly were so attached to Murray, that  
 little regard was paid to the Duke's letter; Only  
 the superintendents laboured to bring about a re-  
 conciliation between these two noblemen, who had  
 both been useful to them; and they so far effected  
 that the Duke came to Edinburgh, in company  
 with Lord Herries, who was still doing his best for  
 the Queen's interest, but on his refusing the con-  
 ditions which Murray proposed, both he and Her-  
 ries were committed prisoners to the castle.—  
 About this time the Lord Boyd brought a com-  
 mission from Mary, desiring that the marriage be-  
 tween her and Bothwell might be dissolved, and  
 she left at liberty to marry as she pleased. For  
 now the Duke of Norfolk, who had been Eliza-  
 beth's principal commissioner both at York and  
 Westminster, and in the course of the process had  
 seen undoubted proofs of Mary's innocence, was  
 also Leslie Bishop of Ross, with the Lords Boyd, Li-  
 ngton and Harries, commissioners from Queen Mary, and  
 the 8th both parties met before the Duke of Norfolk, and  
 some of the English nobility, empowered by Elizabeth to hear  
 and examine the cause, but restricted to leave the final determina-  
 tion of it to herself. The result of all this designed farce how-  
 ever was, that the injured Mary met neither with civility nor jus-  
 tice, and on the 12th of January 1569, Murray and his party got  
 licence from Elizabeth to return home, under pretence of provid-  
 ing for the peace of the country which, had Elizabeth been sincere  
 and upright, might have been as well cared for by liberating the  
 Queen as by dismissing Murray.

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A.D. 1569.



LETTER

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so taken with her character, that he began to form a wish, and even to entertain hopes of marrying her, in which hopes he was encouraged by some of the principal nobility of England, and these of Elizabeth's own favourites. Some hints of this, and of Elizabeth's designs against Mary's succession to the English crown, Norfolk communicated to Murray, who was on his way home, and stood in need of the Duke's friendship: And Murray, to secure favour, had promised his assistance and secrecy in the affair. But when, in order to pave the way for this project, the divorce from Bothwell was proposed in a convention of the states held at Perth, he not only got the meeting to reject the proposal, but was so base as to send a messenger to Elizabeth, with private intelligence of all Norfolk's views, and warning her, as a friend, to take care of herself in time: which was the means of bringing that worthy Protestant nobleman to the scaffold, and provoked the jealous Elizabeth to remove our Queen to Coventry, under the custody of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntington.

This business, which was so foully and fatally betrayed by Murray, had been much solicited and encouraged by his associate Maitland of Lethington, who, tho' he had hitherto gone all lengths with the rest in prosecuting and calumniating the Queen, yet now, either from conscience or compassion, or a natural bent he had to be still displaying his talents for plotting, began to veer about a little to the Queen's side, and to plot some distant schemes for her restoration. His new master Murray, who was as cunning as he, soon suspected something of this, and to be

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ged of him, employed a captain Crawford, a LETTER  
 ature of the Earl of Lenox, to appear before XL  
 council at Stirling, and openly accuse Lething-  
 while he was sitting there by virtue of his  
 ce as secretary, of being accessory to the King's  
 order. Upon this hasty charge, Lethington was  
 ed and sent under a strong guard to Edin- Spotf. 234.  
 gh, to be tried. But his friend Grange, ano-  
 of the party, and then governor of the cast,  
 rescued him out of the guard's hands, and  
 k him under his own protection. In what  
 view we shall behold this strange piece of  
 iness, it must exhibit the characters of those  
 concerned, in a very odious light. If Lethington  
 a justly accused, what shall we think of a man  
 o could in such a public manner prosecute  
 distress his sovereign for a crime which he  
 self stood guilty of? And how does it consist  
 in the character of the godly Earl of Murray,  
 have employed and been so highly obliged to  
 a wretch in that scandalous prosecution? If  
 in the accusation was unjust; what shall we  
 k of Murray, for taking such measures to ruin  
 an who had been so singularly serviceable in  
 good cause, for no other reason but because  
 began to see things in another light, and to  
 w some pity to the miseries of a persecuted  
 ncess, who was sister to one of them, and so-  
 eign to them all. But while Murray was busied with the thoughts Jan. 23,  
 this ticklish trial, he was, on his way from 1570.  
 ling to Edinburgh, shot thro' the belly, in the  
 et of Linlithgow, by James Hamilton of Both-  
 haugh, and died in a few hours after. A man  
 whom I shall only say, that after the most im-  
 al view of his character or conduct, it is ex-  
 tremely

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freemely difficult to discover, from what part of it was entitled to the honourable appellation of *good Religion*. It is needless to mention the provocation which, it is said, the murderer had with,† as if that could be any excuse for the barous action, since, in conformity to the precept of the gospel, it is certain, that no provocation can warrant or justify private and deliberate assassination, in the eye of that Judge who has said, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay." Only I take the freedom to observe, with regard to those who set up for a particular degree of purity in religious profession, that they would do well to press themselves consistently in all such cases, to talk of the assassination of the Popish Cardinal Beaton, or the insignificant David Rizio, with the same abhorrence that they do of the murder of King Henry Darnly, or the *good* Earl of Murray, all which were acts of murder prohibited by christian law, and to be had in equal detestation as all who assume the christian name.

By this unexpected blow, matters were thrown into great confusion. The Queen's friends continued to stir in her cause, and Elizabeth, who could easily have cast the balance on either side, made it her business to keep up the contest, by shew of friendly mediation. The Earl of Moray, who, next to Murray, had the principal management of that party, took the opportunity of a vacancy to call a meeting of his associates, which he got his old friend Lethington pur-

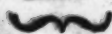
† Part of his estate had been bestowed upon one of the king's favourites, who seized his house, and turned out his naked in a cold night into the open fields, where, before morning, he became furiously mad.

the accusation given in by Crawford against **LETTER**  
 and "recognized as an honest man, and a **XL**  
 good and profitable member of the common-  
 wealth." The General Assembly, which was  
 about the time of Murray's murder, or-  
 dered the murderer, and all that should be con-  
 sidered of having a hand in it, to be excommu-  
 nicated in all the chief burghs of the realm,  
 if they had publicly prayed for Lord Ruthven  
 the other murderers of Rizio, when ab-  
 siding in England, as people in distress for  
 cause of God and religion. It was also or-  
 dered in this assembly, "that forth of the **Spott. 235**  
 thirds five thousand merks should be yearly  
 paid for furnishing the King's house, and the  
 kirk burdened with no further duty." At the  
 allotment of the thirds for their behoof, the  
 necessities of the Queen's house were first to be  
 provided for, and the overplus only was assign-  
 ed for them. But this scanty provision had oc-  
 casioned many heavy complaints, and now that,  
 by Murray's kindness, they had got the taking  
 of the thirds into their own hands, they assum-  
 ed also the liberty of modifying their benefac-  
 tors share, and were determined that whatever  
 came of the King's house, "the kirk should  
 be burdened with no further duty."

I am, &c.

**LETTER**



LETTER  
XLI

## LETTER XLI

*The Earl of Lenox declared Regent——he for-  
Dunbarton, and puts the Archbishop of St.  
drews to Death——is killed in Stirling, and  
ceeded in the Regency by the Earl of Mar——  
The Government of the Kirk new modelled  
brought nearer to the Episcopal Form——Aff-  
of the Kirk under the Regencies of Mar  
Morton——Innovation in the Government  
by Mr. Andrew Melvil——Rise and Prog-  
of Presbytery——The Raid of Ruthven appro-  
by an Assembly——Turbulent Humours in  
Kirk.*

July 12.  
1570.

**A**FTER some months of a continued struggle between the contending parties, the Earl of Lenox, the Queen's father-in-law, and her rigid enemy, was declared regent, who after his promotion, set aside Morton's purgation of Lethington, took the Secretary's office from him, and proclaimed him rebel. On the other hand, the Duke, the Earls of Argyle and Huntly,

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and others of the Queen's friends, held par-<sup>LETTER</sup>liaments in her name, and by her commission, <sup>XII.</sup> and directed "the Superintendents, ministers, exhorters, and readers, in their public service, to pray for the Queen as their only Sovereign, for the Prince her son, for the council, nobility, and whole body of the commonwealth." And wherever their authority prevailed, this direction, notwithstanding the assembly's prohibition, was for the most part observed. At Edinburgh, John Knox, rather than comply with it, left his pulpit, which was taken possession of by Bishop Gordon of Galloway. From Edinburgh, Knox went to St. Andrews, where he met with great opposition from two Professors of philosophy in the new College, who stood firm to the Queen's cause, and drew many of the students after them. So much did political principles, even then, separate people who agreed in most other points, and all professed an equal zeal for a religious reformation.\*

In this perplexed and divided state, matters stood a year or two, the Earl of Lenox, as Regent for his grandson, holding his parliaments where he best could, and the Queen's Lords

\* It has been said, that the protestants were all of them the Queen's enemies, and that she had no friends but among those of the old persuasion. But this appears to be a false assertion, since we find many of the papists among her bitter enemies; and on the other hand, some of her best friends and firmest supporters, the Duke of Chastelleraut, and his son the Lord John of Arbroath, the Earl of Argyle, the Lords Livingston, Boyd, and Herries, Gordon Bishop of Galloway, Carlewell of the Isles, and many others, were as zealous protestants, and as hearty promoters of a reformation, according to the current principles of the times, as John Knox and the furious party that were led by him.

LETTER

XII.



holding theirs with equal claims of legality, but with various success, according as the Queen of England, who had the balance in her hands, thought fit to stand neuter or throw in her weight against the Queen's scale. The most material advantage gained by Lenox in the contention, was the recovery of the strong castle of Dunbarton, which had hitherto been kept for the Queen by the Lord Fleming, but was at last surprized by Captain Crawford, and all within except Lord Fleming who escaped, made prisoners. Among them was the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had taken refuge in that fortress from the implacable resentment of the Earl of Murray, and now fell into as merciless hands. For he was immediately carried to Stirling under a strong guard, and there without any formal trial, but barely upon the forfeiture laid against him in one of their contendible parliaments, he was publicly hanged on a gibbet erected for that purpose, on the first day of April 1571. This was a silly and unmanly stroke of family-revenge in Lenox, who had the execution hurried on in such an unbecoming manner, lest the Queen of England should have interceded for the unhappy Prelate. There is some ground to suspect that Morton, who had been long gaping for the revenues of St. Andrews, and who managed Lenox as he pleased, had been the chief promoter of the Primate's hasty fate: For immediately upon his death, Morton solicited so strongly for the rich temporalities of that see, and, by threatening to leave the court in case of a refusal, so overawed Lenox who could not do without him, that he obtained a gift of them, which thro' all the various forms of polity that ensued, he took care not to part with.

Spotf. 252.

The possession of Dunbarton, and the death of Archbishop Hamilton, gave such spirits to Lennox and his party, that in the month of August he called a Parliament at Stirling, in which, among other things, an act passed that "all lands and possessions which had in former times been held of Priors, or Prioreesses, or of Convents of any kind, should from that time forth be held of the crown." The assembly now sitting at Stirling had got intelligence of this design while it was forming, and were not a little alarmed at it, especially after getting a letter from Mr. Knox, who was at St. Andrews indisposed, and could not attend them, in which he apprizes them of what was going on, and warns them, "as they would not be thought unfaithful to the Lord Jesus, to withstand these merciless devourers of the church's patrimony." To guard against this attempt therefore, and to preserve the prospect they had, of some time or other recovering these lands out of the hands of those who at present held them only by force or connivance, which they could not expect to do if once they were settled in the crown by law, the assembly gave commission to certain brethren, to go to the Regent and estates of Parliament, "humbly to desire and request, in name of the kirk, the granting of such heads and articles, and redressing of such complaints, as should be given in to them by the kirk."

But while this affair was in agitation, it happened that Lennox was slain in the street of Stirling on the fourth of September 1571, in a scuffle with a party of the Queen's friends, headed by Lord Claud Hamilton, who, to be revenged on Lennox for his disgraceful treatment of his uncle

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XLI.

Spotf. 258.



LETTER the Archbishop, had thought to surprize him in  
 XLI. his Parliament, and make them all prisoners.

On the death of Lenox, the Earl of Mar was immediately named his successor, and to him application was made for the same purpose just now mentioned: On which it was mutually agreed that a meeting should be held of a certain number from the kirk, and as many from the state for adjusting matters. In prosecution of this agreement, an assembly met at Leith in January next year, and delegated six of their own number to meet with as many from the council, "to treat, reason, and conclude concerning the settlement of the polity of the church." The delegates, after diverse meetings and long deliberation, came to this resolution, that the old ecclesiastical polity should be revived, only with such alterations as the change of religion had made necessary: That they who were to have the office and power, should have also the names and titles of Archbishops and Bishops: that the old division of the dioceses should take place, the patrimony of the church be properly applied, and every Bishop have spiritual jurisdiction in his own diocese. In a word, excepting the neglected article of the consecration of Bishops, which was strangely overlooked, every other part of the constitution now adopted, seems to have been pretty much on the plan of true and real episcopacy.

In consequence of this settlement, Mr. John Douglas, who had been chaplain to the Earl of Argyle, and was now Provost of the new college of St. Andrews, was nominated to that archiepiscopal See, Mr. James Boyd to Glasgow, Mr. James Paton to Dunkeld, Mr. Andrew Graham to Dunblain, and Mr. George Douglas to Moray.

of the other Sees had been filled before. LETTER  
 don was Bishop of Galloway, Bothwell Titular XLI.  
 Orkney, Stuart of Caithness, Hamilton of Ar-  
 Campbell of Brechin, and Carswell of the  
 none of whom had episcopal consecration  
 Gordon of Galloway, and some of them not  
 Priest's orders, yet acted, with consent of  
 assembly, and in conjunction with the old su-  
 intendents, who, as long as they lived, retained  
 name and office, in such branches of prelati-  
 power as were committed to them. How  
 Knox relished this regulation, we are not  
 He was now returned to Edinburgh, on  
 Queen's friends having left it, in terms of  
 hatched up treaty between them and the Earl of  
 ; but his influence seems to have been much  
 the decline. Besides, he was now grown  
 and infirm. The disappointments he had met  
 from many of his party, who made a very dif-  
 ant use of their power from what he intended,  
 sunk his spirits, and he died on the 27th of  
 ember, in the 67th year of his age.  
 This year, so remarkable for having introduc-  
 a name of protestant episcopacy into Scotland, A.D. 1572.  
 a melancholy year to that cause in France,  
 a general and unexpected massacre of the Pro-  
 ants over all the kingdom, which was cursed-  
 contrived, under a mask of kindness and re-  
 conciliation, by the Queen-mother, Catharine of  
 sticis, and in which the brave Admiral Co- Aug. 24.  
 y, and many thousands of different ages and  
 es without distinction, miserably perished. At  
 ne, the Earl of Mar died in October, and was  
 ceeded in office as Regent by the Earl of Mor-  
 , who after much intriguing, now at last got  
 to that pinnacle of power to which his ambi-  
 tion

LETTER

XLI.

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May 29,
1573.

Spots. 272.

tion had been long directed. The first thing he undertook, was to reduce the castle of Edinburgh, which had stood out under Kirk of Grange the Governor, against the three late regents, but was now, by the force of an army of artillery from England, compelled to surrender. Morton, who soon after condemned his old mate friend Grange, the best and bravest man of the whole faction, to be hanged at the market cross.* His other partner in iniquity, Maitland of Lethington, whom he had lately "recognised" "an honest man," and whose rare but misapplied talents had been so serviceable to them in dethroning and calumniating their sovereign, rather than be made such a shameful spectacle of, as his friend Grange had been, made away with himself by poison, and so avoided the ignominy of a public execution.

While Morton was thus carrying all before him, to the entire suppression of the Queen's cause in Scotland, the assemblies of the kirk were going on with great keenness upon their improved plan, still paying a certain degree of deference to the Bishops and superintendents, and putting the Regent in mind of their wants and grievances. And indeed they had need of all the wits about them to watch against his avarice and duplicity. He had with artful professional kindness, drawn the thirds out of their hands, promising to make the stipends of the inferior

* What an astonishing spectacle must this have been to the citizens of Edinburgh, who remembered to have seen this very Grange but a few years before, leading his Queen a captive, and delivering her up to that very Morton, who now, forgetting their former intimacy, was unfeeling enough to put his once bosom friend on the same footing with the vilest of malefactors?

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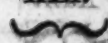
XLI.

local, and payable in the parishes where served, which he made them believe would be the surest way to effectuate quick and ready payment. But when by this deceit he had got possession of the thirds, he ordered two, three or four parishes to be cast together, and served by one minister, who was to preach in them by turns, and placed in every parish a reader to read prayers in the minister's absence, with a salary of ten or thirty pounds scots. The ministers too experienced greater difficulty than ever in procuring their stipends, and the superintendents were neglected, under pretence that by the institution of Bishops' offices was no longer necessary. To remedy these growing evils, the assembly in March 1574 ordered the Bishops and superintendents not to encroach upon one another's jurisdiction, and ordered that the ministers who were appointed to more kirks than one, should take charge of one only at which they resided, helping the others as they best could.

While Morton and the kirk were thus jarring one another about his encroachments on the ecclesiastical revenues, a new source of contention was opened, which has not been fully closed in Scotland, even to this day. A Mr. Andrew Durie had this year returned from Geneva, where he had studied some time under the famous Beza, and acquired a great fondness for the unity-scheme which had taken place there. Being a man of a hot fiery temper, he soon began to shew the warmth of his zeal in favour of the Genevan model, and prevailed on Mr. Durie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, to support the game he wished to pursue, by protesting in the assembly of August 1575, "that the
" trial

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“ trial of the Bishops might not prejudice
 “ opinions and reasons which he and others
 “ then had to propose, against the office and
 “ of a Bishop.” This was immediately followed
 by a long harangue from Melvil, on the deplorable
 ing state of the church in Geneva: In consequence
 of which it was ordered, that the question
 now proposed should be debated and resolved
 upon by three of every side, who came to
 conclusions as were in the main agreeable
 to the established form. In the next assembly
 at Edinburgh, in April 1576, the state of the
 tion was altered, and made to run, “ Whether
 “ Bishops, as they then were in Scotland,
 “ their function warranted by the word
 “ God?” But here again the faction was
 appointed. For the assembly, after much reasoning
 and disputation, adhered for the most part
 to the conclusions that had been agreed upon before.
 Yet Melvil’s party gained two points, which
 ed them in good stead afterwards. One was
 “ that the Bishops should be obliged to
 “ charge of particular congregations:” This
 was no doubt designed to cramp them in the
 exercise of jurisdiction over a whole diocese:
 the other was, an ill-timed message which
 was sent to the assembly, wishing to know, “
 “ whether they would stand to the polity agreed
 “ at Leith; and if not, desiring them to settle
 “ some form of government by which they
 “ abide.”

Spots. 276.

This was giving full scope to Melvil’s design
 and a commission was accordingly granted to
 delegates, of whom he was one, to draw up
 ‘Second book of discipline,’ which was set forth
 with vigour, and composed entirely according

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 Vol. I

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XLI.



directions which Melvil had got, and was still
 ing from his tutor Beza. However, two as-
 ssemblies passed, before this new system of eccle-
 sical polity could be completed; and even in a
 assembly at Edinburgh, in October 1577.
 ere was not one motion directly or indirectly
 out the lawfulness or unlawfulness of Bishops.
 t soon after this, a change happened, which
 ve them a better opportunity of carrying their
 sign into execution, than they could have ex-
 pected under Morton's administration; and that
 his resignation of the Regency, in one of
 sudden humours, and the young King's tak-
 ing the government into his own hands, tho'
 only in the twelfth year of his age. This
 is a lucky circumstance for the innovators:
 now they had got free of a deep and
 dangerous politician, who could neither be trusted
 nor outwitted, and had only the name of a King
 and a divided council to deal with, who could
 easily be managed, and either wheedled or bulli-
 into any measures. Under this feeble admi-
 nistration therefore they renewed their diligence,
 and step by step, under various disguises, pursu-
 ing their grand design, sometimes with conniv-
 ence, sometimes with a sort of discountenance
 from the changeable court, till at last they car-
 ried their point, and in an assembly at Dundee
 gave the deadly thrust to episcopacy, by a solemn
 bearing, that "For as much as the office of
 a Bishop, as it is now used within this realm,
 hath no sure warrant, authority nor good ground
 out of the word of God; but is brought in
 by the folly and corruption of men's invention,
 to the great overthrow of the true kirk of God,
 therefore the whole assembly an one voice

July 21,
1582

LETTER

XL.I



“ findeth and declareth the same pretended of
 “ used and termed as aforesaid, unlawful in
 “ self, and ordaineth that all persons who bro
 “ or hereafter shall brook the said office,
 “ charged forthwith to demitt, quit and leave
 “ the same, and sicklike to desist and cease fr
 “ preaching, ministring the sacraments, or a
 “ way using the office of pastors, till they rec
 “ admission anew from the general assembly,
 “ der pain of excommunication, &c.”

Were we to consider this solemn act in the
 teral sense of the words, and detached from
 design and principles of the enactors, some
 might be said in its vindication. It goes up
 the assumption that the office of a Bishop,
 “ then used within Scotland,” had no warrant
 in the word of God. And this restriction,
 having a certain speciality in it, is again rep
 ed in the next assembly, held at Glasgow in A
 following, where, when some of the brethren
 pressed their scruples at that part of this
 finding that the “ office of a Bishop hath no w
 “ rant in the word of God,” the assembly
 clare, “ that their meaning was to condem
 “ the estate of Bishops as they were *then* in Sc
 “ land.” It was not therefore Episcopacy
 general, as such, but that particular form
 fashion of it, now for political ends erected
 Scotland, which even this seemingly Presbyter
 assembly of Dundee condemn, as flowing fr
 the folly and corruption of man’s invention,
 having no warrant in the word of God. A
 indeed it will not be easy to prove from script
 that the office of a Bishop, as there describ
 could properly and warrantably be exercised
 any one at his own hand, without such pre

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and preparatory solemnity as the Canons of scripture had appointed, and the first ages in conformity to, and interpretation of these canons, had universally and constantly practised. And could the Episcopacy which was at that time used in Scotland, either in the entrance to, or exercise of the office, claim the apostolic character or pretend to any scripture-warrant?

But then on the other hand, what was that assembly which so peremptorily and magisterially pronounced and condemned this pretended episcopacy? Some assemblies might have done so, upon good grounds, and by sufficient authority. But what gave this convention that authority, or that warrant from the word of God could they produce for their own office and titles, any more than the pretended titular Bishops could produce for theirs? Or did they think it more unlawful and without warrant, to assume the name and office of Bishops, than of Presbyters or ministers? However with or without authority, the act passed, and that building which our reformers had with much labour been rearing for twenty years, was now thrown down by one bold stroke, and in its place was set up the equally unwarrantable idol of Genevan parity, which under the name of the Presbyterian kirk has made a figure among us ever since.

Yet all this time we have heard little or nothing of that essential branch of this constitution, the meeting called *the Presbytery*, from which the whole fabric seems to have taken its distinguishing denomination. Indeed the first book of discipline had undesignedly paved the way to such an erection, by appointing "that the country ministers and readers should meet upon a certain day of the week, in such towns within six

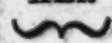
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" miles

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“ miles distance as had schools, and to which
 “ there was repair of learned men, to exercise
 “ themselves in the interpretation of scripture.
 Which was no doubt intended, and perhaps well
 ly enough, in that early scarcity of gifted men,
 as the phrase was, to train up and qualify
 self perfect by the conversation and instruction
 of the more learned, but without investing the
 meetings with any degree of power, or authorizing
 the least instance of judicature of any kind
 in them. Of this temporary appointment Melvil's
 faction took hold in the assembly of October
 1576, and got it enacted “ that all ministers
 “ within eight miles should resort to the place
 “ of exercise, each day of exercise.” They pro-
 ceeded a step farther in the assembly of July 1577,
 where they got it proposed “ that a general
 “ order might be taken for erecting Presbyteries
 “ in places where public exercise was used, and
 “ the policy of the church might be established
 “ ed by law,” to which the assembly answered
 “ that the exercise was a presbytery.” Notwith-
 standing this evasive and ambiguous declaration,
 there were no Presbyteries, in the modern extent
 of the word, within the kingdom, till the 30th
 of May 1587, that the Presbytery of Edinburgh
 was erected. Others rose up by degrees here
 and there afterwards, but they were not agreed
 to by the King till the year 1586, nor ratified by
 the Parliament till 1592. So long was that con-
 stitution, now flourishing under the title of Pre-
 bytery, in forming: Never dreamed of for the
 first fourteen years of the reformation, which
 first began with a superintendency, and then
 adopted an Episcopacy: Even when brought upon
 the stage by its Scotch parent Andrew Melvil,
 obliged to work its way for five years, and thro

assemblies towards a first approbation: And LETTER
 er this, moulding itself into form for twelve XII.
 rs more, before it was perfectly completed by, 
 at it now boasts of, a legal establishment.
 it may be wondered indeed how these innova-
 ns were allowed to pass so quietly, and as the
 ous act bears, with one voice. But the rea-
 was: The three surviving superintendents
 re old men, and wished to give up their charge,
 the new Bishops, who, whatever other defects
 y laboured under, were not wanting in parts
 capacity, were so harassed with personal inciv-
 es, and the rude behaviour of Melvil and his
 ty, that they gave up attending the meetings,
 ere they were so disrespectfully used, and left
 m to their own freedom. To such lengths
 Melvil carry his rough and impetuous zeal,
 t he proposed to the Magistrates of Glasgow,
 ere he had got himself made Principal of the
 lege, to demolish their fine cathedral, which
 madness of the first tumults had spared, and
 ould have effected his purpose, if the trades-
 n of the city had not risen in a body, and
 eateden with an oath, that the man who should
 t down the first stone of it should be buried
 er it. This coming to the young King's ears, Spotf. 304
 countenanced the opposition, and inhibited the
 ists who were for the demolition, from med-
 ng any more with it, saying "that too many
 churches had been destroyed already, but he
 ould allow no more abuses of that kind."
 What contributed very much to the encourage-
 nt of these turbulent humours in the kirk, was
 continual distractions in the privy-council, oc-
 oned by Morton's repenting of his hasty re-
 ation, and perpetually plotting to thrust him-
 self

LETTER self again into power. But in this he was
 XLI. ferably disappointed, and now felt a woeful
 just reverse of fortune. He who had been so
 and so violently active against the Queen, had
 given his oath and honour that she was
 guilty of murdering her husband, and who had
 more than once sat as judge, and a severe
 too, upon pannels for that crime, was, upon
 accusation given in against him to the King's
 council, himself brought to his trial before
 Peers for that very murder, on the first of
 1581, and being found guilty by the jury,
 next day beheaded on the public street of Ed-

Spotf. 314. burgh. And so much had all his former
 luck forsaken him, that his corpse lay on
 scaffold covered only with a beggarly cloak,
 no one expressing the least pity or sorrow
 his fate, till towards sunset, when it was
 by some obscure fellows to the common place
 burial, and his head fixed on the public pole.
 The Queen of England solicited strongly in
 half of a man who had been useful to her
 many occasions; and her officious interposition
 conducted by an intriguing ambassador, gave
 little uneasiness to James and his counsellors.

In the midst of these confusions, the new
 dicature of the kirk got up its head, and
 began to shew itself in its proper colours.
 preachers on that side, being most of them
 men, and having now no superior to direct
 restrain them, made it their daily theme in
 pulpit-harangues, to inveigh against the civil
 nistration; and when they were called in ques-
 for it by the council, they pled the old
 exemption of being accountable to no secular
 bunal. The titular Bishops, tho' now thrust

in the assemblies of the kirk, still kept possession of the temporalities annexed to the name, and continued to exercise such acts of the Episcopal office as were of a temporal nature, in disposing and conveying the few lands that were left them: Between these two contending parties, the young King was sadly tossed and perplexed, and often at a loss how to act, so as to keep peace with both sides, and secure the peace of the kingdom.

He found it a difficult matter, even to provide for the safety of his own person. For on the twenty third of August 1582, a party of the nobles, who had taken offence at some of his favourites, particularly at his cousin the Duke of Lennox, suddenly placed themselves about him at the Earl of Gowrie's house of Ruthven, and detained him there a prisoner some days. From thence they carried him to Perth, where they obliged him to publish a proclamation, declaring himself satisfied with his present condition, and ordering Lennox to leave the kingdom in three weeks. From Perth they removed him to Woodhouse, while the General Assembly was sitting at Edinburgh, and having represented their procedure and the reasons of it to the Assembly, they obtained from them a formal act, approving it as good service, and "requiring every one who regarded the glory of God, to concur with and assist these noblemen in maintaining the good cause which they had taken in hand." And not content with this approbation of the kirk, these Lords got a convention of the estates assembled, to justify their enterprise, and grant a full indemnity to all concerned in it. Mean time, ambassadors came from France,

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XLI.

Spotf. 322.

BETTER France, and an envoy from England to en-
XII. into the King's situation, and offer him assist-
 if needful. This offer was no doubt very
 ceptable; and to testify his sense of it, he
 fired the Magistrates of Edinburgh to seat
 ambassadors before they departed. But
 preachers appointed a fast on the day fixed
 the fast, and from the pulpits thundered
 their curses against the Magistrates and all
 obeyed the King's directions, threatening even
 excommunicate the Magistrates for not observing
 the fast which they had enjoined. All these
 many more such insults the King seemed to
 no notice of, having still an eye to his liberty
 which at last, after near a year's confinement,
 his own contrivance, and the assistance of a
 nel Stuart, he happily effected.

Things now began to put on a very different
 aspect. The ministers of Edinburgh, continuing
 to vindicate the *Raid of Ruthven*, as it was called,
 were summoned before the council and ordered
 submit to the King's pleasure: The discontented
 Lords were committed to several prisons: Mr.
 Andrew Melvil, for a seditious sermon at
 Andrews, was cited before the King, when break-
 ing out into irreverent language, and accusing
 the King of having perverted the laws both
 God and man, he was charged to enter his
 in Blackness within ten hours; but he went
 in the night, and fled to Berwick. The Earl
 Gowrie, one of the principal conspirators,
 apprehended in Dundee, when, in terms of the
 King's pardon, he ought to have been out of
 country, and being brought prisoner to Stirling.

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was condemned and beheaded about the be-
 ginning of May 1584. This commotion being thus settled, the King
 returned to Edinburgh, and published a procla-
 mation, prohibiting all false, virulent, and slan-
 derous speeches against himself, his council, and
 administration, under the pains expressed by law.
 Upon this the ministers of Edinburgh fled to
 England, and wrote back a letter to the town-
 council and kirk-session, complaining in bitter
 terms of the enormities of the times, and re-
 proaching the King and his counsellors in a
 fixed style of railing and godliness. To this
 letter, the town, at the King's desire, returned
 a suitable answer, upbraiding them with their se-
 ditionous behaviour, and cowardly desertion of their
 king: Which return, when Mr. Lawson, who
 had been called from Aberdeen to succeed John
 Knox, received, he took it to heart, that he
 sickened, and died at London soon after. Next
 year, however, the banished Lords were recon-
 ciled to the King, and all things tended once more
 to peace and quietness. But the ministers took
 offence at this reconciliation, as being in their
 conceits prejudicial to what they called the in-
 terests of religion, and raised fresh disturbances
 about Edinburgh, and in various parts of the
 kingdom. Such were the early effects of that
 turbulent spirit which had been lately imported
 to the nation, and which, disdaining all kind
 of submission, was bent upon the ruin of the
 monarchy. Before his trial he wrote a supplicatory letter to the King,
 begging to be admitted to his presence, "as he had a matter of
 great importance to reveal," but the petition was rejected,
 and the petitioner met with the just reward of what his judges
 interpreted to be treason, tho' the time was when it was
 sustained to be "good service."

BETTER of regularity and submission, could not be at
 XLI. under any government. Yet the King went

with his endeavours to establish peace and order
 as conducive to the real interests of the true
 And when his secretary advised him to leave the
 ministers to their own refractory courses, which
 would soon make them intolerable to the people

Sept. 347. his answer was, "True, if I were purposed to

"do the church and religion, I should think you

"counsel not ill, but as my mind is to maintain

"both, I cannot suffer them to run in

"these disorders, which would make religion

"be despised." Notwithstanding of this proud

and pious conduct, which, in a Prince, at

time of life, was rarely to be met with,

clamour was still kept up, that he was inclin-

ing to Popery. But so far was he from dis-

covering the least tendency that way, that in

month of June 1586, he concluded a league

offensive and defensive with Queen Elizabeth, sta-

ting that, "seeing that divers Princes, together

"themselves Catholics, and owning the Pope's

"authority, have joined in confederacy to

"turbate true religion, not only in their own

"minions, but also in other kingdoms, therefore

"fore they have thought it necessary, as well

"for the preservation of their own persons,

"which the weal of their subjects depends,

"for the better maintenance of the true and

"christian religion which they now profess,

"join and unite themselves in a more firm

"league than hath been between any of

"Princes their progenitors.

I am, &c.

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LETTER XLII.

Tragical End of Q. Mary—Effect of it on her Son James VI.—He calls a Parliament, in which the Church Lands are annexed to the Crown—Opposition of the Assembly to his Measures—Parliamentary Ratification of their Discipline—Their Persecution of the Popish Lords—The Kirk represented in Parliament, and a Shadow of Episcopacy restored—Gowry's Conspiracy—Seditious Behaviour of the Ministers of Edinburgh.

WHILE James was employed, as I have already mentioned, in taking proper measures for the security of the Protestant cause, both at home and abroad, his attention was suddenly called to a scene, the most trying and tragical of any he had yet met with, and which required all the fortitude and prudence he was master of, to enable him to act his part in a becoming manner. His mother, Queen Mary, after languishing upwards of eighteen years, under re-

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peated disappointments, in an unexpected unchristian captivity, was now exposed upon the public stage, in a view indeed, which added lustre to her own character, but will reflect eternal disgrace on the unnatural hand that brought her to it. This unfortunate Princess had for many years past given over all struggling for honour or dignity. She had seen her adherents quailed in Scotland, and driven into a forced obedience by successful violence. She had seen her worthy friend the Duke of Norfolk treacherously brought to the scaffold upon her account, and her faithful ambassador and counsellor the Bishop of Ross, contrary to the law of nations, imprisoned, and then banished for her cause. And now, after such a grievous run of vexation, when she saw her son, who, tho' set up against her, was innocent of her misfortunes, wear that crown, which from and after her was unquestionable property, and the succession of the ancient monarchy going on in the right line, she began to sit down quietly under her melancholy situation, and to retire from a world where she had experienced so little satisfaction. Yet the resentment of her irreconcilable cousin Elizabeth would not allow her to rest, even in this humiliating retirement. The old Lords of Murray and Morton, with their false oaths and forged letters, had been long since given up as absurd and incredible. Associations therefore were formed, and sham conspiracies pretended, to destroy a miserable woman, who had neither power to hurt an enemy, nor protect herself. Hints of private assassination were sent to her keepers, who, tho' not of the most humane and polite cast, rejected the proposal with

abhorrence it deserved. At last a plot was LETTER
 d upon one Babington, and the poor cap XLII.
 Queen, by the common trick of forged let-
 was brought in as a partner. Upon which,
 commission was granted to a select number
 English Peers and judges, the most of them
 declared enemies, and contrivers of all the
 chief against her, before whom she was, in Oc-
 ber this year, formally arraigned and tried at
 heringay in Northamptonshire, the place of A.D. 1586.
 confinement. And notwithstanding her plea
 being an independent Sovereign, and the noble
 ence she made with all becoming majesty and
 length of reasoning, when she was most illegally
 denied the benefit of counsel, these commissioners,
 obedience to the orders of their imperious mis-
 were pleased to find her guilty, and pro-
 nounced sentence of death upon her according-
 When intelligence of this procedure was
 ought to her son, he dispatched courier af-
 courier to remonstrate with his ally Eliza-
 against the indignity and horrid iniquity
 it. The foreign ambassadors too interposed:
 all to no purpose. The prey which Eliza-
 had so long held fast, with a pleasure pe-
 to her brutal spirit, was not to be let
 for a few big words. When James found
 mother's death determined upon, he thought
 could not do less than desire the ministers to
 remember her condition in their public prayers,
 that God would be pleased to illuminate her Spotf. 354.
 with the light of his truth, and save her from
 the apparent danger wherein she was cast."
 his common office of humanity, which, in the
 manner proposed, no christian could well deny

LETTER to a heathen in like circumstances, they
 XLII. lutely refused to the mother of their Prince
 and one of them, Coupar, a young fellow,
 even in such orders as they had among the
 whom the ministers had put into the pulpit
 the principal kirk for that day, had the blas-
 mous impudence to tell the King to his face
 "that he would pray as the Spirit of God
 "should direct him."

At last, to the full accomplishment of Elizabeth's implacable jealousy and revenge, Mary Queen of Scots, was upon the eighth day of February 1587, brought forth from her closet to the scaffold, and laying down her head upon a block, without the least sign of fear or trepidation, had it severed from her body by two strokes of the executioner, in the forty fifth year of her age. Her very enemies, among the historians, bear ample testimony to her magnanimous christian behaviour both at her trial and execution: And when we look back to the amazing figure which she makes on that solemn and awful occasion, mounting the scaffold with tranquillity and composure which innocence alone could inspire, and facing the instruments of death and the more terrible visages of her guards, with such an heroic dignity as became injured majesty to express, we cannot but perceive a striking contrast exhibited by the poor, precipitous exit of her rival Elizabeth, tumbling her head when death was approaching, from her chamber state to her chamber floor, and there for many days and nights moping out her last miserable moments in alternate fits of sullen despondency or peevish discontent.

I shall only take notice of one other circumstance

ice relative to this royal sufferer; that, un-
 all the hardships and perils which for near
 ty years she was daily and hourly exposed
 she survived all her original persecutors, and
 ht have enjoyed a certain kind of pleasure,
 her forgiving spirit had been capable of such
 christian meanness, in hearing that most of
 m came to sudden or violent ends. Her bro-
 Murray was designedly shot: So was her
 her-in-law, Lenox. Kirkaldy of Grange, who
 edded her from her army at Carberry with
 ned professions of loyalty, perished on a gal-
 s. Her secretary, Lethington, the betrayer
 her confidence, and plotter of all her ruin,
 his own executioner. Morton was condemn-
 to the block. The young Ruthven, who shut
 up in Lochlevin, met with the same fate.
 yet, after such flagrant discoveries as were
 de in her own time, of the treachery and
 kedness of some of that party, and the ma-
 est proofs of Morton and Lethington being ac-
 plices in the murder which they had the
 eness to charge her with, what a scandalous
 justice is it to her memory, and what a lament-
 instance of the force of inveterate preju-
 e, to be still loading her with the guilt of
 murder, upon the bare presumption of her
 rying the Earl of Bothwell, who, after all
 has appeared against him, seems to have
 n but a tool to the rest for bringing their
 g concerted plots to perfection?
 Let us next see how her son, now by right what
 had hitherto been by name, King of Scot-
 d, received the sorrowful and provoking news,
 ch his dissembling friend Elizabeth, by an
 refs messenger, sent him, in a style of the
 most

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LETTER most consummate hypocrisy, and with an affected regret. And here, he cannot but appear to every person of natural feelings, in a truly pitiable situation. Distressed as a son, by the cruelties and barbarities exercised on a mother, whom, from her general character, he presented as it had been to him, he could but admire and love: Enraged as a King by the affront put upon majesty in general, and upon himself in particular by a pretended friend in behaving so unhandsomely against all equity and private intreaty, to so near and honourable a relation; and yet, tho' a King, certain from the experience he had of the positions of his own subjects, whether he should be able to avenge an injury which it had been in his power to prevent. At the same time, as the apparent heir to the crown of England, and of a kingdom larger and more powerful than his own, diffculted how to do so as neither on the one hand, by a silent difference, to neglect personal honour or duty, nor on the other hand to endanger future and not far distant prospects, by an untimed and perhaps unsuccessful desire of revenge. Under such circumstances, what could he do, what could any man have done, to any effectual purpose, and with an equal eye of regard to these important and perplexing considerations? Yet, incensed and perplexed as he was after some natural and sincere expressions of anger and vexation, prudential motives got the better of just resentment, and he was persuaded to appear satisfied with the measures which Elizabeth artfully took for her own vindication. Indeed, if he had been otherwise disposed,

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thought it adviseable to keep up the quarrel, ^{LETTER} had very soon a fair opportunity offered him ^{XLII.} distressing the Queen of England, when the Spanish Armada, the most terrible armament that ever burdened the ocean before or since, made a threatening appearance upon her coasts. But he could not think of taking hold of this opportunity, in favour of a nation whose religion he conscientiously abhorred, and whose ambition he deeply dreaded. Instead of forming any alliance with the Spaniard, tho' much solicited to it, or even observing a quiet neutrality, which the remembrance of former transactions might have exacted, he generously offered Elizabeth all the assistance he could give at such a dangerous juncture. And the event justified his conduct.—The elements fought against the invaders, and contributed more to the safety of England than the prowess of Elizabeth, or vigilance of James could have done. However, tho' from this time he still kept in good terms with her, on account of his prospect of succeeding her, yet he never trusted her so much, nor was so cordial with her as he had been before; and she, for her part, was more tender and cautious in meddling with his matters than she had formerly shewn herself.

Soon after his mother's death, James had completed his twenty first year, and to solemnize his majority he called both a parliament and an assembly. In the parliament an act was passed, annexing the temporalities of ecclesiastical benefices to the crown, under pretence of increasing its patrimony, and to ease the lieges from further taxations. At the same time it was given out, that the reserving the Prelates' houses and precincts, with the tithes of the

LETTER churches annexed to their benefices, would
XLII. fice to maintain their dignity and estate. The
 act of annexation was thought a great matter
 at the time, and the King was made to believe
 that he had been most nobly and liberally dealt
 with. But so dubious are the issues of all human
 consultations, that, favourable as it looked at
 first, it turned out quite differently from what
 the King expected, tho' not from what the original
 framers had intended by it. For the King himself
 had little benefit of it, the many lands which
 had been seized or given away from the church
 in his minority, being in this very parliament
 confirmed to the possessors, and temporal lordships
 afterwards erected upon them: And in the next
 reign these very acts became a handle for
 beginning all the troubles and disturbances
 which then ensued.

In the assembly of the kirk, the King did not
 meet with so much complaisance, nor could his
 remonstrances procure him any satisfaction
 against two of the ministers, Gibson and Couper,
 who, by their seditious and insolent behaviour,
 had highly offended him. They had now gained
 hold of the popular clamour, which had so long
 served them in good stead, that Papists were
 encouraged, and Popery increasing in the kingdom.
 Yet we do not find that the old Bishops were
 much blamed for occasioning this complaint.
 The Primate of St. Andrews, we see, had been
 long since put out of the way: All the rest, it
 would seem, were dead, except Archbishop Beaton
 of Glasgow, and Bishop Leslie of Ross, and
 they both were out of the country. It is indeed
 a little surprizing that, in all this time, when they
 saw how things were going on, they took no care
 to keep up the Episcopal order, and preserve the

of a church, which by their principles could LETTER XLII.
 subsist without Bishops. But, as I have often
 observed, they were so taken up with the secular ho-
 nours and privileges in being one of the three
 Estates of Parliament, that they forgot their spi-
 ritual character, and left the church, as such, to
 take care for herself. They had likewise for a course
 of years been miserably restrained in the exercise
 of their inherent powers, by the dominion which
 the Popes had from time to time been usurping
 over them, and had been thereby overawed into
 a conceit that without their permissive Bulls they
 could not continue the succession, nor transmit
 to others the character which themselves had re-
 ceived. Yet during the primitive ages, whether
 of persecution or peace, it is certain that the many
 national churches, under their several diocesans,
 kept up the episcopal succession, without
 appealing for previous authority from Rome, and
 they thought proper to notify the consecrations
 to their chief Bishops to their brother at Rome,
 as he did to them in the like case, for preserving
 mutual communion and catholic unity. But now
 the Bishops of this national church, when what
 was called heresy and schism began to predomi-
 nate, and their worldly dignities and riches to be
 turned into another channel, either durst not for
 want of the laws, or could not for want of the
 Pope's authority, exercise this essential part of
 that sacred office which, we are sure, no earthly
 fear nor extrinsic motive would have prevent-
 ed the primitive Bishops from exercising, and
 without which the christian church must have
 perished in its infancy. Yea, so much did this
 strange and unprecedented notion prevail, that
 more than a hundred years after the reforma-
 tion, the Papists in Scotland had not a Bishop
 among

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among them nor over them, till the Pope ing wiser, it seems, in this point, as they done in many others, from that rupture, pleased to favour their adherents once more residing Bishops, at a time when there was need of them, and when there were Bishops lawful succession, capable to continue the church, tho' not the Popish cause, in Britain.

It was not therefore to the Popish Bishops ing or retaining the face of a church, that clamour I spoke of was owing. It proceeded entirely from the new tribe of Jesuits taking vantage of the confusions and disorderly state of our religious police, and flocking over in shoals from their foreign seminaries, to the friends and relations among the nobility and gentry. Many of these still adhered to the forms, and others who once wished well to a reformation, and would have concurred in any possible, regular way of redressing abuses, were disgusted at the rude and turbulent behaviour of the new preachers, that they began to fall either to the Popish persuasion, or to a careless indifference about a church of any denomination. This gave the King great uneasiness. For on the one hand he was entirely satisfied with the doctrines taught in the reformed kirk, while he thought of the present polity and rites which he was always striving to regulate; so on the other hand, to shun the rock on which he had been told, his grandfather James V. had fallen, he was extremely attentive to his nobility, and took great pains to create unity and concord among them, both in religious and political sentiments. Of two of them he was particularly fond; of George Earl of Huntly, because of his family's sufferings in the late commotions,

Francis Earl of Errol, for the great character of a nobleman bore of integrity and valour. It is true, both these two, and the Earl of Angus, another nobleman of good reputation, had been corresponding too freely with some of the Popish prelates abroad, for assistance to restore the old religion, and to protect the Catholics, as they called themselves, from the rigours of the reformers: which, however illegal and impolitic now, was only copying after the example set them from the other side not thirty years before, when it was as illegal to apply to the Queen of England for support of the Protestant cause, as it could now to solicit the King of Spain in behalf of the Popish. So little ground had either party to brag the other for using sinistrous methods to bend their religion. It was for carrying on this secret and dangerous commerce, that these Jesuits were employed by their superiors abroad, in what has since been called *the mission*, and being related to these noble families, it was no wonder that they were well entertained, and even readily listened to, when they made proposals for relief from the severe pressures, which their country then lay under.

In the management of matters between these contending parties, the King was obliged to temper a little, for the better execution of a business which he had now in hand. He had lately sent the Earl Marischal ambassador to Denmark for obtaining the Princess Ann in marriage, and being impatient of delay, he followed in person soon after, and having solemnized the marriage, was detained in that country all winter. On the 10th of May 1590, he arrived safe with his Queen and retinue at Leith, and had the satisfaction to find

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Spotf. 380:

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find that the directions he had left at his going away had been carefully attended to, and that had been quiet, and orderly, during his absence. But it was not long before this tranquillity was interrupted by fresh provocations from the king. Melvil was continually raising disturbances upon some pretence or other, not only in the assembly where he withstood the King's prerogative, but even against such of his own brethren as were more moderately inclined, had the resolution to oppose any of his turbulent measures. The King was likewise much harassed by the rebellious and restless humour of Francis Stuart, his bastard son, whom he had created Earl of Bothwell, who on many occasions was either openly supported or secretly abetted by the kirk.

In June 1592, the assembly petitioned the parliament for a legal ratification of their ecclesiastical discipline, for a repeal of the act of annexation, for discharging Prelates from having a voice in parliament without commission from the assembly, and for purging the realm of Idolatry and Popery. The three last of these articles proposed were rejected: But to the first the King was obliged, from the situation of his affairs, to give way, and to yield the ratification they demanded, however much it encroached upon his prerogative, and thwarted his other views. This is the first parliamentary sanction, at the distance of upwards of thirty years from the date of the reformation, that the Presbyterian kirk was acknowledged with. By this concession the King, without doubt, thought to detach them from the faction of Bothwell, whom they still continued to patronise till after repeated insurrections, the unhappy king was at last driven out of the kingdom, to which he never returned.

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However, the difficulty with the Popish Lords continued. The King's great aim was to reclaim them from their foreign attachments, and brought over, by mildness and persuasion, to the profession of what he himself believed to be the true religion. He was sensible of their loyalty and affection to his person and government, while he regretted their principles, and therefore wished to have them dealt with in a way of conference and instruction, not by compulsion and legal force. But the preachers were not the men for such gentle and lenient measures. The synod of Fife summarily excommunicated the three Earls, and sent orders to the presbyteries to publish the sentence in all the parishes. Nor could the King with all his influence prevent the publication, tho' in arguing with them he produced two flagrant grounds of irregularity; that the persons were not subject to the synod, and that they had not been formally cited to answer. But this was not all. At a parliament held next year these Earls were cited, and commission granted to Argyle to execute them with fire and sword, which either from fear or sympathy he at first declined, but at last, by the pressing solicitations of one of the great preachers, Mr. Robert Bruce, was prevailed upon to undertake. This drove Huntly and Errol to the necessity of arming for their defence: Which they did with all expedition, and having collected a choice body of their men and vassals, came up with Argyle on the 10th of October at Glenlivet; and gave him a overthrow, tho' he had an army of more than four times their number. This victory, however signal in itself, was of little service to the

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A.D. 1593.

A.D. 1594.

LETTER the victors: For rather than incur the King
XLII, farther displeasure, they asked and obtained
permission to go beyond seas, and gave leave
that they should not return without his licence.

About a year after, the King being extremely
anxious to have peace and quietness at home
when his succession to the English crown should
open, he consulted Mr. Robert Bruce, who had
a great sway in the kirk, about bringing back
the exiled Lords, on condition of their conforming
to the established religion. To this proposal Mr. Bruce
in a manner agreed as to Lord Angus, but would
not hear of favouring Huntly upon any terms. And
when the King insisted on treating them all alike,
the man gave him this saucy answer, "I see, sir, your
resolution is to take Huntly into favour, whether
if you do I will oppose, and you shall see whether
you shall lose Huntly or me, for both you cannot
keep." However, the Lords wearying of their
situation abroad, ventured to return secretly to
their own country: When the kirk got account
of it, the presbytery fell to work with them, and
ordered the ministers to warn their flocks not to
harbour them, or give them any assistance. The
King, still solicitous for peace, sent the officers
of state to confer with some of the more moderate
ministers on this perplexing business, who
withstanding the opinion the King had of their
moderation, told his commissioners very plainly
"that these Lords having by God's law deserved
death, and being by the most sovereign court
of the kingdom sentenced to lose their estates,
they could not be lawfully pardoned nor restored:
And if the King and his council would

Spots. 417.

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the King would take upon them to do it, they had LETTER
obtained God and the country to answer to; for their XLII.
have secured part they would give no assent, but protest to
his licence the contrary, that they were free thereof both
extreme before God and man." When the commis-
at his sioners put them in mind, that, as the bosom
rown the church should ever be patent to repent-
e, who sinners, they could not well refuse what was
nging bo proposed to them, their answer was, " that
their the church indeed could not refuse the sa-
To this tisfaction of these Lords, if it were truly of-
as to ferred, nevertheless the King stood obliged to
of favour do justice." This plainly shews, that if James
n the King been as much inclined to the severity of jus-
e man as some of his royal predecessors, the bloody
your of papal persecution would have once more
your, wh renewed by these ministers of the pure re-
shall ch med kirk.

soon after this instance of their boldness, the
me, for King met with another insult from them, in their
the Lording protection of one of their fire-brands,
ventured David Blake at St. Andrews, who had in the
ry: Whom he abused the King, the Queen, the Council
presbyter Lords of Session, and all the court, in most
d the m useful and unsufferable language. The King
rbour the explained of this to the Assembly, but got
King, still redress. The ministers, instead of giving up
of state criminal to be punished as he deserved, e-
derate of nced his cause as the common one of the
, who ple order. Yea, to such a height was the
ad of t roar on Blake's account carried, that the town
very plain Edinburgh took a part in it, and patronized
s law del ministers against the King. But the King
ost sover moving his family and the courts of judica-
to lose t re to Linlithgow, brought the citizens to a
lly parde se of their duty, and gave a severe check to
d his cou Vol. II. G g the

LETTER the tumultuous spirit that was then prevailing
XLII.

the civil and the ecclesiastical, was the source of all these disorders: And therefore, to provide a proper remedy, and determine the bounds of the exercise of the spiritual authority, the king thought proper to call an assembly at Perth, *Spotf. 434.* February 1597, and sent fifty five articles in form of questions, concerning church-discipline to be deliberated upon. Some of these articles the assembly agreed to, but the most of them they desired time to consult about. They saw indeed how directly they pointed against the pre-confused model of Melvil's devising, which many of themselves were beginning to be weary of, and yet were loth to have even that licentious freedom too much controuled by the strictions which these articles in general were designed to put upon it. The result however was, that commissioners were appointed to make a visitation at St. Andrews, which they did in July, and removed Blake from being minister of the town, and Melvil from being Rector of the university. In December following, the king gained another point, which he had much at heart, by the parliament's passing an act, that the commissioners of the kirk agreeing to "that such pastors and ministers as his Majesty should provide to the place, dignity, and office of a Bishop, or other Prelate at any time should have voice in parliament as free members." "any ecclesiastical Prelate, had in times past." At the same time a change was made in the ministry at Edinburgh, which before had been common or collegiate charge, but was now divided into parishes, and a particular minister appointed to each.

prevailed to every parish. In the settling of this LETTER
 some opposition arose from Mr. Ro- XLII.
 Bruce, who had preached ten years with-
 ordination of any kind, and now pretended
 the approbation of the General Assembly
 ordination sufficient. The first book of dis-
 cipline had indeed dispensed with the laying on
 hands, but the second book, which was the
 constitution under which Bruce acted, had re-
 quired it; so that his scruples about it could
 have no foundation, but that peculiar obstinacy
 singularity which the man affected in these
 matters. However, being threatened with de-
 cision, he at last got over his scruples, and
 added to have his ministerial character perfect-
 ed in the common way, by laying on of hands.
 This year the King published his *Basilicon Do-* A.D. 1599.
 which he had in his leisure hours drawn up
 the instruction of his eldest son Prince Hen-
 For Melvil having accidentally got a sight
 it in manuscript, and finding in it many se-
 vere reflections on the disorderly discipline of
 our kirk, took copies of it, and spread them
 among the brethren. Upon which, one Dikes,
 minister at Anstruther, threw in before the synod
 of Fife a most seditious and ill-mannered libel
 against it, for which he was declared rebel and
 outlawed. The King finding it maliciously ru-
 moured that he had given directions to his son
 which were prejudicial to the true religion,
 thought fit to submit the book to public in-
 spection, as the best vindication both of the au-
 thor and of the work. And the event answer-
 ed his expectation: For the book being car-
 ried into England, raised such an universal esteem
 of his piety and wisdom, that it contributed

LETTER more to his peaceable succession to that
 XLII. a few years after, than all the many treat-
 ~~~~~ that came abroad on that subject.

The next year died Mr. John Dury, the principal instrument employed by Melvil to bring his idol of parity upon the public stage: And mention this man's death, not upon his own account, but for his death-bed opinion of the present state of affairs. For when some brethren came to visit him, he requested them to tell the ensuing assembly as from him, "that there  
 Spotf. 457. "a necessity of restoring the ancient government  
 "of the church, because of the unruliness  
 "the young ministers, who would not be  
 "ruled by the elder sort, nor kept in order  
 "And since both the state of the church  
 "require it, and the King did labour for it,  
 "wished them to make no trouble therein  
 "but only to insist with the King, that the  
 "ministers and of greatest experience might  
 "be preferred to places." Such were the sentiments which the experience of twenty years had taught this zealous patron of presbytery to form concerning it. Many more of its former friends began to be of the same opinion, and in the  
 A.D. 1600. assembly of March this year, the church's vote in parliament was ratified under certain restrictions and cautions, which indeed favoured a good deal of the former leaven, but which the King and wiser part yielded to, with a view to get all rectified at a more convenient season. So there remained nothing now but to nominate persons to the bishopricks that were vacant. Aberdeen and Argyle had their own incumbents. Mr. David Cunningham and Mr. Neil Campbell both actual preachers. St. Andrews was in the hands

that of the Duke of Lenox. The temporality of Glasgow had been restored by the King the old Archbishop Beton, who was still alive in France. Dunkeld, Brechin and Dunblain had ministers, Mr. Peter Rollock, who was a Lord of Session, Mr. Alexander Campbell, and Mr. Andrew Graham, who only preached sometimes. — Argyll was possessed by the Lord Spynie, and Orkney by the Earl of Orkney. Galloway and the Isles were so dilapidated, that they were scarcely remembered to have been. In Ross and Athol there was some provision left: To the Bishop of these, now vacant by the death of Bishop Leslie, Mr. David Lindsay, minister at Leith, was named, and to the other, Mr. George Gladstones at St. Andrews, who both, notwithstanding of this nomination, continued to reside on their former cures. Thus a shadow of Episcopacy was once more restored in Scotland, and the King appeared to be satisfied for the present, he could get the substance properly and regularly recovered, which he seems all along to have had in his eye. But while he was thus labouring for order in the kirk, and quiet in the state, he fell into a wicked and unexpected snare, which had it not been for a visible hand of an interposing providence, would have been fatal to him. The Earl of Gowrie, son to him who had been executed for treason in 1581, had invited the King, when at Falkland, to do him the honour to dine with him at his house in Perth, on the fifth of August 1600, under pretext of having a particular secret to communicate to him. This invitation the King, suspecting nothing from a man whom he had so indulgently restored to his father's

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XLII.

ther's forfeited estate and honours, readily accepted, and came with a small retinue at a time appointed. After dinner, the King was fully decoyed into a private chamber at a considerable distance from the public hall, and the Alexander Ruthven, the Earl's brother, laid hands on him, and upbraiding him with the execution of his father, bade him prepare for instant death. Immediately another person appeared, who was to have been the assassin, but tho' clad in armour for the purpose, stood amazed and motionless. Mean time the King, recovering a little from the surprize of the first shock, had the presence of mind and strength of body too, while struggling with Ruthven, who held him by the throat, to drag him to a window and getting it opened, called out to the street for help. On this, some of his retinue, who were below, forced their way thro' private doors and back stairs, (for the main passages of the house were guarded by the Earl's servants,) to the room whence the cry came, and in rescuing the King, it happened that both the brothers, after a dangerous scuffle were killed on the spot. The rumour of what was doing, being at this time spread thro' the town, of which the Earl was Provost, the townsmen took arms and surrounded the house, crying "to give them their Provost, otherwise they would blow them all up with powder." But some of the Baillies and principal citizens getting entrance to the King, and finding out the truth, returned and pacified the people. After which the King took horse, and posted back with his company to Falkland, where he was welcomed with great acclamations of joy. On the morrow advertisement was sent to the council at Edinburgh.

an order that the ministers should convene LETTER XLII.  
 people, and give public thanks to God for Majesty's deliverance. But they excused  
 themselves, as not being acquainted with the particulars, nor how the thing had happened. And  
 when they were told that there was nothing required of them, but to signify how the King had  
 escaped a great danger, and to stir up the people to thankfulness, they peremptorily refused  
 under this strange pretence, "that nothing Spotf. 469.  
 ought to be delivered in the pulpit, but that  
 whereof the truth was known, and that all  
 which is uttered in that place should be spoken  
 in faith." For this obstinacy they were com-  
 manded to leave the town in forty eight hours,  
 and prohibited to preach within his Majesty's do-  
 minions under pain of death. But in a few  
 weeks they all acknowledged their offence, and  
 on certain conditions were pardoned, except  
 Robert Bruce, who, with the old spirit of  
 overfulness and pride, said, "he would re-  
 venge his Majesty's report of that accident,  
 but could not say he was persuaded of the  
 truth of it," and was therefore banished the  
 kingdom, and went to France. Yet even of the  
 rest, there were none but one who performed  
 the conditions enjoined them: For which refrac-  
 tory behaviour, the next assembly, in May, trans-  
 ferred them from the ministry in Edinburgh to  
 such country charges as were thought meetest  
 for them, till the King, out of his wonted cle-  
 mency, allowed them to settle in Edinburgh  
 again, and even permitted Bruce himself to re-  
 turn to the country, upon promise of better be-  
 haviour.\* Indeed the King had the pleasure to

\* What an unaccountable and unprecedented principle do  
 the men's consciences appear to have been actuated by, who  
 find



**LETTER XLII.** find that the assemblies were now beginning to be a little more temperate in their proceedings and to shew some regard to the overtures he always laying before them, for regulating the discipline, and removing the cause of that perpetual jarring between the civil and ecclesiastical state, which their levelling system had occasioned. We shall soon see what measures were afterwards taken for this purpose, when the King had more in his power to render his proposals effectual. Mean time, I am, &c.

would neither pray for one Sovereign when in apparent danger nor thank God for delivering another out of it? And how shocking must it have been to the King, to have his own word, and the solemn declaration of so many of his nobility, impudently called in question; as if nothing less than his actually murdered would have convinced these men that he had been a design to murder him? So much indeed had a spirit of peculiar perverseness infected the succeeding generations of that character, that for many years the story of Gowrie's conspiracy was sneered at, and ridiculed by them as an idle tale devised by the court to ruin that nobleman, whose father and grandfather had done their cause such signal services, till at the beginning of this century, the Earl of Cromarty, Lord Register, published a full and authenticated account from the public records, which his office afforded him the inspection of, and evinced the reality of it beyond any reasonable possibility of contradiction.

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LETTER  
XLIII.

## LETTER XLIII.

*Accession of K. James to the English Throne—*

*He prohibits a seditious Assembly at Aberdeen—*

*The Scottish Parliament restores the tem-*

*poral Estate of Bishops—Proceedings of two*

*Assemblies in favour of Episcopacy—Consecra-*

*tion of three Scottish Bishops in London—*

*Episcopacy fully established in Scotland, and all*

*the Sees filled with real Bishops—Trial of a*

*Jesuit—Absolution of the Marquis of Huntly*

*—Acts of Assembly in favour of a Liturgy,*

*&c.*

ON the twenty fourth day of March 1603, died Elizabeth, Queen of England, in the 45th year of her age, and 45th of her reign: and the same day, the King of Scots, as undoubted heir, was proclaimed King, first at the place of Whitehall, and then at the cross in Leppside, with a vast applause of all sorts of people. The Pope had been very busy to prevent this succession, and upon hearing of the

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X.LIII.



Spotf. 478.

Queen's illness, had sent over his Bulls, warning the Papists in England not to admit or acknowledge any heretic, however near in blood, he should swear to maintain the Catholic faith with all his power. But these threatnings were ineffectual, and our King got possession of a throne which was his birthright, without the least obstacle from any quarter. On the fourth of April after having taken an affectionate leave from his native subjects, he began his journey towards London, attended by a splendid company of his own nobility; and hearing, by the way, of the death of his ambassador the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris, he immediately nominated one of his chaplains, Mr. John Spotswood, to that See. On the seventh of May he was joyfully received in London, and on the eighth of July he and the Queen were solemnly inducted in the abbey-church of Westminster by John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The first ecclesiastical affair of consequence after his accession to the English throne, was a conference held at Hampton-court, in the beginning of next year, between some Bishops and divines of the established church, and some of the most eminent of the nonconformists, who objected to the sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Eucharist, bowing at the name of Jesus, and the others of the received rites, and endeavoured to make the King believe that they were a more numerous body than they really were. After this conference, which discovered to both the King's knowledge of, and aversion to their principles, there were so few of them who stood out against the decent ceremonies of the church, that, when the Canons were put in

eccl

tion by Archbishop Bancroft some years after  
 only forty five were ejected for nonconfor-  
 of all the clergy in England, who are reck-  
 to be nine thousand and upwards: Such a  
 will a few disturbers make in any society,  
 when they are not properly taken notice of.

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The remains of Mr Melvil's faction, in Scot-  
 land, laying hold of the King's absence, began  
 to stir themselves for recovering the ground  
 which they had lost by his management, while  
 long them. The last assembly which had been  
 held before his departure, had appointed the next  
 meeting to be at Aberdeen, on the last Tuesday  
 of July 1604. But because of the union inter-  
 vening, and some other weighty considerations,  
 it was prorogued to the same month in the fol-  
 lowing year. And now the party over all the  
 kingdom made great preparation for keeping of  
 the meeting, intending to call in question, and  
 to aside the articles that had been agreed on in  
 former assemblies, for settling episcopal go-  
 vernment, and other regulations of discipline.  
 The King, being timely informed of these pre-  
 parations, and determined to prevent the over-  
 throw of the good foundation which he had laid,  
 directed the commissioners of the kirk, who were  
 constituent members of every assembly, to desert  
 the diet, and to make intimation of his pleasure  
 to all the Presbyteries in the kingdom. The far  
 greater part resolved to obey: Nine Presbyteries  
 of the whole fifty sent their delegates, so that  
 when the day came, there were only twenty one  
 ministers convened at Aberdeen, of whom Mr.  
 John Forbes at Alford, and Mr. John Welch at  
 Perth, were the principal ringleaders. The Laird of  
 Marston, who was the King's commissioner, dis-

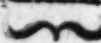


LETTER charged their assembling, and in his majesty's name commanded them to dissolve. In consequence of which, they chose Forbes their moderator, then continued the assembly to the last day of September. For this mutinous procedure, Forbes and Welch were imprisoned in Blackness, and others that were obstinate in different places. Thirteen who confessed their fault were dismissed and suffered to return to their charges. The necessary severity raised a prodigious clamour, which made no impression on the offenders. Forbes was brought before the council on the 24th of October to account for their disobedience, they justified what they had done, and declined all submission to the council's authority. Upon this fresh provocation, Forbes and Welch, with other four of the most conspicuous of them, were criminally tried before a court of justiciary at Linlithgow, the tenth of January, and being found guilty of treason by a jury, were remanded back to prison till his Majesty's pleasure should be known. While these factious spirits were disputing the King's authority in Scotland, another tribe of malcontents of a different denomination were carrying on a most horrid conspiracy against his Majesty in England. The Papists there, finding their hopes of relief from this new King, who, they saw, was as capable to combat their religious argument, as to suppress it by law, had contrived a hellish plot to blow up the Parliament house with the King and three estates in it, and this diabolical purpose had got every thing ready against the first meeting of that august assembly. In the mean time an ambiguous letter, sent with a friendly design to the Lord Mounteagle, and to him communicated to the King, raised a

on of what was going on: And a search being made, the plot was discovered on the 5th of November, only a few hours before the intended chief, and the villain Guy Fawkes, who was to have fired the train, was caught at the door with his lantern in his hand.

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The next year the Parliament of Scotland met in July, and passed two important acts, one for confirming his Majesty's prerogative, and the other restoring the temporal estate of Bishops, as was now seen how much the act of annexation impeded his design of having that order brought back to its former station both in church and state. When the Parliament rose, the King called up a select number of the ministers to London, both of such as favoured his views of restoring episcopacy, of whom Spotswood the titular Archbishop of Glasgow was one, and of such as stood up for the Genevan parity, with their great patron Mr. Andrew Melvil at their head. On the 20th of September they all attended at Hampton court, where the King had appointed four English Bishops, Barlow of Lincoln, Burckridge of Rochester, Andrews of Chichester, and King of London, to preach upon the subject of church

A. D. 1606.

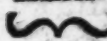
This King expressed a moderation and magnanimity on this occasion which does honour to his character, and conducted the punishment of this damnable design with as much mercy and lenity as was consistent with the indispensable execution of necessary justice. Yet the Jesuits have attempted to deny this plot, or at least to lessen the horror of it, as if it had been only the impracticable fancy of a crack-brained madman, tho' the Popish Priest Blackwell, who lived in England at the time, and had many conversations with that seditious order, fairly acknowledges the fact, and in a monitory letter to the Catholics under his inspection, dated the 28th of November, condemns it as a most detestable and

Col. 691.

government,

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XLIII



government, hoping thereby to remove the  
judices of the Scottish faction, and to convince  
them of the reasonableness of what he had been  
so long proposing to them. In a day or two  
after, they had audience of the King, who, among  
other pertinent questions, asked them what their  
opinion was of the meeting at Aberdeen, and  
they thought it a lawful assembly. But the King  
argued with them in person, and put his questions  
into various forms, they either shifted him with  
evasive answers, or gave him to understand that  
they approved it: At which the king was so  
provoked, that permitting the other clergy to go home  
when they pleased, he forbade Melvil and his  
heretics either to return to Scotland, or come to  
the Queen's or Prince's court. This put an end  
to Melvil's influence. For being now in  
old age as insolent and self-conceited as he  
been in his youth; and having dispersed  
scurrilous invectives against the rites used in  
Majesty's chapel, he was committed to the Tower  
of London, and was kept there three years  
more, till at the Duke of Bouillon's request he was  
sent over to Sedan in France, where he spent  
some time in no great respect, and died in a  
distressed condition. Mean time the affair of the  
six imprisoned ministers was brought to a final  
determination. The sentence against them being  
expressed a reference to the King's pleasure.  
His orders were that they should be banished from  
his dominions for life; though they were con-  
sent to some remote parts of the kingdom, and without  
any tumult or commotion, notwithstanding  
the great sway they once had over the deluded  
multitude.

These turbulent humours being thus dispersed

the King's prudent measures, he called a ge-<sup>LETTER</sup>  
 al assembly to meet on the 10th of Decem-<sup>XLIII.</sup>  
 at Linlithgow, and appointed the Earl of  
 Mar, his commissioner to attend it. Thither  Spotf. 500.  
 he an hundred and thirty six ministers, and  
 the nobility, and other lay-members, thirty  
 ee, before whom the King's letter was read,  
 an overture from him, that for remedying  
 disorders of former times in their church-  
 icatories, the Bishops who are resident should  
 side in the meetings within their bounds, and in  
 other presbyteries the oldest, gravest and most  
 perienched minister should be fixt and constant  
 derator, for the encouragement of which scheme,  
 d to defray any extraordinary expence, he was  
 lling to allow them an hundred pounds Scots,  
 two hundred merks, according to the quality  
 their charge. This proposal of a constant  
 derator was variously thought of, according  
 their various notions of the views which they  
 knew the King had, and to which they saw  
 y well this overture was a designed introduc-  
 n. But at length, after long deliberation and  
 ch conference, it was agreed to by a great  
 jority of the assembly, under certain provi-  
 ns and regulations, which were thought neces-  
 y to guard against any usurpation that these  
 derators might assume over brethren of the  
 ne rank and order. Yet, as the King suspect-  
 it met with opposition. The synod of Perth  
 st, and then the synod of Fife, declared against it,  
 d inhibited the presbyteries within their bounds  
 m submitting to the decree of the assembly,  
 d acknowledging the moderators appointed for  
 m, under pain of the censures of the kirk.  
 r which unconstitutional arrogance, in thus so  
 openly



**LETTER** openly flying in the face of their own super-  
**XLIII.** court, the Privy Council discharged these  
 synods from farther meeting, and ordered all  
 burghs within their districts not to admit  
 convening in any of them.

All this time the three Popish Lords  
 both giving and getting disturbance. The  
 zealous zeal of the kirk, in pushing prosecution  
 to extremity against them on the one hand,  
 the King's tender care of having them reclaimed  
 from their prejudices by gentle methods on  
 the other hand, had hitherto kept matters in a  
 state of suspense: And the noblemen, harassed by  
 frequent attacks from the kirk, sometimes feeling  
 desirous of coming to an agreement with them,  
 and at other times, when pressed by the  
 reluctance of their own consciences, they refused  
 even the appearance of compliance which  
 had extorted from them, and fell back to their  
 former profession. The consequence of all this  
 was, that Huntly, whom the kirk had always con-  
 sidered as the most obnoxious, was excommunicated  
 anew, and all the three were shut up  
 in different prisons, Huntly in Stirling, Angus  
 in Edinburgh, and Errol in Dunbarton, till  
 some time Huntly renewed another submission  
 to the kirk for his liberation; Errol on the  
 King's account treated with some appearance  
 of lenity; and Angus, for the free exercise  
 of his religion, went over a voluntary exile  
 to France, where he died.

These were harsh measures, not dictated by  
 the forgiving spirit of the gospel, but agreeable  
 enough to the rules of worldly policy, which  
 leads people to take all proper measures for  
 securing themselves against dangers which

once felt. In a religious view such severity will not bear a vindication: As however such a Protestant state may see it expedient and even lawful to keep a watchful eye over its popish subjects, it looks not well in a Protestant church to exercise that spiritual tyranny over others, which they loudly complained of when exercised against themselves, and thus to fight perry with the very weapons which they condemned when in Popish hands. Yet the excommunication, which the assemblies at this time ordered out against these outstanding noblemen, like the Papal edicts, designed to throw the objects of their displeasure under the penalty of secular laws; and to expose them, if not to death, at least to banishment or imprisonment, and to the forfeiture of all their worldly goods. So an act of parliament passed in January 1609 declares, "that persons excommunicated for not conforming to the religion presently professed, should neither in their own names, nor covertly in name of any other, enjoy their lands or rents, but that the same should be intrusted with, and uplifted for his Majesty's use:" and so far was the abuse of excommunication carried, that it was the usual practice of the kirk, when any person was declared fugitive for a capital crime, to cite such person before the ecclesiastical judicatory, and on his not appearing, which they knew he durst not do, for fear of his being excommunicate him for contumacy: And this inconsistent stretch of discipline continued among them, till the King, observing the absurdity as well as inhumanity of it, insisted on having it abolished. He had now for many years been striving, by

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LETTER a prudent and peaceable mixture of advice  
 XLIII. authority, to bring the kirk, if possible, un-  
 a regular and permanent plan of government  
 and to this purpose he had, with consent of  
 Assembly, nominated certain persons of their  
 body for the several bishopricks of the old es-  
 tablishment. That these men, thus nominated  
 that office, might take upon them the admin-  
 istration of church-affairs in an orderly man-  
 ner with the knowledge and approbation of the  
 ministry, without which they were unwilling  
 make any change, he now appointed an assem-  
 bly of the kirk to meet at Glasgow on the 6th  
 June 1610, and commissioned the Earl of Dal-  
 bar to represent his royal person in it. In  
 assembly Mr. Spotswood the nominal Archbishop  
 of Glasgow was chosen moderator, and after  
 days spent in reasoning upon the several points  
 of discipline laid before them, it was with  
 unanimity agreed, "that the calling of all  
 " general Assemblies did belong to his Majesty  
 " the prerogative of his crown: That synods  
 " should be kept in every diocese twice, in the year  
 " in April and October, to be moderated  
 " the Bishop, and where he cannot attend,  
 " such of the ministers as he shall appoint  
 " that turn: That no excommunication or  
 " censure be pronounced against, or for any  
 " person, without the knowledge and approbation  
 " of the Bishop of the diocese, and the sentence  
 " to be pronounced at his direction by the  
 " minister of the parish where the offender has  
 " dwelling: That in time coming all prefer-  
 " ments be directed to the Bishop of the diocese  
 " with power to him to confer all benefices  
 " void after the lapse, *Jure devoluto*: That

Spots. 512.

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the suspension or deprivation of ministers, the Bishop is to call in some of the neighbouring ministers, and in their presence to try the fact, and pronounce sentence: That the visitations of the diocess be made by the Bishop himself, or by such worthy minister as he shall depute in his place, and every minister, who without leave or just excuse shall be absent from the visitation or diocesan synod, be suspended from his office and benefice; and if he does not amend, be deprived: And that every minister at his admission swear obedience to the King and to his ordinary, according to the form agreed upon in 1571." In consequence of these conclusions, when the assembly rose, the King called up the moderator, Spotswood, to London, and desired him to bring with him any other two of his brethren scholars whom he should think fit, Accordingly he made choice of Andrew Lamb of Brechin, and Gavin Hamilton of Galloway, and with them arrived at London about the middle of September. At their first audience the King told them, that he had with great charge recovered the temporalities out of lay-hands, and bestowed them, as he hoped, upon worthy persons: But as he could not make them Bishops, nor could they assume that honour to themselves, he had therefore called them to England to receive regular consecration from the Bishops there, that on their return home they might communicate the same to the rest, and thereby stop the mouths of adversaries of all denominations." To this truly sensible speech Spotswood answered in name of them all, "that their only fear was, lest this might be taken for a

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LETTER
XLIII.

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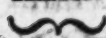
“ sort of subjection to the Church of England because of old pretensions that way.” But King had provided against that danger, by including both the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the only pretenders to that subjection, having any hand in the office, and nominating the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath to perform the consecration: Which was done accordingly on the 21st of October, in the chapel of the London-house, and thereby the Scottish Bishops obtained the reality of that high character which they had hitherto borne only in name. We are told, that before the consecration, Bishop Andrew of Ely proposed their being first ordained presbyters, as they had received no ordination from a Bishop, but was answered by Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, that the orders they had, being of necessity for want of Bishops, were sufficient, “ otherwise the vocations of the foreign reformed churches might be led in question.” That this popular argument was made use of by Bancroft, Archbishop Spotswood himself tells us, and rests there, without taking notice of any thing further. But we have information from other hands, that Dr. Bancroft added a more convincing solution, and the only solution which could give satisfaction to a man of Ely’s strict principles, that according to many examples in the primitive church, the Episcopal order included all below it, and consequently the regular conferring of it supplied every real or supposed defect.

Heylin,  
Collier, &c.

Upon this occasion too the King instituted a court of *High Commission* in Scotland, for ordering of all ecclesiastical causes, and gave directions to the clergy, which they all approved

agreeable to the conclusions that had passed LETTER XLIII.  
 among themselves in their late assembly in June. ~  
 three consecrated Bishops, on their return  
 ne, conveyed the Episcopal powers, which they  
 now received in a canonical way, to their  
 titular brethren, to Mr. George Glad-  
 ston in St. Andrews, Mr. Peter Blackburn in  
 Aberdeen, Mr. Alexander Douglas in Moray,  
 George Graham in Dunblain, Mr. David  
 Milne in Ross, Mr. Alexander Forbes in Caith-  
 ness, Mr. James Law in Orkney, Mr. Alexander  
 Milne in Dunkeld, Mr. John Campbell in Ar-  
 gyle, and Mr. Andrew Knox in the Isles. Thus  
 after fifty years of confusion, and a multiplicity  
 of windings and turnings, either to improve or  
 to revise the plan adopted in 1560, we see an  
 Episcopal church once more settled in Scotland,  
 with a regular Apostolical succession of Episcopacy  
 introduced, upon the extinction of the old line  
 which had long before failed, without any at-  
 tempt, real or pretended, to keep it up. The  
 church had been long projecting this settlement,  
 and had gone on by gradual advances, from one  
 step to another, with much patience and great  
 perseverance to the last. Yet it cannot be said,  
 that the education he had received in his youth  
 was such as would prejudice him in favour of  
 Episcopacy, or that it was the ambition of the  
 clergy which prompted him to the re-establishment  
 of it. It is true, many of them were, even in  
 the times of the greatest confusion, well inclined  
 to the primitive Episcopal model, and sufficiently  
 acquainted with early antiquity to see the ex-  
 pediency and necessity of it: But a few turbu-  
 lent incendiaries, such as Melvil, Blake, and  
 Bruce, who, when they appear, will always find  
 some

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XLIII.



some abettors and followers, were perpetually raising such clamour and disturbance, as deterred the quiet lovers of truth from entering lists, to struggle with such fiery and unmanageable tempers. And had not the King been by his learning to confute their licentious principles, as well as steady to the resolutions he formed, these few fanatical levellers would have kept both church and state in a continued ferment. But his constancy carried his point, he was happy enough to see the good effects of it. The persons now invested with the Episcopal character, made it their business, both by the example and authority, to stem the tumultuous torrent of former times, and to preserve peace and harmony among all ranks of people under their charge: In so much that a Presbyterian historian, cotemporary with this solemn reflection of real Episcopacy, makes a heavy complaint, that by far the greatest part of the nation submitted quietly to it, neither was it the power of the late democratical spirit for long time to create any opposition to it, or disturbance under it.

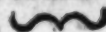
Calderwd.

But tho' the weak remains of that party could not, or could not for a while, give much uneasiness to the now restored church, there was another set of malecontents pursuing the same design under other colours, which kept her in agitation, and occasioned some trouble to her governors. In the end of the year 1613, one O'wy, a Jesuit, from the College of Gratz in Hungary, was apprehended at Glasgow, and brought before the High Commission, had the questions put to him, "Whether the Pope is the supreme judge has power over the King"

Spotf. 523

"temporal"

temporals in order to spiritual concerns? Whether the Pope may excommunicate or depose his Majesty? Whether the Pope hath power to absolve the subjects from their native and sworn allegiance to the King? And whether it be lawful to slay a King, if once excommunicated and deposed by the Pope?" To all which the King was cunning enough to give evasive answers, upon the main, they seemed to be on the affirmative side, and when at his trial Archbishop Spotswood pushed him with the question, "Whether the King, if deposed by the Pope, might be lawfully killed?" He boldly replied, "It is a question among the Doctors of the Church: Many hold the affirmative not improbably: But as that point is not yet determined, so if it shall be concluded, I will give my life in defence of it, and to call it unlawful I will not, tho' I should save my life by saying it." He had, in his speech before the King's judges, declined their authority in matters of religion, with which he said the King had nothing to do, and which assertion, he added, "the best of your own ministers do maintain as well as I, and if they be wise they will continue of the same mind." The conclusion was, that the unhappy man, for this dangerous and unchristian doctrine, was found guilty of treason, and publicly hanged in the street of Glasgow the same day. But another of his Majesty taking a safer course, and denying Ogilvy's propositions, was suffered to depart out of the country, the King always declaring that he would never give a Jesuit for his religion, tho' his own personal

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sonal safety required his keeping a watchful  
over them.\* Soon after this trial the Archbishop of  
Glasgow, to which See Bishop Law was re-  
moved from Orkney. The next public matter  
ecclesiastical cognizance was the absolution of  
Marquis of Huntly, which, on account of  
circumstances attending it, deserves to be  
notice of. He had been lying these eight  
past under a sentence of excommunication,  
tho' he had made several appearances of obe-  
satisfaction, had still, on some pretext or  
avoided the actual performance of what was  
quired. At last, being impatient to see the  
whom he knew to have been always his friend,  
he took journey to London in the year 1616,  
when so far on his way, he met a messenger  
the King ordering him to return, and satisfy  
high commission in Scotland. The Marquis,  
willing to be thus disappointed, begged the mes-  
senger to let the King know, that his coming  
on purpose to give his Majesty contentment  
every thing, and to beseech his Majesty,  
that he was so far on his journey, not to  
him his presence. The King was much pleased  
with this declaration, and permitting him to  
to town, directed him to the Archbishop of Can-  
terbury, with whom the Marquis voluntarily  
ferred to communicate. But his excommuni-  
cation standing in the way, and it being against

\* The late instance of his brother King Henry IV. of France, first wounded by one, and then finally murdered by another, that frantic fraternity, was a melancholy warning to all Kings to be on their guard against such authorised cut-throats, and to keep them at elbow-length as much as possible.

ons, that a person excommunicated in one church should be absolved in another, without the consent of the church he belonged to, application was made to the Bishop of Caithness, who happened to be in London about business, that he would consent to, and witness the absolution in the name of the church of Scotland, which was held to be warrant enough for their proceedings.

Upon which the Marquis was solemnly absolved in Lambeth chapel, by Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a form compiled on purpose, and expressing, among other things, "such an agreement and correspondence between the churches of England and Scotland, that what the Bishops and pastors of the one, without any earthly respect, shall accomplish to satisfy the christian and charitable end and desire of the other, cannot be distasteful to either." When accounts of this affair were brought to Scotland, great exceptions were taken by the church here; and what the Archbishop of Canterbury had done, was interpreted to be a sort of usurpation. But this fear was soon removed by a letter from the King, and another from Canterbury, both addressed to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and both acknowledging in the plainest and strongest terms, the full authority and absolute independence of the church of Scotland upon any other church whatever.\* These letters

\* In considering the Marquis of Huntly's conduct, it appears somewhat strange, that he should so long have scrupled to communicate with the church of Scotland, even under the late regulation upon the English plan, and yet on his first appearance in London should have agreed so readily to join in communion with the church there. This will no doubt be imputed to inconsistency and a time-serving disposition; But there is a passage in the King's letter which may be made use of, to account for it

LETTER being shewn to the clergy of Scotland, gave  
 XLIII. verbal content, and the Marquis himself, on his  
 turn from court, appearing in the next assembly  
 at Aberdeen, had his absolution ratified,  
 was received into the bosom of the church  
 by their own form.

In this assembly, where the Earl of Monmouth  
 sat as commissioner, it was ordained "that  
 "acts of assemblies should be collected and  
 "in order, to serve for Canons of discipline,  
 "children should be carefully catechised,  
 "confirmed by the Bishop, or in his absence  
 "such as were employed in visitation of churches  
 "and that a liturgy, or book of Common Prayer  
 "should be formed for public use." These  
 were sent up and presented to the King for  
 royal assent, by the Archbishop of Glasgow  
 Bishop of Ross: And the King, along with  
 approbation, recommended to them the following  
 articles, to be inserted among their Canons, "  
 "the holy communion should be received  
 "all kneeling; that it should be given to dying  
 "persons on their desiring it, at home; that it

another way. Among other arguments, the King desired  
 the church of Scotland to consider, that tho' the Marquis had  
 and subscribed all the other articles of religion, and had frequently  
 heard sermon, yet "his absolution at home was deferred  
 "the scruple he made about the presence of our Saviour in  
 "sacrament." From this it would appear, that the doctrine  
 of the Eucharist in the church of England, where he had no scruple  
 about the presence of Christ in it, was at that time different  
 from the doctrine of the church of Scotland, which kept him  
 from partaking of it with them: And if this was the case  
 of this nobleman, as we have the King's word it was, it shews  
 he had all along been more honest and conscientious in a  
 point of so high importance, than many of his prosecutors had  
 been willing to believe, or perhaps capable to perceive.

him, in cases of necessity, might be adminis-  
 tered in private houses; and that the yearly  
 commemoration of the birth, passion, resurrec-  
 tion and ascension of our blessed Saviour, and  
 the coming of the Holy Ghost, should be  
 observed on days set apart for that purpose.”  
 the difficulty of admitting these articles, how-  
 expedient in themselves, being represented  
 to his Majesty, by the Archbishop of St. An-  
 drews, and a reason given why they could not  
 be inserted among the Canons, as having at no  
 time been mentioned to the church, nor pro-  
 posed in any of their meetings, the business  
 was not further pressed at present, but referred  
 to a more convenient season.

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I am, &c.

David of James VI.

LETTER

King



LETTER

XLIV.



## L E T T E R XLIV.

*K. James comes to Scotland, and holds a Parliament—Proceedings of the Clergy in Ecclesiastical Matters—Articles proposed by the King—Agreed to by an Assembly at Perth, and ordered to be observed—Account of the Synod Dort in Holland—The Ministers of Edinburgh put under proper Regulations—Character of James VI.*

A.D. 1617.

THE King having been now thirteen years in England, was determined to make a visit to his native country, and among other preparations for his reception, he gave order to repair the chapel of Holyroodhouse, and to set down some portraits of the Apostles, to be placed in proper places, as ornaments to it. But being signified to his Majesty, by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Brechin, in a joint letter, how the people would be to take offence at a thing so uncommon among them, tho' he was much displeased with such unreasonable grumbling

even in some measure with these Bishops. LETTER XLIV.  
 he thought, humoured the people in them; for the sake of peace, he condescended to call his orders, but cautiously put it upon the footing of want of time to get the work properly done. In prosecution therefore of his design, he took his journey from London, and in the beginning of May came to Berwick, where he was met by the Privy Council of Scotland, and by their advice summoned a Parliament to convene at Edinburgh on the 13th of June. On the day appointed the Parliament was held, and the King in a long speech recommended to the states the establishment of religion and justice, either of which, he said, could be looked for, unless due regard was had to the ministers of truth. The first article proposed to public deliberation was, touching the royal authority in cases ecclesiastical, concerning which he desired might be enacted, "that whatsoever conclusion was taken by his Majesty, with advice of the Archbishops and Bishops, in matters of external policy, the same should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law." But Woodrood tells us, that the Bishops interceding, humbly intreated that the article might be better considered, as in making ecclesiastical laws, they said, the advice and consent of presbyters was also required: Upon which, the King, with much reluctance, agreed that the article should be in this form, "that whatever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the strength of a law."

So

**LETTER XLIV.** So far were the Bishops, we see by these instances, from humouring or flattering the King in all his proposals, as a few malignants falsely upbraided them; and so cautious were they in this last instance, not to stretch the prerogative inherent in their character, to too great a height above their brethren of the lower clergy. For however willing they might be, for the sake of peace, to admit their presbyters to some share of legislative power, they could not but know that in the primitive and uncorrupted ages this was neither demanded nor practised. There were many councils or church-assemblies held throughout the kingdom, where, tho' presbyters might be present, which was not always the case, they neither sought nor were allowed a decisive vote, nor was their consent required to give sanction to any Canon. However much their advice might be asked in some circumstances, and from personal considerations. Whether the condescension of our Bishops at this time, in thus parcelling out their legislative authority among their inferiors, answered any good end now, or produced any good effect afterwards, is a question to be determined by events, not by arguments; and they themselves soon saw the disagreeable consequences of what they had done. For the article, even thus modified, was taken hold of by a few malecontents among the ministers to raise a clamour, as if the whole fabric of the church was to be demolished at once: And to such a height did they carry their inconsiderate zeal, that, while the parliament was sitting, they drew up a protestation against passing the article into a law, pleading the purity of their reformation, the liberty and tranquillity of the church, and the many royal assurances

assurances given them, that no innovation or alteration should be imposed upon them, without the previous concurrence of the whole clergy, contained in a General Assembly of the church. Yet these protesters and their modern abettors, they would bear to be reasoned with, might be in mind, that the article, as admitting "a competent number of the ministry into council with the King and Bishops," was no infringement of any of their privileges, nor in the least, contradictory to their darling boast of the purity of the reformation. For even in the times of its greatest purity, when, as one of their capital historians flourishes upon it, "mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, had never, since Christ's coming in the flesh, a more glorious meeting and amiable embracing upon earth;" when then it was ordained by an assembly in 1562, that no minister leave his flock for coming to the assembly, except he have complaints to make, or be complained of, or at least be warned thereto by the Superintendent." And in another assembly in 1563, it was enacted, "that none have place to vote in the assembly but Superintendents, commissioners for visiting the parishes, and ministers brought with them, presented as persons able to reason, and having knowledge to judge." Yea, as far down as the year 1576, the very year to which Petrie alludes his flaming panegyric, we find by a letter from the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, to Beza, that it had been the custom ever since the reformation, for the Superintendents, or Bishops, as Glamis calls them, who were standing and necessary members of assembly, to nominate and appoint such ministers as were to sit in assembly with

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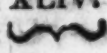
Petrie.



LETTER with them. This was a distinguishing branch  
 XLIV. Episcopal privilege then, and was reckoned  
 encroachment on the liberty and unity of  
 church, which, Petrie says, "could not at  
 "time be paralleled by the best reformed church  
 "in other places." And it will not be easy  
 assign a valid reason why the Bishops afterwards  
 should not enjoy the same privilege of calling  
 to their consultations, when his Majesty proposed  
 any thing to them that concerned the church  
 such ministers as they knew "were able to  
 "son, and had knowledge to judge," which  
 very well be supposed to have been what  
 meant by "the competent number of the  
 "mistry" specified in the article.

It is true, after Melvil's levelling system  
 been rashly adopted, the former orderly cul-  
 soon fell into defuetude, and every fiery for-  
 orator took care to get himself, or one of  
 own temper, pushed into the assemblies, with  
 other view but to make a noise, and have  
 glory of contending with the civil power. And  
 it was against that kind of packed and pro-  
 cuous meetings, that the King expressed his  
 gust, when he told them, that "to have man-  
 "ruled as they had been in such general as-  
 "semblies, he would never agree, tho' he was  
 "against a competent number of the gra-  
 "and most learned of the ministers being  
 "in to assist the Bishops with their advice.  
 However, the protestation, tho' it discovered  
 restless spirit of the contrivers, was not pre-  
 ed: And the King, to stop any further cavil  
 on the subject, did not insist on having the  
 ticle brought into parliament, as necessary to  
 enforced by that sanction. Yet some of its

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ent opposers continued to make an outcry LETTER XLIV.  
 but it, and the famous Calderwood, for his sin-  
 ar obstinacy and insolence on the occasion,   
 himself first imprisoned, and then banished  
 kingdom, in which exile he remained, till  
 commotions of his party in the next reign  
 ight him again on the stage. At last the  
 ng having, in some measure, tho' not fully to  
 mind, dispatched the business for which he  
 ne to Scotland, began to think of returning  
 his English capital, and having called the Bi-  
 ps and principal ministers to attend him at  
 Andrews, and put them in mind what he had  
 ne both for the external advantage and inter-  
 order of the church, and what further de-  
 at regulations he wished to be introduced a-  
 ng them, he gave his permission to the meet-  
 of an assembly at St. Andrews in Novem-  
 next, and so took an affectionate and final  
 ve of them.  
 When the day came for the assembly's meet-  
 g, and all were convened, the Archbishop of  
 Andrews, as President, exhorted them, for the  
 ry of God, the honour of the gospel, and their  
 n good, to take a prudent course, and not to  
 wart the King's good intentions, by courting  
 e vain applause of a factious few. Yet the as-  
 bly thought the matters laid before them of  
 ch importance, that they judged it proper to  
 fer the full conclusion of most of them to an-  
 der meeting, and only came to a determina-  
 n of these two points, "that the communion  
 might be administered to sick persons in pri-  
 vate at their own houses; and that the minis-  
 ters in the public celebration of the Lord's sup-  
 per, should give the elements out of their own  
 Vol. II. L 1 " hands

LETTER XLIV. "hands to the people." The King was so from being pleased with this dilatory way, which was quite contrary to what he was made to expect; that besides writing two sharp letters to the Archbishops, he sent peremptory orders to the Privy Council, for inhibiting the payment of money to any of the contumacious ministers in town or country, till they shewed their conformity, and had it attested either by the Primate or ordinary Bishop. This opened the eyes, and brought them to such a temper, that they were fain to promise compliance, and begged the Primate to intercede with his Majesty for them, which he did accordingly, and obtained a conditional revocation of the alarming order. Most of the next summer was taken up with this business; and in the diocesan synods there were carried with reasonable quietness, and with such a fair prospect of union in sentiment, that at the joint intreaty of all the Bishops, the King notwithstanding of what he had lately threatened, was prevailed with to give way to another meeting of assembly in August following.

Accordingly it sat down at Perth, on the 4th of August 1618. The Lords Haddington, Carnegy, and Scoon were his Majesty's commissioners; and here, after long conference and mature deliberation, the five articles proposed by the King two years before, and seriously and frequently canvassed since, were in open and full assembly concluded upon, and an ordinance made, 1. "That the holy sacrament be received meekly and reverently by the people upon their knees." 2. "That if any good christian known to the pastor, be by long visitation of sickness unable to resort to the church for receiving the sacrament."

"communion"

communion, and shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his own house, the minister shall not deny him so great a comfort, but shall administer it to him, with three or four to communicate with him, according to the form prescribed in the church. 3. That in cases of great need and danger, the minister shall not refuse to baptize an infant in a private house, after the form used in the congregation, and shall, on the first Lord's day after, declare such private baptism to the people. 4. That for stopping the increase of Popery, and settling true religion in the hearts of people, it is thought good that the minister of every parish catechize the young children of eight years of age in the belief, the ten commandments, and the Lord's prayer, and that children so instructed shall be presented to the Bishop, who shall bless them with prayer for the increase of their knowledge, and continuance of God's heavenly graces with them. 5. That considering how the inestimable benefits of our Lord's birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending of the Holy Ghost, were commendably and godly remembered at certain particular days and times by the whole church of the world, and may be so now, therefore it is thought meet, that every minister shall upon these days make commemoration of the said inestimable benefits from pertinent texts of scripture, framing his doctrine and exhortation thereto, and rebuking all superstitious observation, and licentious profanation thereof."

These articles thus concluded, orders were given to intimate them to all the parish churches, and the ministers were enjoined to instruct their



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flocks in the lawfulness of them, and to exhort them to obedience. Most of them indeed obeyed the injunction: But the factious and seditious party paid no regard to it. They even published calumnious and malevolent libels, both against the articles themselves, and against the competency and authority of the assembly that enacted them.\* And because the synod of Dort in Holland did about this time pass sentence upon the points of abstruse theology in dispute between the Remonstrants and them, our malecontents were at pains to make people believe that the Dutch synod, which was cried up as a standard of orthodoxy, had condemned the assembly at Perth and its five articles, and by that means they for some time fostered the ignorant violence in their prejudices, till the imposition was discovered, and the authors of it put to the shame they deserved.

As this synod of Dort was much spoken of at the time, and by our King's countenancing, with the presence of some of the ablest of our divines, came in a few years to possess no small influence, and to create lasting divisions in the churches in his dominions, it will be proper that we take some notice of it, and even go back a little, and touch at the causes that occasioned it. The reformation made its first

\* These libels no sooner appeared, than they were answered and confuted, by two eminent writers on the other side, first Dr David Lindsay Bishop of Brechin, and then by the famous learned Dr John Forbes professor of divinity at Aberdeen, son to the worthy Patrick Forbes of Corse, the then Bishop of Ross, both which defences are sufficient to vindicate the lawfulness and obligation of the Perth-articles, as they are called, from the noisy and insignificant clamours that ever were, or ever will be, raised against them.

to the Low Countries, and in what is called Holland, according to the Lutheran model, both in discipline and doctrine. Among her doctrinal tenets, that of predestination had been much agitated in the Romish church, between the Dominicans on the one side, and the Franciscans on the other. The Lutherans too sided upon this article: The rigid part of them, with Flaccius Illyricus at their head, joined the Dominicans, who boasted of Thomas Aquinas and the great St. Augustin as their patrons; the greater number followed Melancthon, and the Greek church, upon this dark and disagreeable subject. When Calvin came first upon the stage of action, he struck out a way for himself, which neither Augustin nor Aquinas had thought of, by supposing that God had laid on Adam an unavoidable necessity of falling into sin and misery, in order that he might shew his mercy in electing some few of his posterity, and his justice in the absolute rejection or reprobation of all the rest. This scheme appeared so shocking to most of the Lutherans, that they pressed a greater readiness to return to Popery, than come into it. Yet Calvin's disciple and successor Beza improved upon it, by fixing the decree of predestination before the fall, which Calvin himself had placed in the corrupted mass of mankind, as viewed after it. And their joint authority had influence enough to get this doctrine, with all its consequences, and without examination, received and established, not only at Geneva their metropolis, but even by degrees imposed upon all the reformed churches in the Low Countries where the French Protestants, who were all Calvinists, had any footing.

Yet

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Yet there were numbers, especially in the  
vince of Utrecht, who still adhered to the  
side of the question, and could not digest Beza's  
harsh doctrine, and in this state matters con-  
tinued among them, without any great ferment,  
the time that Beza lived. But soon after  
his death in 1605, people began to speak their  
minds with greater freedom, and his Supralapsarian  
system was attacked from different quarters.  
At this time, the well known Arminius was Professor  
of Divinity at Leyden, and being a man of great  
reputation for universal learning, and acuteness  
in controversial management, was employed to  
defend the established doctrine against the rising  
position. But it happened to him, as to several  
others in like cases, that upon examining and  
balancing the reasons on both sides, he was  
brought over to the opinions which he pro-  
posed to confute, and became a keener and more  
formidable adversary than any that had yet ap-  
peared on that side of the question. He was  
immediately taken up by his brother-professor  
Gomarus, a fierce austere man, but inferior to  
Arminius in every thing except in vigour and  
nature. Thus the flame broke out, and was  
fed up with mutual violence and animosity. Nu-  
mers of learned men declared for Arminius,  
his party found themselves so strong, that at  
the time of his death in 1609, they presented  
to the States of Holland a writing, which was  
called a Remonstrance, and from which they  
have got the title of Remonstrants, containing  
their belief upon these five points: 1. That  
in election and reprobation has regard to  
faith and perseverance in the one, and to unbelief  
and impenitence in the other. 2. That Jesus Christ

for all men. 3. That by the assistance of LETTER  
the grace the commandments of God may be XLIV.

4. That this grace is not irresistible. 5.

That the regenerate may fall into deadly sin:

in opposition to the five distinguishing te-

of rigid Calvinism, absolute election and

robation, the irresistibility of grace, the im-

possibility of keeping the commandments, the cer-

tain perseverance of the regenerate, and that

Christ died only for the elect.

It was to allay these heats, and prevent further

chief, that the States of Holland, after some

years of contention, called this national synod of

1618, which decided against the Arminians, but

neither convince nor silence them. How-

ever, reasons of state were more hurtful to the

Arminian cause, than strength of argument. In

the republic at this time were two factions.

First, Maurice, Prince of Orange, whose family had

long been at the head of the Protestant interest,

was beginning to claim more authority than was

thought consistent with the constitution, and on

this account was opposed by Barneveldt and

Grotius, two of the greatest men that ever Hol-

land bred. These two favoured the Arminians,

while the other party was supported by the Prince

Maurice of Orange, and by our King James, who sent over

bishops and some divines to attend the synod,

without taking any share in the business of

it. By the superior weight of this influence the

Arminian divines were synodically condemned,

and severely treated by the civil power. Barne-

veldt was seized and beheaded; and Grotius was

imprisoned for trial in a castle belonging to the

Prince of Orange, but fortunately made his escape,

and



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and lived in great esteem in foreign countries till the year 1643 that he died.

This dispute, thus begun in Holland, was brought over into Britain, and fondly cherished by the malecontents of the next reign. The reformed church of England had but lightly touched at predestination in her seventeenth article, which seems designedly to have left that thorny question undetermined. The Confession of Faith drawn up by our reformers in 1560, was still more moderate on this head than even the Church of England, and tho' it speaks, in some places, of the elect and reprobate, it is still in a sense different from Beza's, and such as an Arminian would not together disapprove. But when the seditious humour of Puritanism had infected the churches of Britain, this decision of the synod of Dort laid hold on as a powerful precedent, and by almost heterogeneous association, every friend of monarchy was called an Arminian: And to this day Arminianism, as something of a hateful sound, supplies the place of Popery in the mouths of many who know little what either of them means.

To this foreign assembly at Dort the Scotch malignants applied for redress under the grievances they pretended to complain of, about Episcopacy and the five articles of Perth: But their application was to no purpose. That convention meddled with nothing but those abstruse points of speculative divinity which were before them. They entered into no extraneous discussion of that kind: And with regard to Episcopacy, we have no other proof of their sentiments, than their repeated offers of the president's chair to the Bishop of Landaff, and their always addressing

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e Armin  
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the title of reverend Prelate and Lord Bishop. **LETTER XLIV.**  
 is alone may shew what little ground the ene-  
 of Episcopacy either then or since had to  
 deal to the synod of Dort, granting its autho-  
 to have been more decisive than it is, upon  
 question.\*

But to return to Scotland; the articles of  
 were cordially received in most places of  
 kingdom, except in Edinburgh, where a few  
 of clergy and laity pretended to find fault  
 with them, yet were so conscious how little ground  
 there was for their discontent, that when they  
 were questioned about it, they all excused them-  
 selves, and mutually blamed one another. To re-  
 medy this evil, the two Archbishops, by the King's  
 direction, gave orders to the Magistrates to make  
 the division of the town into separate pa-  
 rishes, as had been often proposed; and to provide  
 for other ministers, besides those that were in

It was not among Protestants only that the predestinarian  
 controversy with its appendages was roiled at this time. The  
 Catholics, under their common head the Pope, were as much di-  
 vided about it, as the Protestants were in all their different de-  
 nominations. Jansenius, a Spanish divine of Louvain, who was  
 Bishop of Ipres in 1635, and died in 1638, appeared about  
 this time on Beza's side of the doctrine, with as much keenness  
 as any Calvinist of them all, and in his book, called *Augustinus*,  
 went to all the lengths that either Calvin or Beza could have gone.  
 On the other hand the Jesuits, under two of their famous doc-  
 tors Lewis Molina and Peter Fonseca, took up the opposite side  
 of the question with equal stiffness and acrimony. And tho' the  
 two successively interfered, and peremptorily enjoined silence  
 on both parties, without venturing to decide for the one, for  
 fear of disobliging the other, yet the paper war continued with  
 increasing animosity for more than a century, and the Epithets  
 Molinists and Jansenists were as disgusting to the community,  
 as hateful to one another in the infallible church of Rome,  
 as the Arminians and Calvinists were or could be in the Prot-  
 estant churches.

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XLIV.

present service. At the same time, to prevent the usual consequences of that popular licentiousness which had been so long indulged in a metropolis, it was ordained that every minister should reside in, and have charge of his own parish; that every vacancy should be supplied by the presentation of the town council; that several kirk-sessions should be chosen yearly by the Magistrates and ministers for the particular parishes, and that the foolish and indecent customs of the people's meeting before the communion, and censuring their ministers, should be totally laid aside in all time coming. Thus by the pious care of the King, and the prudent attention of the Bishops, who were all sensible, well-respected men, things went on calmly and regularly, and with such an uniformity of sentiment, that, in a Parliament held in 1621 by the Marquis of Hamilton, as commissioner for the King, the acts of the Perth-assembly were ratified, and divers other constitutions for the good of both church and state proposed and enacted.

But of all the instances of the King's tenderness for the peace and honour of the church of Scotland, none was more conspicuous than his constant method of filling up such Bishopricks as fell vacant in his time. For upon every such event he appointed the Archbishop of St. Andrews to convene the rest of the Bishops, and allow them to name three or four whom they thought sufficiently qualified for that high office, so that there might be no error in the choice which he reserved the privilege of to himself, out of an approved list. This was keeping up such a harmony between the rights of the church on the one hand, and the prerogatives of the crown

the other, now that they were so intimately connected and as it were intermixed with one another, that either of the two could be aggrieved, either by the weight of Royal authority bearing hard upon the freedom of the one, or the claim of total exemption encroaching upon the dignity of the other. And if any failure or mistake was to slip into the management of church-matters, which the greatest caution cannot always prevent, the same would by this means fall where it properly ought, upon those who, by the original constitution of the church, were the spiritual governors of it.

While the King was thus providing for the interests of religion at home, and the peace and quiet of his own subjects, he was unavoidably engaged in a quarrel abroad, by means of his connection with the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who had married his only daughter Elizabeth, and infatuated by a ruinous ambition, had brought himself and family into the greatest distress. To relieve this unfortunate Prince, and give some check to the haughty cruelty of the Austrian family, a war with Spain was resolved on, and to strengthen his hands for carrying it on, James concluded an alliance with France, by proposing a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Henrietta, the French King's sister, which was readily agreed to. But in the midst of these preparations for war, which, however necessary, was very contrary to his pacific disposition, the King was seized with a slight touch of the gout, and then fell into an ague, which in four or five fits carried him out of this world, on the 27th of March 1625, after he had reigned over England twenty



**LETTER XLIV.** ty two years, and over Scotland, from his  
ther's death, thirty eight. Without regard to  
many various opinions that have been form  
of this first monarch of Great Britain, it  
justly be said, that to every sincere lover of  
ecclesiastical order and purity, his memory will  
precious: And no person who reads his history  
without prejudice, can well deny him the cha  
racter which has been often given him, of *James  
the Peaceful and the Just.*

I am, &c.

**LETTER**

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XLV.

## LETTER XLV.

*Session of Charles I. — Situation of Affairs in England — A Liturgy proposed for Scotland — And an Act of Revocation or Surrendry of the Church Lands — Both opposed by a discontented Party — The King visits Scotland, and erects the Bishoprick of Edinburgh — He authorizes a Book of Canons, and consents that a Liturgy be prepared for the Scottish Church — Proceedings in that Affair.*

ON the death of James, his only surviving son and heir Charles was immediately proclaimed, with the usual solemnities in both kingdoms, and began a reign, the most disastrous in the latter part of it, and most tragical in the conclusion, both to church and state, that is to be met with in the British annals. His first publication was solemnizing his marriage with Princess Henrietta of France, which had been agreed upon in his father's lifetime: And this connection with one of the Popish religion, though otherwise a Princess of great virtue and good sense,

LETTER XLV. sense, may be said to have laid the foundation of the many troubles in which he was afterwards involved. As soon as the parliament met, the House of Commons, among other grievances, took concern in matters of religion, and summoned a Mr. Montague before them, for having, in a book which he had published at the late King's command against the Papists, warped, as they thought, towards Popery and Arminianism, thus artfully classing together these heterogeneous denominations, and designing to throw odium on the one, by such a malevolent conjunction with the other. Succeeding parliaments went on in the same strain, till at last they determined and destroyed that very Church of England which at first they artfully pretended to support and defend. The Commons would pass no money-bills, nor grant any subsidies, till the King should redress what they were pleased to call grievances, and consent to such alterations in the religious establishment as they from time to time should point out to him. So that by the exigencies of government he was driven to trust himself on the benevolence of his people by way of loan, to be repaid out of the first parliamentary grants; and to desire the clergy in their several districts to encourage the cheerful contribution of this loan as much as they could. On this occasion, however much the court might have erred in bearing hard on those who refused to lend, it certainly was equally wrong and arbitrary in the Commons to revile those who were willing, and to censure the preachers who thought it their duty to recommend it. It was this the only opposition which the King met with from the Puritan party, even in the beginning

g, and apparently peaceable part of his reign. LETTER  
 The five articles of rigid Calvinism, established XLV.  
 the synod of Dort, had made their way over  
 England, and found encouragement even a-  
 mong some of the Episcopal clergy, under the  
 patronage of the then Primate, Dr. George Ab-  
 bot, who, tho' not an open espouser, was a fa-  
 vourer of them. This awakened the at-  
 tention of the other Bishops and clergy, who,  
 to prevent the flame from rising to too great a  
 height, procured the reprinting the thirty nine  
 articles, with a declaration from the King at the  
 head of them, in which he "prohibits all pub-  
 lic disputations on these dark points, and or-  
 ders all such disputes to be shut up in God's pro-  
 mises, &c." Upon this the Calvinist faction  
 took fire, and exclaimed bitterly about Arminian-  
 ism, and against the cruel restraint laid on them  
 in preaching the sweet saving doctrines of  
 God's free grace in election and predestination,  
 and from executing their commission, by de-  
 claring the whole counsel of God. The Com-  
 mons too in their next session took up this con-  
 versy, and in direct opposition to the King's  
 declaration, were bold enough to pronounce on  
 the sense of the thirty nine articles, by this de-  
 clARATION of their own; "We the Commons in  
 Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and  
 avow for truth the sense of the articles of re-  
 ligion established by Parliament in the thir-  
 teenth year of Q. Elizabeth, which by the  
 public act of the Church of England, and by  
 the general and current exposition of the  
 writers of our church, have been delivered  
 unto us: And we reject the sense of the Je-  
 suits and Arminians wherein they differ from  
 "us."

Collier, vol.  
 ii. p. 747.



LETTER "us." It was surely a business quite foreign  
 XLV. a House of Commons, to decide so peremptorily  
 in a controversy where the most learned divines  
 were divided, and where, as their professions did  
 not qualify them, so neither did their commissions  
 empower them to enquire or determine. However,  
 the King's declaration, notwithstanding the clamour  
 against it at that time, stood its ground ever since,  
 and appeared in its original position at the head of  
 the thirty-nine articles, in every edition of them to  
 this day. Much was it the misfortune of this good  
 man, that he should be reviled and contradicted in  
 things, in which his successors, even acknowledged  
 Protestants and deliverers from Popery, have copied  
 after him with precedent, and met with no opposition.

About this time, offence was also taken at  
 the reviving the observance of some decent rites  
 and ceremonies, which, as having been of prime  
 practice, had been retained at the Reformation,  
 but afterwards laid aside or neglected, from a  
 fanciful fear of superstition. But that which  
 raised the loudest outcry, was the King's publishing  
 a declaration, allowing and almost enjoining  
 the use of certain sports and recreations on  
 Sunday afternoons, at the close of evening prayer.  
 Such an indulgence had been granted by authority  
 in his father's time, but for whatever reason,  
 had not been much either observed or  
 found fault with. The revival of it now opened  
 the mouths, and employed the pens of all  
 partizans of Geneva in England, tho' it is cer-  
 tain that even in Geneva itself, at the beginning  
 of their reformation, and for many years after,  
 they were not so strict in this article as their  
 friends in Britain, but permitted all manner of  
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ful amusements, and many works of neces-  
 sary labour on the Sunday, provided that the  
 people gave attendance in the church at the time  
 appointed. Yet, "this declaration, as Mr. Col-  
 lier observes, whether on the score of indulg-  
 ing too much liberty, or of dispensing with a  
 late act passed in the first parliament of this  
 reign, was not well received, and gave the  
 people a further disgust at the administration.  
 And some of the clergy who scrupled the  
 reading of it in their churches, were suspended  
 by their ordinaries, and prosecuted in the High  
 Commission: These rigours, tho' not very fre-  
 quent, heightened the complaint, and diserved  
 the government both in church and state."  
 Thus matters stood in England during the  
 eight or nine years of this unhappy reign:  
 a period full of secret murmurings and dis-  
 contents, hatched originally by the remains of  
 the Puritan faction, and fostered by the con-  
 vivance or remissness of even some of the Bi-  
 shops and clergy, such as Abbot of Canterbury  
 and Williams of Lincoln, and a few more lead-  
 ing men among them. From this short view of  
 the disposition of the neighbouring church, let  
 us now return to the situation of our own af-  
 fairs at home, where we shall soon find com-  
 motions bursting forth to an amazing degree of  
 violence: and that violence abetted and en-  
 couraged by the powerful concurrence of the  
 English malecontents. When King James died,  
 he left our matters, outwardly at least, and to  
 appearance, peaceably settled both in church and  
 state. A regular Episcopacy by canonical con-  
 secration had been admitted by the General As-  
 semblies of the church, and confirmed by un-  
 question-

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Hist. vol. II.  
p. 758.

**LETTER XLV.** questionable acts of parliament. The five articles of Perth, after full and free debate, had been almost unanimously agreed to, and for some years uniformly practised, except by a very few of the inferior clergy, who shewed as much superstition in opposing, as ever was, or could be seen in defending the decent rites of primitive antiquity. The King had claimed, and was allowed a certain measure of ecclesiastical supremacy, power, with advice of the Bishops and such ministers as he should choose for that purpose, to dispose of and regulate the externals of ecclesiastical polity, which power he had always exercised in such a way as gave offence to none of those who were resolved to be offended at nothing that a King should do in these matters. The Bishops too were pious and prudent men, and by the method which he took in the nomination of them, were well acquainted with, and mutually agreeable to one another. The Archbishop of St. Andrews, Spotswood, for his good sense and singular moderation, had been always a particular favourite with King James. The other Archbishop, Law of Glasgow, was likewise a valuable man for his learning and other Episcopal accomplishments. The see of Aberdeen was filled with the famous Patrick Forbes, who in the 48th year of his age prevailed upon to take orders, and was first minister at Keith for six years, and then in 1618 Bishop of Aberdeen, in which station he gained the esteem of all ranks, and died universally regretted in 1635. The rest of the sees were full. John Guthrie was Bishop of Moray, David Lindsay of Brechin, Adam Ballenden of Dunblain, Alexander Lindsay of Dunkeld, Patrick

ndsay of Ross, John Abernethy of Caithness, <sup>LETTER</sup>  
George Graham of Orkney, Andrew Lamb of XLV.  
alloway, Andrew Boyd of Argyle, and Thomas  
nox of the Isles.

Thus was the Church of Scotland quietly and  
regularly governed at the time of King James's  
death, very much no doubt to his satisfaction,  
who had done so much, and struggled so long,  
to accomplish this desirable end, and to bring  
the church in his native kingdom as near as pos-  
sible to a conformity with the church of Eng-  
land, with which, the more he was acquainted,  
he declared he was still the better pleased.—  
Yet there remained one flagrant defect in that  
want of uniformity which he so ardently wished  
between the two churches, and that was, the  
visible bareness of the worship in our church, for  
want of a public and authorised liturgy or form  
of common prayer, whereby every minister was  
left to the freedom of his own conceptions, and  
the effusions of a spirit not always the most  
orderly or pacific. He had indeed attempted to  
remedy this inconvenience, which himself in his  
own person had oft felt the fruits of, by pro-  
posing and procuring an act to be passed in a  
General Assembly at Aberdeen in August 1616,  
that a liturgy or form of common prayer should  
be composed for the use of the church; and to  
open the way for the more cordial reception of  
it he gave orders next spring, that the English  
liturgy should be daily used in his own chapel  
at Holyroodhouse from that time forth. Accord-  
ingly a form was drawn up and sent to the  
king, who, after a serious perusal of it by com-  
petent judges, gave it his approbation, and re-  
commended it to be properly digested, and recom-  
mended.



LETTER mended to public use. Which, as matters stood, would in all probability have taken effect if the breach with Spain, and his own death, which happened not long after, had not unfortunately interrupted the success of the business at that time.

**XLV.** In this posture of affairs the present King succeeded to the crown, and inheriting his father's zeal for the church of England, had it ever at heart to unite his three kingdoms in a form of public worship. But being embarrassed with the Spanish war, which the last Parliament of King James had entailed upon him, and engaged on his own account in a new rupture with France, he was not in a proper condition for the first four years to prosecute the undertaking. At last, having extricated himself out of these political difficulties, and being now at leisure to attend to other things, he thought fit to bring the Scottish Bishops in mind of his father's resolution, and pressed them to set about the business of the liturgy with the utmost application. Upon this they sent up Dr. John Maxwell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, who waiting on his Majesty to know his pleasure, was by him directed to Dr. Laud, at that time Bishop of London, so much in the King's confidence for his piety and careful attention to church order. After several conferences on the subject, Bishop Laud gave as his opinion, "that if his Majesty would have a form of worship in Scotland different from what they had already, it were best to have the English liturgy without any variation, so the same service book might pass through his Majesty's dominions." To which Dr. Maxwell

He replied, "that the Scots would be better pleased to have a liturgy of their own, but such an one as should come near to the English book both in matter and form; because," he urged in name of the Scotch Bishops, a liturgy made by themselves, and in some things different from the English service, would be most acceptable to their countrymen, whom they found very jealous of the least dependence on the church of England." This difference of opinion brought the cause before the King, who having weighed the arguments on both sides, declared for the English book. This happened in 1599, and here the business rested till four years after, when we shall hear more of it. In the mean time, we must take notice of another affair which employed the King's thoughts, and may be considered as a principal cause of the disturbances which followed.

During the late King's minority, the greater part of the lands belonging to the cathedral churches and religious houses, which at the reformation fell to the crown, and were annexed to by act of Parliament, had been, by the artful contrivance of Murray and the other Regents, parcelled out among the great men of the kingdom, to fix them to the reforming side. Numbers of the old nobility had got surreptitious gifts of some of these lands; and what remained were mostly bestowed upon younger sons of great families, and other favourites, who from this settlement were called "Lords of the new erection," such as Torphichen, Blantyre, Lindores, Balmerino, Kinlofs, and others; so that little or nothing remained to the crown of what, by the reformed constitution, ought to have belonged to it.

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XLV.

it only. This had been long complained of a heavy loss to the Sovereign, and at the time a prodigious grievance to the generally the nation. For these men being now possessors of the church lands, with the regalities and tythes which had belonged to the old ecclesiastical corporations, lorded it with much avarice and influence over the inferior gentry, who held of them in their newly acquired territories, and kept the poor peasants in a most miserable vassalage and subjection. The condition of the parochial clergy under these masters was equally wretched and servile: For instead of receiving the tythes of the parish originally settled upon the cure, they received only some pitiful sum in name of stipend from them by their new Lords, which for the most part was not easy to be extorted out of their avaritious hands.

King James intended to have revoked these impoverishing grants; but falling into years and troubles, he left the prosecution of this business to his son and successor: Who finding himself pinched for want of money by the refractory humour of his English Parliaments, was advised by his Scottish council to resume into his own hands these lands, tythes, and regalities, which the present occupants could pretend no other title to but the unjust usurpation or fraudulent acquisition of their predecessors. To effect this, he resorted upon an act of revocation, and for that purpose gave commission to the Earl of Annandale and Lord Maxwell, afterwards Earl of Nithdale, to hold a Parliament in Scotland for contribution of money and ships against the Dunkirkers, and secret instructions to Maxwell to get the act of revocation passed, if he found it practicable.

When come to Berwick, Maxwell was informed LETTER  
 his chief errand being known, had put all XLV.  
 burgh in an uproar, and that a rich coach,  
 which he had sent before him to Dalkeith,  
 had been broken to pieces, and the horses killed  
 by the mob, who regretted that they could  
 not serve the master the same way. Things  
 being in this situation, it was suggested to  
 the King by Sir Archibald Aitchison, Solicitor  
 General for Scotland, "that the act of revo-  
 cation had been represented by those that  
 were like to be sufferers under it, as princi-  
 pally intended to revoke all former acts for  
 suppressing Popery and settling the reformed  
 religion, and therefore it would not be safe  
 to proceed further in it: But that a commis-  
 sion might be issued under the great seal of  
 Scotland, for taking the surrendries of all such  
 superiorities and tythes within the kingdom at  
 his Majesty's pleasure, and that such as refused  
 to submit might be impleaded one by one, be-  
 ginning with such of the occupants as might  
 be thought most willing to yield, or least  
 able to contend: In which case he could as-  
 sure his Majesty, that having the laws on his  
 side, the courts of justice must and would pass  
 judgment for him." This proposal was agreed  
 to, and a commission of surrendry accordingly  
 issued the Great Seal on the 26th of June 1627.  
 Upon this legal authority the prosecutions were  
 begun and carried on to the King's advantage so  
 finally, that some of the impleaded parties  
 were cast in the suit, and the rest seeing, that  
 they could raise the people against the King,  
 could not raise them against the laws, it  
 was thought the best and safest way to compound  
 the



LETTER the business. Accordingly in the year 1630,  
 XLV. missioners were chosen and sent up to London  
 with the Lord Napier, then treasurer-depute, at  
 head of them, who, after a long treaty with  
 King, did at last agree, that the commons  
 should go on as formerly, and that all such  
 priorities and tythes as had been or should  
 surrendered, should be re-granted by the King  
 on these conditions, "that they who held  
 "reditary sheriffdoms, with power of life  
 "death, should quit these royalties to the King  
 "That they should give their tenants perma-  
 "leases for some certain term, for encourag-  
 "the improvement of the country: That pro-  
 "vision should be made for augmenting  
 "stipends of the clergy: That they should do  
 "the yearly rents reserved to the crown by  
 "first grants: Upon performing of which  
 "ditions, their estates should be settled upon  
 "by act of Parliament." It might have  
 expected that these concessions and abatements  
 of right on the King's side would have given  
 universal satisfaction, especially when all that  
 done in this weighty business was ratified  
 confirmed in the next Parliament in 1633.  
 inferior gentry indeed thought themselves  
 sensibly obliged by these surrendries, that  
 made a public acknowledgment to the King  
 delivering them from an intolerable bondage  
 which they and their ancestors had groaned  
 under ever since the reformation: And the parson  
 clergy were no less transported with joy, and  
 tolled the King as the founder and protector  
 their churches. But this fit of gratitude did  
 last long. Within a few years, many of them  
 who had been thus signally relieved, both

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XLV.

Hist. vol. ii  
p. 756.

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LETTER was resolved to maintain the government  
 XLV. his Royal father had established, they saw it  
 prudent to lie quiet, till some favourable opportunity should offer, and in the mean time to increase the number of their profelytes, wherever they had any influence. In this they succeeded too well, especially in Fife and the West country the two capital stages of John Knox's religious knight-errantry, where his memory was dear and a portion of his turbulent spirit still remained. In these parts the ministers used to keep fast on the first Sabbath of every quarter, of which they gave no public intimation, but only in private desired such of their flocks as they could confide in, to observe the solemnity. And on these days of fasting, they used in their sermons to throw out distant hints about the danger of religion from Prelacy and its dependencies, and their prayer to supplicate for remedy, with blessing on all good means which Providence should afford for that end. This was a precious freedom peculiar to their extempore method of praying, and of which a pre-composed liturgy, as well knew, would deprive them. No wonder that they could not bear the thoughts of having their godly fervency controuled by a dead infirm form, or the overflowing of their mournful hearts kept in from praying, as they saw proper, against their governors in church and state, and call loudly to God and the people for a reformation of what they should be pleased to say was amiss. Yet all their zeal and rhetoric would have little effect, if this affair of the surrendry was not brought over a considerable number of nobility to their party: among whom were the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Lothian and Eglington.

the Lords Lindsay, Leiden and Balmerino. LETTER XLV.  
 Bishops saw well enough what was going on; waited in patience for the King's coming Scotland, who, they hoped, by his presence and prudence would set all to rights, and put us on a more peaceable footing. At last the general expectation of the royal was gratified. On the 13th of May 1633 King set out from London, and by easy journey came to Dalkeith on the 9th of June. That day he entered Edinburgh in great pomp, and upon the 18th was solemnly crowned by Bishop Spotswood in the Abbey-kirk of Holyroodhouse. Ten days after the coronation, the Parliament sat down, and besides ratifying the submission of surrendries, passed two acts relative to the church, the one continuing a provision made in 1609, but which determined with the death of the late King, "that the power of prescribing the habits of churchmen should remain

The discontented party having beforehand drawn up and presented a petition to the King and Parliament for redress of grievances, they gave it to their leader the Earl of Rothes, to shew to the King in private, and in a manner steal his approbation before it should be presented in public. For this end, Rothes went to Dalkeith, and imparted the business to the King. His Majesty having read the paper, gave it back to him with a positive command to make no more noise about it: Which Rothes having communicated to the rest of the party, it was resolved to suppress the petition: And so nothing more was done till next year, when for making some bad use of it, and venturing other libels of a criminal nature, Lord Balmerino, the treacherous son of a treacherous father, was called in question before the privy-council, and by an assize of his Peers condemned to die, but was by the King's clemency first reprieved, and then fully pardoned, which undeserved favour, tho' he repeated it at the council-table on his knees, yet like a true child of his father, he soon requited with perfidy and rebellion.



LETTER "with his Majesty and his successors." XLV. the other, "ratifying and approving all whatsoever acts and statutes made before, and the liberty and freedom of the true Kirk of God and religion presently professed within the realm, and ordaining the same to stand in force and effect, as if they were specially mentioned and set down herein." Both these statutes, the one as leaving room for bringing the English surplice, and the other as continuing the privileges of Episcopacy, which was the professed religion, were strenuously opposed by the discontented party, particularly by Lords Lindsay and London, who were considered as leaders of it.

Before the King left Scotland, he resolved to leave behind him a lasting monument of his love and esteem to the church in it: And therefore with the full consent and approbation of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, he erected Edinburgh, the metropolis of the kingdom, into a bishoprick, assigned to it a competent and convenient jurisdiction, out of the nearest bounds of the diocese of St. Andrews, appointed the first church in the town, that of St. Giles's, to be the cathedral, settled a sufficient revenue upon the bishop out of the church-lands which he purchased from the Duke of Lenox, provided a Dean and chapter for it, of some of the ministers of the city and neighbouring parishes, and placed a very eminent scholar, Dr. William Forbes, of the family of Corsinday in Aberdeenshire, as the first bishop of it.\*

\* This worthy man had been some time Principal of the royal college in Aberdeen, next in succession to Mr. Auld, who was so confounded at being baffled in a public

It was no doubt with a view to this erection, LETTER XLV.  
 and the settling of other matters relative to the  
 worship and discipline of the church, that the King  
 brought along with him Dr. Laud, then Bishop  
 of London, who being appointed to preach before  
 Majesty in the Abby-church, took care to re-  
 commend the beauty and benefit of uniformity,  
 and a reverence to the laudable ceremonies of  
 antiquity, and was heard, says Lord Clarendon,  
 with all the marks of approbation and applause  
 imaginable." This was a good introduction  
 to the King's design, and produced a confe-  
 rence between Laud and such of the Scots Bi-  
 shops and clergy as were at hand: At which  
 meeting Laud could not help lamenting the strange  
 and almost singular nakedness of the Scottish man-  
 ner of worship, for want of a liturgy and a pro-  
 per collection of Canons, which he thought would  
 supply all defects. The Archbishop of St. An-  
 drews replied, "that in the late King's time a  
 motion had been made to frame a liturgy,  
 and collect some Canons for the church, but  
 was deferred at that time, because of the stir,  
 at first about the Perth articles; and he still  
 had apprehensions, that the attempting of it  
 even yet might have some disagreeable con-  
 sequences." But the other Bishops pressing  
 the undertaking, and declaring there was no  
 objection about prayers for the dead, which Dr. Forbes defended,  
 he left his place and family, and went to England, where  
 he died: In 1618 Dr. Forbes was by King James appointed  
 one of the four ministers who were then added to the Edin-  
 burgh clergy, on the partition of the city into distinct parishes,  
 and was such a celebrated preacher, that King Charles, after he  
 had heard him, was pleased to say, "he had found a man who  
 deserved to have a See erected for him."

danger

LETTER danger in it, the King consented that the  
 XLV. should be a liturgy for the church of Scotland.  
 And here again both he and Laud insisted in the English book: But the Scots Bishops, who better knew the humours of the people, for their own part they had no scruple at the rites and ceremonies of the English church, and could willingly, if with safety, submit to practise them, yet they had no mind that a very identical book of England should be brought in upon them. For which, besides some little improprieties that they objected to in the book itself, they still urged the prudential reason which Dr. Maxwell had offered four years before, "that by his Majesty's continual residence in England, the Scots were become jealous being by degrees reduced to be but a province to England, and entirely subjected to English laws and government, which they would never submit to, nor would any man of honour, who loved the King best or respected England most, ever consent to bring such dishonour on his native country: And therefore might look too like an arbitrary imposition from England, and a designed beginning of trampling upon all the laws and privileges of Scotland, if a form settled in Parliament at Westminster should, without any alteration of ourselves, be tendered, tho' from the King's own hand, to be immediately submitted to and observed in this independent church and kingdom." This consideration made an impression on the King, and prevailed with him to drop his attachment to the English book. So it was agreed, that a new liturgy, with some proper variations from the English, should be composed.

also a collection of Canons put together, to re-  
late and enforce the ecclesiastical discipline: All  
which were to be transmitted from time to time to  
England, to be approved by the King, after having  
been revised by Dr. Laud, who in September  
1633 was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and  
two other divines, Dr. Juxon Bishop of Lon-  
don, and Dr. Wren of Norwich.

Thus the great work was begun, which, if all  
concerned had done their part honestly and  
rightly, according to the King's pious inten-  
tions, might have been gradually and peaceably  
accomplished without those tumults and commo-  
tions, of which, by treachery and double-dealing,  
was made the ostensible cause. The book of  
Canons was first undertaken, for which these  
long reasons were assigned, "that by this means  
there might be a fixed measure for stating the  
power of the clergy, and the practice of the  
Church: That the acts of the General Assemblies  
being only in manuscript, could not reach the  
generality, and being not easy to be transcribed  
because of their bulkiness, or to be removed  
from place to place because of the risk of it,  
few of the inferior clergy knew where to ap-  
ply for information: That in consequence of  
this, not one in the kingdom governed his  
practice by these acts of General Assemblies:  
And therefore that by reducing these regula-  
tions to a lesser compass, and laying them  
open to public view, nobody could miscarry  
thro' ignorance, or complain of being over-  
charged." The Canons being with great deli-  
beration among our Bishops at home, and by  
singular activity of Dr. Maxwell, lately made  
Bishop

LETTER  
XLV.



**LETTER XLV.** Bishop of Ross, drawn up with this view, presented to his Majesty, he signed a warrant to Laud and Juxon to examine the draught, bring it to as near a conformity as possible to the English code of 1603: Which being done, and a book prepared for the press, the King confirmed it by letters patent under the Great Seal, at Greenwich May 23d 1635, "enjoining all Archbishops, Bishops, and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Scotland, to see them punctually observed." These Canons were printed at Aberdeen in 1636, and as soon as published, became the subject of much clamour and criticism: which indeed was no more than might be expected, as any rules, however innocent and useful, will for a while be sure to give offence to people who have long been accustomed to no rule, or rather to be all ruled by this or that, miscuously or alternately, over one another.

It was about the time of forming these Canons that, on the death of the old Chancellor the Earl of Kinnoul, the King was pleased, out of love and esteem to Archbishop Spotswood, whose father both the late King and himself had long experienced, to intrust him with that highest office of State in the kingdom, by a commission under both the Kings in customary form, January 14th 1635, constituting and creating John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland during his life, being the first and only Protestant churchman who ever bore that high dignity. And as a further testimony of his royal affection to the church, he ordered six or seven of the other Bishops to be admitted into the Privy Council, hoping by thus giving them a legal share of power in the civil government and judicatories of the kingdom.

kingd.

Vol.

is view, wisdom, to put them in a better capacity of <sup>LETTER</sup> regulating and settling the polity of the church. XLV. draught, in this, both he and they were sadly disappointed: For this unseasonable accumulation of being hours, to which their functions did not engage them, exposed them, as Lord Clarendon remarks, to the envy of the whole nobility, many whom wished them well as to their spiritual character, but could not bear to see them possessed of those offices and employments which they looked upon as naturally belonging to themselves. But however foreign these secular engagements might have been to the Episcopal character, surely the business of the liturgy which is now going on, will be acknowledged to have been quite suitable to it, and peculiarly within the province of the Bishops. This business had lain long upon the anvil even in Scotland, though it has often been pretended, that Archbishop Laud was the principal forger and contriver of it. But he has with his own hand, fully and completely rid himself of either the glory or ignominy of such an imputation, and has discovered to the wary and judicious steps, which our own Bishops took for some years in carrying on the work; and that all the hand he had in it, was given, at the King's command, to give from time to time his brotherly assistance to it, and his approbation of it when it was perfected. For however contemptibly our Scots Bishops at that time may have been represented, it appears that some of them were sufficiently capable of themselves, without Laud's assistance, if the King had not thought proper to offer it, to have composed a liturgy upon the purest and most primitive models.

LETTER  
XLV.

Dr. Forbes, the first Bishop of Edinburgh, was no disciple of Laud's, as Laud himself us, had in a treatise of his, called *Modest Considerations*, given the preference to the first liturgy of Edward VI. which was the plan that Bishops went on, in their communion-office, and had expressed a wish "that the church of England, which deserves great praise for her singular moderation in many things, had in this point, of commemorating the dead, and in several others, rather conformed to the ancient practice of the universal church, because of the errors and abuses that had crept in, totally to have rejected these rites, and thrown them out." And then he adds, "had been irrefragably demonstrated by the labours of learned men, Greeks, Protestants, and even Romanists themselves, that no argument for the Popish Purgatory can be drawn from the prayers and oblations for the dead so frequently mentioned by the fathers." And another of our Bishops, Dr Wedderburn, lately Bishop of Dunblain, on Ballenden's removal to Aberdeen, who was one of the actual compilers of our liturgy, and whom Archbishop Laud describes as a mere scholar and book-man, seems to have had both capacity and desire for restoring what he thought the commendable practices of antiquity.\* The Bishop of Ross too, Dr. Maxwell,

\* Laud, in his answer to that part of the accusation against him, of the Scottish book leaving out the remembrance of the dead in the distribution, which is in the English book, as if it had been done for Popish ends, says in his own defence, "What this omission may be thought to work, it cannot reflect on me, who always laboured to have the English book sent forth without any omission or addition at all, this or any other."

no was the principal channel of correspondence LETTER  
 this business of the liturgy, is acknowledged XLV.  
 have been a learned and knowing man, and  
 Bishop Guthry, who seems to have had no  
 good will to the younger Bishops, as he calls  
 them, whom he describes as reckoned "not ge-  
 nerally gifted for the office," excepts Bishop  
 Maxwell, of whom he says, "it cannot be deni-  
 ed but he was a man of great parts." So we  
 may conclude that the liturgy intended for Scot-  
 land, if not entirely composed, was yet carefully  
 examined, and arranged by the Scottish Bishops,  
 so from their acquaintance with the old litur-  
 gical forms of Eucharistic service, thought proper  
 to make the first book of Edward VI. the model  
 which they copied after, in preference to what  
 was then used in England. And to those who  
 find fault with that preference, which is still  
 kept up by the Episcopal church in this king-  
 dom, I would beg leave to recommend the opi-  
 nion of Archbishop Laud, whose praise is and  
 ever will be in the English church, and whose

But some of the Scottish Bishops prevailed against me herein,  
 and some alterations they would have from the book of Eng-  
 land, and this was one: As I have to show under the Bi-  
 shop of Dunblain, Dr. Wedderburn's hand, whose notes I  
 have yet by me, concerning the alterations in that book; and  
 concerning this particular his words are these, The body, &c.  
 The blood, &c. to everlasting life, whereunto every receiver  
 answered Amen: there is no more in Edward 6th's first  
 book, and if there be no more in ours, the action will be much  
 shorter: Besides, the words which have been added since,  
 Take, eat in remembrance &c. may seem to relish somewhat of  
 the Zuinglian tenet, that the sacrament is but a bare sign taken  
 in remembrance of Christ's passion. So that for my part,  
 says the Archbishop, first I see no hurt in the omission of  
 these latter words, none at all: And next, if there be any,  
 it proceeded not from me.<sup>22</sup>



**LETTER XLV.** approbation in these points on which he was well versed, it is to be hoped every true son of that church will always revere.\* If it shall be as I know it will be by some, tho' I hope none of the Episcopal persuasion, that Land of Romish principles, and aimed at introducing Popery, there needs no other justification of character than the attestation of one of his bitterest persecutors, Sir Edward Deering, who commenced the prosecution against him in the beginning of the long Parliament, and yet was ingenuous as to confess, "that the Archbishop's writings had smote the Papist under the rib, and wherever his grave should be, Paul's church would be his monument, and

\* In his refutation of the charge brought against him, speaking of the Scottish book, he says, p. 109. "I like the exceeding well, and hope I shall be able to maintain any thing that is in it. P. 113. These variations were taken either from the first book of Edward 6th, which was not Popery, or from some ancient liturgies, which favoured not of Popery. P. 121. speaking of the prayer of invocation, he says, "true, this passage is not in the prayer of consecration in the service book of England, but I wish with all my heart it were. For tho' the consecration of the Elements may be without it, yet is it much more solemn and full by that invocation. P. 124. "As for the oblation of the elements, as it is in the Scottish book, that is fit and proper, and I am sorry for the part that it is not in the book of England." And with respect to the order of the prayers, he says, P. 115. "Tho' I do not find fault with the order of the prayers as they stand in the communion-book of England, for God be thanked it is a better and more agreeable to use in the primitive church, than I believe they that are learned will acknowledge it: And these men do bewray a great deal of will and weakness, when they call this a new communion, only because all the prayers are not in the same order." In his general account of the

his book  
taph."

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his book against Fisher the Jesuit his epi-  
taph." LETTER XLVI.

I am, &c.

and he had in the construction of our book, he says, p. 109. "I do verily believe there is no one thing in that book which may not stand with the conscience of a right good protestant."

## L E T T E R XLVI.

*The Scottish Liturgy authorized by a royal Proclamation—Reflections on the Opposition it met with—Riots in Edinburgh occasioned by it—A Covenant of Association entered into against the Government—The Marquis of Hamilton sent to appease the Tumults—A General Assembly meets at Glasgow, but is dissolved by the Marquis—It continues to sit, condemns Episcopacy and the Liturgy, and deposes the Bishops.—War resolved on, and both Parties take the Field.*

THE Scottish liturgy being now arranged and Dec. 20.  
examined, as I have mentioned in the pre-1636.  
ceding letter, was immediately published, and at  
the same time fortified by a proclamation from  
the

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the King, narrating, "that he had oft recom-  
mended to the Archbishops and Bishops,  
" that his ancient kingdom of Scotland, to have  
" a public form of worship for uniform obse-  
" vance; which now, with consent of the clergy  
" was condescended on, and therefore enjoined  
" and commanding the due use of it, &c." No  
no sooner did the book make its appearance  
than the discontented party immediately raised  
a clamour against it, and easily inflamed the  
minds of the undiscerning populace with dread-  
ful apprehensions of Popery being introduced  
to the church, and tyranny into the state. As  
to such a height was the ferment artfully wrought  
that it is said the two Archbishops supplicated  
the King to have the book kept back, till the  
nation was better prepared to receive it. Bishop  
Guthrie in his Memoirs tells us, that the old Bi-  
shops, as he distinguishes them, were generally  
against the measure, and lays all the blame upon  
the violence and forwardness of the younger ones.  
Yet in this account, which coming from a  
temporary author has been followed by others,  
there seems to be as much of declamation as  
argument. For among the old Bishops of the  
late King's promotion, which is Guthrie's mean-  
ing, we find Archbishop Spotswood correspond-  
ing with Laud about the liturgy; we find Bishop  
Lindsay of Brechin, now of Edinburgh, keen  
for it, and as Ballenden of Aberdeen had been  
Bishop of Dunblain, and Dean of the Chapel-royal  
where a liturgy had been used for many years,  
it may be supposed that he would not be much  
against it. A fourth of these old Bishops, Gu-  
rry of Moray, suffered much from the malecon-  
tents, perhaps as much for the liturgy as any  
other.

ing else: And other two of them, Graham of Orkney, and Lindsay of Dunkeld, by their ab-  
 ing their character, and submitting to the Co-  
 nanters, need not, I think, be taken into the  
 reckoning on either side. Neither do we find  
 the old men in the least favoured for their mo-  
 ration, but all of them involved in the gene-  
 complaint about the liturgy. And then as to  
 younger Bishops, they are held forth to us  
 as young Bishops only, but as if they had  
 been young men of no prudence or experience,  
 which yet does not seem to have been the case,  
 some of them had been long in the ministry,  
 men of character and esteem.  
 Bishop Guthrie likewise tells us, that the Earl  
 Traquair, having got letters from the young-  
 Bishops to the Archbishop of Canterbury,  
 sent to court, and told him that there was no  
 danger to be apprehended; only the old Bishops  
 were timorous men, and feared where no cause  
 of fear was, assuring his Grace, that if the King  
 should lay his commands upon him, he would  
 undertake upon his life to carry thro' the busi-  
 ness without any noise.\* Upon which, Laud,  
 thinking it proper that a work of this na-  
 ture should be committed to a layman, procured  
 himself a warrant from the King, to com-  
 mand the Bishops at all hazards to go forward

\* Archbishop Laud, who had sufficient opportunity to know  
 Traquair's conduct in this affair, complains of him in his history,  
 where he tells us, that he himself had prevailed with the  
 Earl to get the abbey lands of Arbroath joined to the see of Bre-  
 chin: "But things," he says, "were so carried by the Earl of  
 Traquair, the Lord Treasurer for Scotland, that the poor Bi-  
 shop of Brechin could never get that settled upon his see:  
 Which was not the only thing in which that Lord played fast  
 and loose with me."

in

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XLVI.



LETTER in it, "threatening them withal, that if they  
 XLVL. "gered in it longer, the King would turn  
 "out of their places, and fill the same with  
 "gorous and resolute men, who would not  
 "afraid to do him service." This is the  
 as given us by Guthry, and from him by  
 lier and others. Yet, in the charge against  
 by the Covenanters at London, where they  
 nothing that could render him odious, and  
 particularly severe upon him for bullying and  
 ing his commands upon the Scottish Preb  
 there is not the least mention of this threat  
 order by Traquair, which, had it really been  
 represented, they would not have passed by  
 out making some use of it.

However, as Guthry goes on, the wise old  
 shops saw now that there was nothing left  
 but either to do or die, upon which they  
 away all fear and went to work: "And now,"  
 says, "it is remarkable that after this, they  
 "so far contrary to these rules of prudence  
 "policy, whereby they had been accustomed  
 "manage their affairs, that all men began  
 "spy a fatality in it." A strange and sud  
 change indeed, from wisdom to folly, in a  
 body of men, on the receipt of a single let  
 But wherein lay this folly? Why, he says, "  
 "laboured not now to have their book bro  
 "in by ecclesiastical sanction, but having ge  
 "authorised by an act of Council, they pro  
 "ed without more ado to urge the practice  
 "it: Whereby they provoked against them  
 "the most part even of these ministers that  
 "episcopal in their judgment, who thought  
 "a very sad matter that a liturgy should be  
 "posed on the church, without her knowle  
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and consent, and judged it such a dangerous preparative, that the civil power might in after times introduce any thing, tho' ever so hurtful to religion, and the church never get one voice in it." But this does not appear to have been altogether a fair and candid stating of the case. The book had been seriously and deliberately composed and examined by churchmen, had been laid before and approved by the King, whose privilege of consent in these matters was not as yet discarded; and it had got his warrant to bring it into practice. What more was either in law or reason necessary? The King's proclamation supposes a prior sanction from the church; such a sanction as all sound principles would have deemed competent in such matters; and, as Bishop Guthrie and his men of Episcopal judgment might have known, not only all the Bishops of a province, but even every single Bishop in his own diocese had power to order a surgy for his own church, provided he kept up the Catholic creed, and did not depart from the analogy of faith, of which not his presbyters, but his brethren Bishops, were judges.—And what was that ecclesiastical sanction, which, it seems, it should have further got? Was every individual minister to be consulted, and his vote obtained, to ratify the decision of the King and the Bishops? If so, why not every individual of the laity be indulged the same authoritative privilege, from the great Earl of Rothes, down to the meanest cobbler in the kingdom? And then or how would this have ended? Many other instances of misconduct have been found out in the prosecution of the business, such as fixing the first use of the book to be at

**LETTER XLVI.** Edinburgh, where there was the greatest probability, and would be the fittest opportunity of raising disturbance, and then deferring it till Easter-day, the day first proposed, to the 3d of July, which was said to be designedly done by Traquair, to give the party more time to confederate against it. But indeed it is easy for later critics to discover mistakes, and suspect places where originally there might have been neither error nor design. And therefore, to leave inquiry into causes, let us proceed to effects, which I shall find to have been most lamentably fatal: wherever the fault shall be thought to have lain, if there must be a fault somewhere, whether in the rashness of the young Bishops, or imprudence of the old ones; in Traquair's double dealing, the violence of Rothes and his associates; so it was in fact, that the affair, whatever way it was managed, had a most unsuccessful and tragical issue.

A D. 1637. When the twenty third of July came, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, with two or three more Bishops, the Lords of the Council and of the Session, the Magistrates of the city, and a great auditory of all sorts of people being convened in the high church, no sooner had the Dean in his surplice begun to read the prayers from the desk, but immediately a multitude of the meaner sort, most of them women, with clapping of hands, clamours and outcries, raised such a hideous noise, that not a word could be distinctly heard, and then a shower of stones and sticks was let fly at the Dean's head. The Bishop of the place, who was to preach that day, slept into the pulpit with a view to appease the tumult, by putting them in mind of the sacredness of the place.

and their duty to God and the King. But this LETTER  
 enraged them the more, and a Janet Geddes, who, XLVI:  
 the wretch that burnt the temple of Ephraim, would never have had her name mentioned  
 for some villainous exploit of this kind, struck  
 the prologue to the subsequent tragedy, by  
 throwing her folding-stool at the Bishop, to the  
 great danger of his life. Upon this the Arch-  
 bishop, as Chancellor, called upon the Provost  
 and Magistrates to suppress the riot by their au-  
 thority, which with great difficulty was done, by  
 casting the most unruly out of the church,  
 and shutting the doors. After which the Dean  
 went on with the service, but was still disturbed  
 by the mob without, who pelted the doors and  
 windows with sticks and stones, crying, "A Pope,  
 a Pope! Antichrist! Pull him down, stone  
 him," with all the signs of ungovernable fury.  
 When the Bishops, at the conclusion of the wor-  
 ship, were going home, the rabble followed them  
 with the most opprobrious language, and treated  
 bishop Lindsay so rudely, that had he not provi-  
 dentially got into a private house, after they had  
 seen his habit, he had undoubtedly fallen a sacri-  
 fice to their cursed rage. The same spirit appeared,  
 not to such a violent degree, in the other  
 churches of the city, where the ministers who read  
 the book, which they all did except two, Ramsay  
 and Rollock, were assaulted with the most bitter  
 execrations against Bishops and Popery.\*

\* One of these two, Ramsay, was at the time one of the Bi-  
 shop's chapter, and Sub-dean of the chapel-royal, where by his  
 office he had often both heard and read a liturgical service. And  
 Rollock, the other, who was of the chapter too, had in his late  
 sermon before the Bishop, and in his sermon in the college  
 on the 16th of July, by way of intimation of the book, high-



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Hitherto no person of note or distinction, seen to countenance the opposition. It was the work of the rascally multitude, who had been well tutored and set on to it, and the malignant preachers from their pulpits extolled the act in it, "as the most heroic spirits that ever God inspired and raised up in this last age of the world, and as the happy mouths and hands which he had honoured with the beginning of such a blessed work." The Bishops, not knowing well how to proceed, dispatched an express to the King with a full account of all that had happened: And not thinking themselves secure in Edinburgh, where the Magistrates either were not willing or not able to protect them, they retired to their own dioceses, to the great strengthening of the adverse party. Yet the Archbishop of St. Andrews resolved to make trial in his own diocese, and charged Mr. Alexander Henderson at Leuchars in Fife, who came afterwards to be the head of the party, to read the book under pain of legal prosecution. Against this charge Henderson applied to the Privy Council, and on the twenty third of August petitioned their Lordships for a suspension. The Council received the petition, and wrote to the King about it, wishing to know his mind again the twentieth of September, to which day the petitioners were referred for answer.

ly magnified and recommended it, and on the day of reading he carried it with him to the church with a design to read it as he had promised, till hearing of what was begun in the high church he chose rather to expose himself to the censure of God and sensible men, for his levity and breach of promise, than offend the giddy multitude, whose favour was the only element in which such time-serving creatures wished to breathe.

Mean

Mean time, the Edinburghers taking the late LETTER  
 into consideration, began to fear the ef. XLVK  
 of the King's resentment, in distressing their  
 by his fleet; to prevent which, their four  
 illies on the nineteenth of August wrote a fawne  
 letter to Archbishop Laud, with strong as-  
 erations of their abhorring the late disorders;  
 promising all due assistance to the reading  
 the book. But on the nineteenth of Septem-  
 there came to Edinburgh the Earls of Rothes,  
 Ellis, Eglinton, Hume, Lothian and Weems;  
 Lords Lindlay, Loudon, Yester, Balmerino,  
 ston and Lorn, with several burghers and  
 ists from Fife and the West, who all on the  
 now gave in a supplication to the council  
 inst the service book; in framing of which  
 were principally assisted and directed by Sir  
 omas Hope, who, tho' he held the lucrative  
 ce of King's advocate, was the grand oracle  
 all the consultations against him. Upon this  
 rease of strength the Edinburghers veered about,  
 on the twenty sixth of September the Baillies  
 te a second letter to Archbishop Laud, ex-  
 ing their not being able to fulfill their former  
 mises, because of the unexpected change of peo-  
 's tempers, but still supplicating his Grace's in-  
 cession and good offices for the continuance  
 his Majesty's favour. The same day they  
 dressed the council, that the book might not  
 pressed upon them till the King's pleasure  
 ould be further known: And their acting in  
 a manner made such an impression on the  
 er boroughs, that all of them, except Aber-  
 alone, came over to the cause, and strength-  
 ed the hands of the opposition to a great de-

At

LETTER XLVI. At last the King's answer came, and on the seventeenth of October a proclamation was made at the market cross, "commanding the service book to be practised in Edinburgh and places adjacent, the Court of Session to remove from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and all stranger supplicants to leave the city within twenty four hours, under pain of horning." This was like throwing oil upon the flame: the next day the rabble fell to work again, and assembled by hundreds in the High Street, where meeting with Bishop Sydserf of Galloway, they went to the council house about business; they would have torn him in pieces, if a gentleman who was with him, had not drawn him out of their hands, and got him with much ado into the house. The Earl of Traquair, who had been his protector, coming to his relief, and forcing his way through the press, was soon in as bad a condition as the Bishop, the multitude and noise increasing with terrible imprecations, "God defend those that defend God's cause! God confound the service book, and all the maintainers of it!" The Provost and Magistrates were now called for their assistance: But they pretended to be as bad a plight themselves. For another party had beset the town-house where they were sitting, and threatened to burn them in it, if they would not sign a promise to join in opposing the service book, and to restore their two ministers, Ramsay and Rollock, who had been silenced for not signing it. The Treasurer, getting no protection from this quarter, ventured into the street again, but the mob were still so outrageous, that they barbarously pulled him down, took his hat, cloak, and walking staff from him, and so dragged him to the council house.

The Lords of the Council, finding them-  
 in such imminent danger, applied for safety  
 the disaffected nobility and gentry, by whom  
 were quietly conducted to the palace, and  
 Bishop got to his lodgings.  
 While things were in this situation, Mr. Hen-  
 on, by advice of his two directors Hope and  
 merino, presented to the ministers, who not-  
 standing the proclamation still remained in  
 a proposal that, "whereas they had for-  
 merly petitioned only against the service-book,  
 they might now tax the Bishops also, as under-  
 miners of religion, and crave justice to be done  
 upon them." But to this many of the minist-  
 would not agree, declaring, "that they  
 came there only to be freed from the service  
 book, and otherwise had no quarrel with the  
 Bishops." Which being reported to the leaders,  
 sent to them Rothes and Loudon, who by  
 speeches mixed with threats and promises,  
 prevailed so much with these temporizers, that  
 a charge against the Bishops (being prepared  
 beforehand,) was instantly subscribed by them all,  
 formally delivered to the clerk of council;  
 while copies were given them to be carried home  
 to their several Presbyteries and parishes, to be sub-  
 scribed by all ranks, and returned against the next  
 council-day, which was to be the 15th of December:  
 in consequence of this extorted paper, the Lord  
 Loudon, in name of the whole association, which  
 took the title of "Noblemen, Barons, Mi-  
 nisters, Burgeses and Commons," did on the  
 10th of December lay before the council, then  
 sitting at Dalkeith, a long complaint about grie-  
 vances, with a protestation, "that the Bishops  
 hereafter should not be permitted to sit as  
 judges,

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LETTER "judges, untill the cause was decided, both  
 XLVI. "cause they were parties, and because by  
 "number they might easily preponderate in  
 "debate, as was the case in the act appro-  
 "the service-book." And concluding in  
 words: "Our desires tend to no other end  
 "the preservation of the true religion, the  
 "ful liberties of the subject, and the Bish-  
 "and Prelates delinquent taken order with,  
 "cording to justice: We crave neither  
 "blood, nor any harm to their persons, but  
 "the wrongs and abuses done by them may  
 "truly remonstrated to his Majesty, that after  
 "trial, such order may be taken as may effe-  
 "ally restrain their exorbitant power for  
 "time to come." In this federunt of course  
 the Bishops had no friends who spoke up  
 for them, but the clerk-register Sir John Hay  
 and the result of all was, to send the treasurer  
 court with an account how matters stood, and  
 what a pass the administration was reduced.

All this time the combination was going  
 and by the continued industry of the pulpi-  
 tors of the faction, numbers of armed men,  
 almost all parts of the kingdom South of  
 Grampians, were daily flocking to Edinburgh  
 serve their noble friends, and be at hand in  
 any emergency. Upon this sad prospect of  
 affairs, the treasurer was remanded back to  
 land in February, and arriving on the road  
 Stirling, where the council had remained in  
 December, he there published the King's  
 clamation, "setting forth the piety of his in-  
 "tions in the matter of the liturgy and Can-  
 "and charging the opposers with having in-  
 "red the penalties of law, but promising to

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don the error of a preposterous zeal, on con- LETTER  
 dition they retire themselves as dutiful subjects ; XLVI.  
 and therefore interdicting all such concourse for  
 the future, and commanding all strangers to  
 quit the town of Stirling where the civil courts  
 were sitting, upon six hours notice, under pain  
 of treason :” concluding with this gentle de-  
 gradation, “ that he would not shut his ears  
 against any petition upon that or any other  
 subject, provided the matter and form of it be  
 no way prejudicial to his royal authority.”  
 Against all this, the Earl of Hume and Lord  
 Sanday, as had been pre-concerted, took instru-  
 ments in the hands of a publick notary, and  
 boldly insisted on their former demands against  
 the Bishops, and for redressing their pretended  
 grievances. By four o’clock in the afternoon the  
 most of the noblemen had reached Stirling, and  
 before midnight the town was full of armed men  
 on all quarters, who among other instances of  
 brutality, threatened to butcher the good old  
 archbishop Spotswood, but were kept back by  
 their more cautious masters. And now the party  
 broke out into open defiance, and being resolved  
 to go thro’ with their enterprize, in despite of the  
 government, they drove back to Edinburgh, where  
 after having consulted with Hope the advocate,  
 and some others of that profession, they set up a  
 counter-authority consisting of four *Tables* ; the no-  
 bility made one, the Barons another, the ministers  
 a third, and the Burgeses a fourth. These four  
 were to prepare and digest matters for the *Ge-  
 neral Table*, which was formed of a select num-  
 ber of commissioners from all the rest : And here  
 the ultimate and binding resolutions were taken.  
 The first production of this new and extraordi-  
 nary

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nary tribunal was a *National Covenant*, which they framed upon a model given them by late King James in his minority, the occasion which was this :

On the coming over of his favourite com-  
Lenox from France, and his embracing the re-  
formation in Scotland, the clergy took the alarm  
and gave it out that the Pope had granted dis-  
pensations to this nobleman and many others, allow-  
ing them to go what lengths of outward profe-  
sion should be required of them, provided their  
mind did not go along with their practice, but  
continued inwardly firm and stedfast to the  
cause. These dispensations, whether genuine  
or forged, being shewn to the King, he desired  
his own chaplain Mr. John Craig, to draw up  
a short confession of faith in a negative form, with  
an abjuration of the Popish tenets, and a particu-  
lar clause to combat these ill-looking dispen-  
sations. This was accordingly done, and the con-  
fession, thus framed to answer the exigencies  
of the times, was immediately ordered to be sub-  
scribed by all persons of distinction; and to set  
an example to the subjects, the King himself, then  
only fourteen years of age, with the whole court  
and council, publicly swore to it and subscrib-  
ed it on the 2d of March 1581. Nine years after  
this, when the Spanish Armada had frightened  
the whole island, and the terrors of another  
tempt of the same kind were strong on people's  
minds, there was added at the end of this con-  
fession a "General Band for maintenance  
of the true religion, and the King's person,"  
which, after having passed a suitable encomium  
on the King's religious disposition, the subscribers  
said, "We have therefore, in the presence of Almighty  
God,"

God, and with his Majesty's authorizing and allowance, faithfully promised and solemnly sworn, likeas we hereby faithfully and solemnly swear and promise, to take a true, effauld and plain part with his Majesty amongst ourselves, for averting the appearing danger threatened to the said religion, and his Majesty's state and standing depending thereon, by whatsoever foreign or intestine plots and preparations: And to that effect faithfully and upon our truth and honours, we bind and oblige us, &c."

Such was the tenor of that *General Band* or covenant drawn up in the reign of King James, not only with his concurrence, but designed for his honour and security, in language that would admit of no evasion. So it would not answer the purpose of our new association. For tho' they adopted the negative confession from beginning and without the least variation, that they might impose upon the people with that plausible sound, they took care to make out a new band, very different from the old one, in which after mentioning the "danger of the true reformed religion, of the King's honour, and of the public peace of the kingdom, by the manifold innovations and evils generally contained and particularly mentioned in their late supplications, complaints and protestations, they add,"

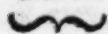
We do hereby profess, and before God, his angels, and the world, solemnly declare, that with our whole hearts we agree and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere unto, and to defend the said true religion, forbearing the practice of all innovations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of

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" the public government of the kirk, or  
 " places and power of kirkmen, till they be  
 " ed and allowed in free assemblies and par-  
 " ments: To labour by all means lawful to  
 " cover the purity and liberty of the gospel,  
 " it was established and professed before the  
 " said innovations: And because after due  
 " amination we plainly perceive and undoubted-  
 " believe, that these innovations and evils ha-  
 " no warrant in the word of God, are contrary  
 " the articles of our confessions, to the intent  
 " and meaning of the blessed reformers of reli-  
 " on in this land, and to the foresaid ad-  
 " Parliament, and do sensibly tend to the re-  
 " blishment of the Popish religion and tyrann-  
 " and to the subversion and ruin of the true  
 " formed religion, and of our liberties, laws  
 " estates: We therefore declare, that the  
 " said confessions are to be interpreted, and ought  
 " to be understood, of the foresaid innovations  
 " and evils, no less than if every one of the  
 " had been expressed in the foresaid confessions  
 " and that we are obliged to detest and abhor  
 " them amongst other particular heads of Pap-  
 " ry abjured therein: And therefore we pro-  
 " and swear by the great name of the Lord  
 " God, to continue in the profession and obe-  
 " ence of the foresaid religion, to defend the same  
 " and resist all these contrary errors and cor-  
 " tions, according to our vocation, and to the  
 " uttermost of that power that God has put in  
 " our hands, all the days of our lives: And  
 " then, after engaging not to be divided or disun-  
 " ed from one another, and making a solemn  
 " trade about private reformation, they concluded  
 " In Witness whereof, we have subscribed with  
 " our hands all the premises."

Th

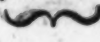
Thus was this famous *National Covenant* moulded into a proper shape, and with this mutinous and "of mutual defence" sent abroad among deluded people, under the specious title of *The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland*, subscribed at first by the King's Majesty and his household in 1581, and again, by all sorts of persons in 1590, with a *General Band, &c.* And yet, notwithstanding of the great stress laid upon King James having subscribed this negative Confession, it is certain, that when he was come to more knowledge in these matters, and had got out of the trammels in which his Scottish Kirk had long kept him, he looked on this composition in another light, and had no very high opinion of it. For in the conference at Hampton Court, in answer to a proposal by the Dissenters, to have some more negative propositions inserted into the English book of articles, he observes, that Mr. Craig's expedient of this kind, with his disclaiming forms "abhorring, renouncing, and detesting," did amaze and overset the understandings of the vulgar, that they either continued in their former ignorance, or relapsed into Popery. "And for my part," he says, "if I had been obliged to run the whole length of this minister's creed, I must have carried my faith in my pocket book, for my head would not have held it."

However, such as it was, being now sanctified with the new name of a *Covenant*, as its interpreters called it, between God and the nation, and directed to their own ends by their additional *Band*, it made its first public appearance on the first of March 1638, in the Grey Friars kirk

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LETTER XLVI.  kirk at Edinburgh, where, after being once over, accompanied with a flaming panegyric it by Lord Loudon, and a long prayer for success to it by Mr. Henderson, it was eagerly subscribed by almost all who were present; and vast concourse there was, both in the kirk and kirk-yard. Thro' the rest of the country, especially in the South and West, the minister's commendation of it was all that the people sought before subscription. In the North it did not meet with a very favourable reception, at least for some time, which was thought to be owing to the influence of the town clergy of Aberdeen on the adjacent country. To remove this obstacle, Mr. Henderson and David Dickson, minister at Irvine, were desired to call to their assistance Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Pitligo in Buchan, the only one in these parts that favoured the cause. With these three came the Earl, afterwards the renowned Marquis of Montrose, to strengthen the arguments of the divines by the terror of his presence, and overawe such as would not be convinced. But neither the terror of Montrose, nor the rhetoric of Henderson could get the better of the Doctors of Aberdeen, who at that time were eminent for learning, and highly respected in churches abroad. The dispute was drawn to considerable length, and replies and duplies passed on both sides. However, for what scholar's disputation could not effectuate, lawless Montrose soon took a sweet revenge: For as soon as the Covenanters, as we shall now call them, got a tual hold of that power which they were aiming at, they persecuted these obstinate Do-

with such unrelenting fury, that to save their LETTER  
 es, they were forced to leave the country and XLVI.  
 into voluntary exile. \*   
 It is true, these "three Apostles of the Cove-  
 nt," as they were called, thus fortified by the  
 authority of so great a man as Montrose was  
 then known to be, prevailed with numbers  
 of the citizens of Aberdeen, and by their ex-  
 ample with sundry ministers and people in that  
 neighbourhood, to subscribe their Covenant: And  
 attended with a multitude of profelytes, his  
 friendship and his colleagues returned in triumph  
 to Edinburgh about the beginning of June, to  
 give account of their commission, and see what

Of these the most conspicuous were the two professors of  
 divinity, Dr. Robert Baron in the Marischal, and Dr. John  
 Forbes, in the King's College. Dr. Baron, who made the prin-  
 cipal figure in the debate, was obliged to fly to Berwick, where  
 he was nominated by the King to the See of Orkney, vacant by  
 Bishop Graham's apostacy, but died before consecration. Dr.  
 Forbes was son to Bishop Forbes of Corse, and retired to Hol-  
 burgh, where he published his *Instructiones Historico theologicæ*, a  
 work of vast compass and great erudition: When he was pro-  
 posed, he purchased a house in Old Aberdeen, and disposed it  
 to the use of his successors in office in all time coming, but in  
 his disposition had forgot to secure his own liferent: On which  
 the covenanters, when they declared his place vacant, took  
 advantage of this omission, and basely turned the man out of the house  
 which he had bought with his own money: And not satisfied  
 with harassing him in life, they would not allow his dead body  
 to be buried beside his father in Bishop Dunbar's isle, tho' he had  
 justly desired it, and his friends asked it as a particular fa-  
 vour. Besides these two, they expelled likewise the two Prin-  
 cipals of the Marischal, Dr. William Leslie of King's college and Dr. Patrick  
 Forbes of the Marischal, Dr. Alexander Scrogie minister in the  
 Old Town, Drs. Alexander Ross and James Sibbald in the  
 New town, John Forbes parson of Auchterless, Andrew Logy  
 parson of Rayne, John Ross parson of Birse, John Gregory  
 parson of Drumoak, John Logy rector of Rathen, and Thomas  
 Forbes minister of Udney.

further

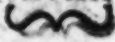


**LETTER** further was to be done. The Bishops all  
**KLVI.** while were sadly perplexed, and truly in a  
 w able condition, not knowing how to act, or  
 to trust. The old Primate Spotswood, being  
 Edinburgh when the Covenant was first  
 lamented "that all that they had been doing  
 " thirty years was now thrown down at once  
 and suspecting danger to his person from  
 madness of the bigotted mob, took a momentary  
 leave of his native country, and withdrew  
 refuge to Newcastle, where he resigned the  
 office of Chancellor, and had from the King  
 ample and honourable acknowledgement of  
 fidelity and good services. The rest of the  
 shops took the best care of themselves that  
 could, and gave intimation from time to time  
 the Primate how things were going on, and  
 tumultuous steps were taken, to abuse and  
 the non-subscribing clergy throughout the  
 dom.

Mean time, the King, alarmed at these re-  
 ligious proceedings, sent the Marquis of Hamilton  
 another nobleman of a suspicious character  
 his High Commissioner, with full powers to  
 all these disturbances; and this, it is said, he  
 contrary to the advice of some honest men,  
 recommended the Marquis of Huntly to that  
 portant station. On the tenth of June, the  
 commissioner came to Dalkeith, and after  
 days stay there, to the palace at Holyroodhouse.  
 There the heads of the Covenanters condescended  
 to wait on him, and being asked, "What  
 " would expect to hear in the King's name  
 " the redress of grievances, and what he  
 " expect from them as to renouncing  
 " Covenant, and returning to their obedience

the first they replied, "that nothing but a <sup>LETTER</sup> General Assembly and a Parliament would give <sup>XLVI.</sup> them satisfaction," and to the other their answer was, "that they had never departed from their obedience, nor failed in any part of loyalty; and as for the Covenant, they would as soon renounce their baptism, as abate one word or syllable of it, accounting it more useful and available than all the laws that had been enacted since the time of Fergus their first King," boldly telling his Grace, with insolence enough, "that it was a proposal, which, tho' they had now heard, they were resolved never to hear a second time." Their next step was to place guards on the Castle of Edinburgh, and to issue a prohibition against reading the English service in the King's own chapel, on the very first Sunday of the Commissioner's being there, with this unchristian menace, "that whosoever should read it, should never read more; and that there were a thousand men provided to prevent it." All which outrages, the Commissioner either overlooked, or durst not resent. Yet, to soften them, if possible, he recalled the Court of Session to Edinburgh, at the pressing desire of the citizens, on the 2d of July: But this did not content them, unless he would remove Sir Robert Spotswood the President, and Sir John Hay the Register, because of their aversion to the Covenant, and attachment to Episcopacy; which was such an extravagant demand, as his Grace neither would nor could yield to. So on the 4th of July he caused to be published at the market cross, his Majesty's proclamation, declaring, "his resolution to maintain the true Protestant religion, and that he never

LETTER " intended to press the Canons and service-bo  
 XLVI. " but in such a legal way as might be ag  
 " able to all his loving subjects, and there  
 " warning them all to beware of disobedience.  
 This was immediately attacked by a pro  
 tution, and instruments taken in presenc of  
 thousands, by the Earl of Cassilis, and read  
 Johnston of Warristoun, in name of all who  
 hered to the Covenant. Of all this the Mar  
 gave intelligence to the King, and himself on  
 19th took a journey to court for further insti  
 tutions, where he and some other counsellors  
 vised the King to renew the old Confession  
 Faith, ratified in 1557, to call a General  
 sembly, and to discharge the Canons, servi  
 book, and High Commission. On the 8th  
 August he returned, and in a meeting with  
 Covenanters, proposed to them some preparat  
 articles, as the condition of his granting the  
 demands of an assembly and parliament. The  
 articles, as first proposed, were ten in numbe  
 which being rejected by the other party, as qu  
 destructive of their scheme, he very condescen  
 dingly contracted into two, " That no laicks sh  
 " have voices in chusing the ministers to  
 " sent from the severall presbyteries to the  
 " sembly, nor none else but the ministers of  
 " same presbytery; and that the assembly sh  
 " not go about to determine of things esta  
 " blished by acts of Parliament, otherwise than  
 " remonstrance or petition to the Parliamen  
 " leaving the determining of things ecclesiastic  
 " to the assembly, and things settled by act  
 " Parliament to the Parliament." But these be  
 ing still disagreeable to their views, they threat  
 ened to proceed to business, and it was w  
 difficult

difficulty that he got them prevailed upon to LETTER  
 till he should consult the King a second XLVI.  
 and obtain his final determination.   
 The result of this delay was still unsatisfac-  
 For when his Grace, at his return on the  
 14th of September, produced the original *Confes-*  
 of King James in 1581, with the genuine  
 and in 1590, which made a part of the title  
 their own Covenant, they gave out to the  
 people, "that what the Marquis brought tended  
 to the subversion of their liberties and religion,  
 that a new Covenant was set on foot to de-  
 stroy theirs, and that if they did not resist  
 manfully now, all was lost." However, the  
 Commissioner and Privy Council did proclaim  
 and subscribe that old *Confession*, and gave or-  
 ders for a general subscription of it throughout  
 the kingdom. This done, they next on the 22d  
 of September, publicly at the cross, discharged  
 the Canons, service-book, High Commission, and  
 Articles of Perth, and summoned a General As-  
 sembly to meet at Glasgow on the 21st of No-  
 vember next, and a Parliament at Edinburgh  
 on the 15th of May following. It was now  
 hoped that all malecontents would have been  
 satisfied, as this was granting them all that they  
 had hitherto sought. But the leaders, whom the  
 rest durst not contradict, instead of acquiescing,  
 went boldly to the cross with a protestation a-  
 gainst the proclamation, as being faulty in some  
 particulars, and not full and explicit enough in  
 others, that is to say, not to their taste in any.  
 And here again the protestation was read by  
 Warriton, and instruments taken now by the  
 Earl of Montrose and the delegates from the o-  
 ther Tables, "in name of all who adhered to



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"the Covenant." And on the Sunday following, all the pulpits in Edinburgh resounded with virulent invectives and declamations against the King's declaration, and subscription of the Confession, branding it with no milder epithets than the "depth and policy of the Devil," while their prayers begged of God "to scatter them in Jacob, and divide them in Israel, who had been the authors of that scattering and divisive counsel." Yet, wherever the declaration was published, before the Covenanters, Edinburgh had time by their emissaries to poison people with their venom against it; it was received with all expressions of joy and thanksgiving and acknowledgment: And at Glasgow in particular it met with such a cordial reception, that the Provost and town-council wrote a letter, and the ministers and masters of the College another to the Commissioner, full of thanks, and expressing the highest satisfaction in his Majesty's clemency and fatherly care of his people.

But these good dispositions did not long continue. For the assembly being now summoned, the *Tables* at Edinburgh were busy preparing matters against the day of meeting, and employing all their wits to have the assembly constituted to their mind. They saw that the far greater part of the ministers inclined to peace, and were ready to rest quietly under his Majesty's concessions. All pains therefore were to be taken to exclude such moderate men, and to have members sent to the assembly, but such as they knew would go all lengths. To this purpose orders were issued from the *Tables*, that every particular parish should send to their presbytery a layman, under the title of a Ruling Elder, and

if possible, to be a Nobleman or great Ba-  
 to have equal vote with the ministers, in  
 of the delegate from that presbytery. LETTER XLVI.  
 This step was at first strongly opposed by the  
 ministers, even Covenanters as well as others,  
 having been in desuetude among them for  
 many years, and likely to bring the clergy under  
 great subjection to these lay-elders as ever they  
 had been to the Bishops. But in favour of the  
 scheme, it was represented, that by this means  
 there would be a fair prospect of having the de-  
 cisions of the assembly ratified in the ensuing  
 Parliament, where these lay-elders, if Noblemen,  
 had a seat by birth-right, and if of the gentry,  
 had a chance of being elected, and consequent-  
 ly might sway the Parliament as they pleased.  
 The necessity of unity too was urged, and the ob-  
 ligations they were under by their Covenant, not  
 to break out, or divide from one another at this  
 critical juncture. And where neither of these  
 forcible arguments could induce the ministers  
 to yield to what they thought such an unconsti-  
 tutional encroachment, these lay-elders, according  
 to instructions from the *Tables*, forced them-  
 selves into the presbyteries, and gave their votes,  
 as they were directed from Edinburgh, whether  
 the ministers would or not, so that in most pres-  
 byteries, the laity chose the members of the as-  
 sembly, and thereby got a considerable majority  
 of the fiercest and most rigid kind.  
 Every method likewise was thought of to re-  
 commend their own Covenant, and to cry down  
 the one which the Commissioner and Privy-coun-  
 cil had lately subscribed: And among other stra-  
 tegies to effect this, they took hold of a poor  
 rhetorical girl, of the name of Mitchelson, who  
 in

LETTER in her vapourish fits used to blab out, with  
 XLVI. wonderful appearance of godly zeal, the reproach  
 and bitter invectives which she had so frequently  
 heard from the pulpits, against the Bishops and the  
 service-book. To this sickly creature there  
 was an incredible concourse of all ranks and  
 characters in Edinburgh, who stayed by her day  
 and night, watching her motions, and admiring  
 her raptures and extasies as to many inspirations  
 from heaven. And to such a pitch of blasphemy  
 was this farce carried, that, when in one of  
 her canting speeches the spectators desired Robert  
 the minister, who was always at her elbow, to  
 pray with her and speak to her, he told them  
 "that he durst not do it, as it would be  
 "unbecomingly in his  
 "manners in him to speak to her while his  
 "master was speaking in her." Her current theme  
 was in praise of the Covenant, about a Covenanted  
 Gospel and a Covenanting Jesus, and that  
 was revealed to her from God, that their Coven-  
 ant was approved and ratified in heaven, and  
 would be protected by God the author of it  
 against all opposition, but that the King's Coven-  
 ant was an invention of Satan, and it and  
 its adherents would in end be confounded and  
 brought to nothing. Such pitiful shifts, even  
 the imitation of Romish forgetries, will men fly  
 in support of a cause, which they are determined  
 to maintain at all hazards.

But the principal object of the party's  
 was how to get the Bishops kept out from  
 having a seat in the assembly, where, for so many  
 years past, the ecclesiastical constitution had  
 placed them the chief place. The Commissioner's  
 declaration had "warned all and sundry An-  
 "tichrists, Bishops, Commissioners of Kirk,  
 "and

others having place and vote in the assembly, LETTER  
 to repair and address to the city of Glasgow, XLVI.  
 on the 22d day of November next to come, ~  
 and to attend the Assembly during the time  
 thereof, and ay and while the same be dissolv-  
 ed, and to do and perform all which to their  
 charges in such cases appertaineth, as they  
 will answer to the contrary at their highest  
 peril." This, tho' usual form, gave great of-  
 fence; and the fear was, lest if the Bishops  
 should take their seats, the strength of their rea-  
 soning and weight of their characters might sway  
 the assembly, and much disturb, if not entirely  
 defeat, the designs that were in hand. To guard  
 against this danger, the *Tables* addressed the Com-  
 missioner for his warrant, to cite the Bishops be-  
 fore the assembly as pannels, and thereby cut off  
 their right of either judgment or suffrage; which  
 pertinent demand his Grace petemptonally re-  
 fused, as being without his commission, and con-  
 trary both to law and reason. Finding them-  
 selves frustrated in their hopes  
 in this expedient, they next drew up a most  
 odious, and scandalous libel against the Bi-  
 shops in general: In which the great point of  
 accusation, is their violating the acts of the gene-  
 ral assembly at Montrose, in 1600, and exercising  
 the office and authority of Bishops otherwise than  
 according to the cautions and restrictions laid  
 down at that time; but no notice taken of that  
 assembly's being exaufterated by following assen-  
 blies, especially by the assembly of Glasgow in  
 1600, which invested the Bishops with all the  
 powers of office they had exercised from that  
 time: And then, by way of epilogue, they sum-  
 up all with this personal charge, " Besides all  
 these



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“ these faults, the said Mr. David Lindsay, tended Bishop of Edinburgh, with his leagues respectively, in his life and conversation is slandered constantly as guilty of five drinking, whoring, playing at cards, dice, swearing, profane speaking, excessive, ing, profaning of the Sabbath, contempt of the public ordinances and private family-cises, mocking of the power of preaching, prayer, spiritual conference and sincere confessors, besides bribery, simony, selling of missary's places, lies, perjuries, dishonesty in civil bargains, abusing of the law, adulteries, incests, with many other offences which we shall give the particulars in our particular accusations.”

This infamous paper, thus framed and prepared, was put into the hands of a junto of noblemen, thirty three barons, five ministers, six burgeses, not chosen to be members of assembly, and therefore competent to be accused with directions to lay it before the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as a libel and petition for justice. Accordingly these tools of the cabal did upon 24th day of October present it to that Presbytery: and the same day the Presbytery by formal sentence, as had been concerted, “ and do refer the same to the next general assembly to be holden at Glasgow the 21st of November. And we ordain the publishing of this complaint and our reference, to be read by all the pastors of the Presbytery the next Sabbath before noon out of their pulpits, with a public warning and citation to offenders complained on,” naming all the shops as in the libel, “ to be present at the

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assembly, to answer to the said complaint in ge-<sup>LETTER</sup>  
 neral, and to all the particular heads of it: XLVI.  
 and to undergo the trial and censure of it:  
 And requiring all parties who have interest  
 either in pursuing, specifying, or proving the  
 above complaint, to be present at the assembly  
 for that purpose." In obedience to this tyrannical  
 ordinance of a judicatory no way competent  
 to such a high stretch of authority, the whole  
 read from all the pulpits in Edinburgh on  
 next Sunday, and that too with such a zealous  
 assiduity that in the College kirk, where Rol-  
 ph preached, it being a communion day, and af-  
 noon before the people had all received, the  
 ordinary thanksgivings after the communion, and  
 usual prayer and reading of the scripture be-  
 fore the afternoon sermon, were all omitted, to  
 make room for this more important piece of  
 service.  
 Thus all things being as properly adjusted  
 as human wit could devise, to admit sure friends,  
 and keep out open or suspected enemies, at last  
 the 21st of November 1638, this renowned as-  
 sembly sat down, a motley convention of Presby-  
 ters and laymen, of which last there were seven  
 lords, ten Lords, forty Gentlemen, and fifty one  
 burgesses. The first day, after the usual forma-  
 tions, the royal commission was read, and the com-  
 missioner made a speech, exhorting them to a  
 peaceable and moderate carriage, and touching  
 on the former disorders. On this day a lay-  
 elder, the Earl of Rothes, sharply answered "that  
 they had given his Grace content for all their  
 proceedings," which his Grace objected to,  
 and took God to witness, "that he had never  
 yet received satisfaction from them in any part  
 of their procedure." The next day, when they

LETTER were all met, a paper was presented to  
 XLVI. Commissioner by Mr. Robert Hamilton, minister  
 of Glasford, procurator for the Bishops, protesting  
 against this assembly, and declining the  
 authority and judgment of it for the following  
 reasons. 1. Because the *Tables* at Edinburgh  
 ordered the members to be chosen before the  
 assembly was indicted, which was against law.  
 Because the assembly consists of numbers of  
 men, who are allowed a decisive vote no less  
 the clergy, whereas such persons are legally  
 disabled, and many of them otherwise unqualified  
 to act in such a sphere. 3. Because many even  
 those who pretend to be ministers, have disquali-  
 fied themselves from being members of a regular  
 constituted assembly, by their neglecting to take  
 the oaths required by law, and by their seditious  
 behaviour against his Majesty's authority, and  
 mutinously adhering to their covenant of  
 defence against all persons whatever. 4. Because  
 the Presbyteries, by setting aside the moderators  
 appointed by the Bishops, have broken the act  
 of the assembly of 1610, and of the Parliament  
 of 1612, and thereby forfeited their privilege of  
 election. 5. Because the lay-elders from every  
 parish, by their influence and numbers above the  
 ministers, have overawed the canonical elections,  
 thus the representatives of the clergy are, contrary  
 to all order and practice, chosen by the laity.  
 Because most of the members of this meeting  
 schismatical and perjured persons, by departing  
 from their sworn obedience to their several  
 superiors, and many of them are either under  
 actual censures of the church of Scotland or  
 land, or deserve to be so, for many scandalous  
 irregularities, which stand condemned by the

al assemblies of this church: Besides sundry LETTER  
 sonal blemishes which they could charge them XLVL  
 th, but in charity forbear to mention. 7. Be-  
 se the most of the members of this pretended  
 assembly have already declared themselves against  
 episcopacy, and so being professed enemies, can-  
 be adequate judges, which was the main rea-  
 son, and a very just one too, why the reformers  
 protested against the council of Trent. 8. Be-  
 cause of the rudeness and falsehoods of the scur-  
 rous lybel from the Presbytery of Edinburgh,  
 and the injury done to the episcopal character, in  
 denying the Bishops the privilege of presiding in  
 ecclesiastical assemblies, confirmed to them by so  
 many repeated acts of both church and state.—  
 Because of the manifest contradiction to reason  
 and primitive practice that Bishops should be judg-  
 ed by Presbyters, and which carries the absurdity  
 further, by a mixed company of Presbyters and  
 laymen, since by all the canons of the ancient  
 church, Bishops are to be tried by none beneath  
 their own order. 10. At the same time they are  
 content to wave this ancient privilege, and to  
 submit to modern constitution, declaring that  
 for any charge relating to life or doctrine they  
 are willing to abide by the trial of a general as-  
 sembly lawfully constituted, or of his Majesty's  
 high commissioner: Concluding all in these terms,  
 We embrace and hold that the religion pre-  
 sently professed in the church of Scotland, ac-  
 cording to the confession thereof, received by  
 the estates of this kingdom, and ratified in  
 Parliament in 1567, is the true religion bring-  
 ing men to eternal salvation, and do detest all  
 contrary error. And we protest in the sight  
 of God, to whom we must one day give ac-



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XLVI.

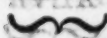
“ count, that we make use of this Declaration  
 “ and protestation, out of the conscience of  
 “ duty to God and his church, and not out  
 “ fear of any guiltiness whereof any of us is  
 “ scious to himself, either of wickedness in  
 “ lives, or miscarriage in our callings: Hum  
 “ intreating his Grace to intercede with  
 “ King's Majesty, that he may appoint a free  
 “ lawful general assembly, such as God's word  
 “ the practice of the primitive church, and  
 “ of this kingdom do prescribe and allow,  
 “ all convenient speed: But *declining* always  
 “ assembly, for the causes above written, to  
 “ by these presents, We and every one of  
 “ *decline* the same, the whole members thereof  
 “ and commissioners foresaid directed thereto,  
 “ every one of them. In witness whereof, as  
 “ are ready with our blood, so with our hands  
 “ we have subscribed these presents at Holyrood  
 “ house, Newcastle and Glasgow, the 16th, 17th  
 “ and 20th days of November 1638. Signed  
 “ John St. Andrews, Patrick Glasgow, David  
 “ Edinburgh, Thomas Galloway, John Rol  
 “ Walter Brechin.”

This paper being in form put into the com  
 missioner's hands, he desired that it might be  
 and recorded, but was told, that could not be  
 done till a moderator was chosen: So they  
 proceeded to that business, and, as had been order  
 at Edinburgh, the choice fell without one  
 dissenting voice, on Mr Henderson, and Johnston  
 Warilton was named clerk, in opposition to  
 James Sandilands, commissary of Aberdeen,  
 had been appointed clerk to the assembly for  
 The two or three next sederunts were taken up  
 examining controverted elections, rejecting  
 suspected

pected members, and either evading or throwing out sundry protestations from several presbyteries, even one from the presbytery of Glasgow itself, against the irregularity of the lay-elders in elections. They likewise appointed a committee of eight ministers to inspect four large volumes of acts of assemblies, which Wariston pretended to have discovered; and upon the committee's approbation, which was given in two days, the assembly confirmed them by an act, ordaining these books to make faith in judgment and outwith, in all time coming, as the true and authentick registers of the kirk of Scotland."

At last, after a great deal of wrangling between the Commissioner and them, they carrying every thing with a high hand, and his Grace protesting against their violent measures, they were prevailed with to give the Bishops *Declination* a hearing, and it was publicly read by their clerk on the 27th. The reading of this paper, which was the only point of importance the Commissioner had hitherto gained, raised great heats among them; the majority, especially of the lay-elders, ridiculing it with much contempt, and a few defending the force and solidity of it, till in end the moderator shut up the debate with this magisterial declaration; "Since we see both the competency and constitution of this judicatory and assembly is thus openly impugned, it is high time to clear this point, of which none can be judge but the assembly itself; and therefore I will presently put it to voices, Whether this assembly be the lawful and competent judge of the libel against the Bishops, notwithstanding the reasons contained  
" in

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XLVI.



Guthrie's  
Memoirs.

" in their *Declinator*?" The Commissioner, plainly seeing what they were driving at, that they were unalterably resolved to overturn the ecclesiastical constitution established by which he had positive orders to prevent the meddling with, he made a pathetic speech to them, against the illegality and manifest injustice of their proceedings, and upon the morrow, the advice of the Privy-council, then sitting at Glasgow, did, in his Majesty's name and authority, dissolve this assembly, and discharge the further sitting, under pain of treason. Against this dissolution, which they had all along been looking for, and even making necessary, a protestation, ready formed, was read, and interments taken by their trusty friend the Earl of Rothes, "declaring for the freedom of un-  
" interrupted sitting, and that for his Majesty's  
" countermand, was to prejudice the prerogative  
" of Jesus-Christ, and the liberties of the kirk.  
Being now freed from the incumbrance of royal authority, and from any appearance, or dissembled, in favour of Episcopacy, they drove on for twenty days longer without controul, till they had gone through all the affairs, and were pleased to dissolve themselves in which time they had passed seventy five capital acts, besides lesser ones, which their enemies did not think worth the while to put into the register. The main things transacted were the following.  
All the assemblies, since that at Aberdeen 1605, were declared void; the service-book, book of Canons, the book of Ordination, High Commission, and the five articles of Perth were all annulled and condemned: And the Covenant which they had now taken, was  
thoritative

ritatively declared to be substantially one and LETTER  
 same with that which had been allowed by XLVI.  
 James in 1581, in which, they now af-  
 Episcopacy was abjured.\* Having gone  
 far, they proceeded next, in opposition to  
 any standing acts of both Assembly and Parlia-  
 ment, to condemn Episcopacy as Antichristian,  
 and to depose and excommunicate the Bishops  
 refusing to submit to them: And it was or-  
 dained, that the sentence should be pronounced  
 the High Church of Glasgow, by the Moderator,  
 the 13th of December, which was done ac-  
 cordingly. A copy of this sentence follows:

Yet it is well known, that at the first introduction of this new  
 ment, great pains were taken by its authors, to make the na-  
 believe that they might very well swear it without prejudice to  
 Episcopacy. To the Marquis of Hamilton himself they oft protest-  
 that their meaning was only to regulate, not to abolish episc-  
 al government: In the famous dispute with the doctors of  
 Aberdeen, when they refused it for fear of any plots in it, or  
 sious interpretations of it against episcopacy, these are Hen-  
 son's very words, in answer to the 4th reply of the Aberdeene-  
 ry, "You will have all the covenanters, against their inten-  
 tions, and whether they will or not, to disallow and condemn  
 the articles of Perth and episcopal government: But it is  
 known to many hundreds, that the words were purposely con-  
 ceived for satisfaction of such as were of your judgment, that  
 we might all join in one heart and one covenant." And  
 for this very man, from his usurped chair of infallibility, to  
 condemn Episcopacy, and notwithstanding of his insinuations  
 the contrary only a few months before, to declare with such  
 open effrontery, "that it was abjured in the covenant," what-  
 er it may say for Mr. Henderson's talents in conducting such  
 tricks, is so flagrant a reflexion on his honesty as cannot well be  
 moved even by that strange tenet which they have invented, in  
 defence of their proceedings, published by Wariston in February  
 next year, "That the swearer is neither bound to the meaning  
 of the prescriber of the oath, nor to his own meaning, who  
 takes the oath, but to the reality of the thing sworn, as it shall  
 be afterwards interpreted by the competent judge."

"The



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XLVI.

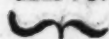
“ The General Assembly, having heard the  
“ and complaints given in against the fore-  
“ pretended Bishops, to the presbytery of Ed-  
“ burgh, and sundry presbyteries within the  
“ diocies, and by the said presbyteries refer-  
“ to this assembly to be tried; The said  
“ pretended Bishops being lawfully cited, often-  
“ called, and not compearing; Proceeded to  
“ cognition of the libels and complaints against  
“ them, and finding them guilty of the breach  
“ of the cautions agreed upon in the assembly  
“ at Montrose in 1600, for restricting of  
“ ministers votes in Parliament, from encroaching  
“ upon the liberties and jurisdictions of the  
“ kirk, which was set down with certification  
“ deposition, infamy, and excommunication, and  
“ especially for receiving consecration to the  
“ office of Episcopacy, condemned by the Com-  
“ munion of Faith and acts of this kirk, as having  
“ no warrant nor fundament in the word  
“ of God, and by virtue of this usurped power  
“ and power of High Commission, pressing  
“ the kirk with novations in the worship of God  
“ and for their refusing to underly the trial  
“ of the reigning slander of sundry other  
“ transgressions and offences laid to their charge  
“ THEREFORE the Assembly, moved with zeal  
“ for the glory of God, and purging of this kirk  
“ ordains the said pretended Bishops to be  
“ deposed, and by these presents doth depose them  
“ not only of the office of Commissioner  
“ to vote in Parliament, council, or convention  
“ in the name of the kirk, but also of all function, wha-  
“ ther of pretended Episcopal, or ministerial  
“ office: And likewise, in case they acknowledge  
“ not this Assembly, reverence not the com-  
“ munion

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utions thereof, and obey not their sentence, LETTER  
 or make repentance according to the order XLVI  
 prescribed, ordains them to be excommunicat-  
 ed, and declared to be of those whom Christ  
 commandeth to be holden by all and every  
 one of the faithful as ethnicks and publicans :  
 And the sentence of excommunication to be  
 pronounced upon their refusal, in the kirks  
 appointed, by any of those who are particular-  
 ly named to have the charge of their repen-  
 tance or impenitency ; and that the execution  
 of this sentence be intimate in all the kirks  
 within this realm, by the pastors of every  
 particular congregation, as they will be answer-  
 able to their presbyteries and synods, and in  
 case of their negligence, to the next General  
 Assembly.”

In this presumptuous sentence we have a strik-  
 ing instance of their double dealing and artful  
 procedure : For, tho’ the Edinburgh libel had  
 specified a black list of heinous immoralities,  
 which not only deserved spiritual censure, but  
 some of them even death by the civil law, the  
 Assembly here huddles all up, under the gene-  
 ral term of gross transgressions and offences,  
 and founds its judgment upon the allegedged cri-  
 minality of office, without particularizing any vi-  
 ciousness of personal character, or neglect of mi-  
 nisterial duty in the execution of that office.—  
 And this method of smothering an accusation,  
 which, if openly tried and proved, would have  
 had more weight with the sensible part of the  
 nation than any other part of the charge against  
 them, is certainly a fuller vindication of the in-  
 nocence and blameless behaviour of those perse-  
 cuted Prelates, than any laboured defence that  
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could have been made for them. But this was not the only instance of arrogance, as well as artifice which this Assembly exhibited. For the morrow after the proclamation for dissolving them, they had the boldness, publicly at market cross, to "summon and cite all those of his Majesty's council, or any others who had procured, consented, subscribed, or ratified the proclamation, to be responsible to his Majesty and three Estates of Parliament, for the counsel given in this matter so highly importing his Majesty and whole realm, protesting for remedy of law, against them and every one of them." And to crown all, before the rose, which was not till the 20th of December, they very confidently ordered a letter to be drawn up and sent to the King, for obtaining his royal assent to what they had done, as if slighting his proclamations, and obstinately continuing their judicatory against his will, formerly notified to them by his Commissioner, they had done nothing but what became good and faithful subjects.

To this letter an answer was received on the 29th of January 1639, bearing, "that for the better settling the affairs of Scotland, the King would be at York against the first of April, and would call his Scotch council there for advice." But the Covenanters, not trusting this, and pretending to have got intelligence from their friends in England, that the King was come upon them with a military retinue, they called a general meeting of their party to be held at Edinburgh upon the 20th of February, resolving upon a defensive war. This was sooner proposed in the convention, and entered

But this Henderson's influence, than they immediately agreed to the raising of an army, and voted their countryman General Alexander Leslie, whom they had lately called home, from the English service in Germany, to have the chief command of it. Next day they seized on the Palace of Edinburgh, and two days after, on the King's palace at Dalkeith, with a large quantity of powder and arms, which Traquair had brought from London. But while they were thus busied in the South, a report came from the North, that the people of Aberdeen were rising their town, and the Marquis of Huntly was bringing men together for the King. Upon this, the Earl of Montrose was dispatched with orders to levy troops by the way, to suppress that rising: Which he very soon effected, and so far prevailed over Huntly, that he carried him and his son the Lord Gordon, prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were confined in the Castle. Mean time, accounts of all these hostile preparations being sent to court, it was advised in Council at London, that a fleet should sail immediately to chastise the Edinburghers, by distressing their trade, and that the King himself should go in person with an army, to suppress the rebellion. Accordingly, on the 27th of March he began his journey northward, attended by the flower of the English nobility and gentry, and in a few days came to York, where was to be the general rendezvous of the army. At the same time a fleet of twenty large ships was shipped, and about the middle of May arrived at the road of Leith, under the Marquis of Hamilton, Commander in Chief, with three thousand soldiers on board, for land service. On hearing of this, the Lord Aboyn, second son to

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**LETTER XLVI** the Marquis of Humly, took the field with Gordons, and other loyalists in the North, wrote to Hamilton, soliciting a junction of the troops, which the Marquis who, it seems, views of ending the contest without blows, did not think fit to grant. However, Abbot went on with his design, and was as far advanced the Bridge of Dee, with two thousand foot and three hundred horse, where he was encountered and after a sharp engagement of some hours, entirely defeated by Montrose, who had been detached with a command of double Abbot's number, to quell these Northern attempts in the King's favour.

It is but too obvious, that this early and vigorous range of Montrose in defence of the covenant, put more life to the rebellious cause, and did more prejudice to the King's affairs, than all his activity and many wonderful victories afterwards, could or did retrieve. And it is therefore to be lamented, not so much for his own character, since it is to be regretted, that he did not go over to a right cause at any time, as for the good of the King and nation, that this magnanimous and justly celebrated nobleman, whose memory will be ever dear to all true Scotsmen, had not begun his days with the same principles with which he ended them: In which case, his King and country would have found an able supporter, and the world have a complete portrait of virtue, and true heroism, without any blemish thro' the whole piece.

**LETTER**

LETTER  
XLVII

## L E T T E R XLVII.

*Proceedings of the Covenanters.—Account of the  
 ejected Bishops.—And of the Treaty with the  
 Scots at Rippon.—Rise of the Independents  
 —Meeting of the Long Parliament in Eng-  
 land.—The King holds a Parliament in Scot-  
 land, and makes every Concession to the Cove-  
 nanters.—Rebellion in Ireland.—The King  
 passes the Bill for disqualifying the English Cler-  
 gy.—The House of Commons vote down the Bi-  
 shops.—A Commission appointed by the Scotch  
 Assembly, to correspond with their English Friends  
 —This mutual Friendship produces the Solemn  
 League and Covenant.—Approved by the  
 Assembly in Scotland.—And by the Synod of  
 Divines at Westminster.—Violently enforced in  
 both Kingdoms,*

THE Covenanters having now got all things  
 ready, began their march to the borders,  
 and by the way sent flattering addresses to the  
 King,

LETTER King, "lamenting that their enemies had  
 XLVII. "suaded his Majesty to believe them disobe-  
 "ent, which could never have entered into the  
 "loyal hearts, and protesting, that they desired  
 "nothing but to be admitted to the presence  
 "their gracious Sovereign, to lay their  
 "vances at his feet, and leave the determina-  
 "tion of them entirely to his wisdom and plea-  
 "sure." Tho' the King was pleased with the  
 specious appearances of submission, yet finding  
 them increasing their preparations, he judged  
 necessary to draw nearer to them, and so came  
 to a field near the Tweed, called the Birks, ten  
 miles west from Berwick, where he encamped  
 lodged in a tent with his army. By this time  
 General Leslie had brought his forces to Dunbar  
 about seven miles distant, where they pitched  
 the 20th of May. In this position both armies  
 lay till the 11th of June, when the Scots having  
 discovered the pacific disposition of the English  
 Generals, sent a supplication to the King for  
 treaty, which he readily granted. And after  
 few days debate, the Commissioners on both sides  
 came to this conclusion on the 18th, "That  
 "Majesty should confirm whatever his High-Com-  
 "missioner had last year granted in his name  
 "and that henceforth all ecclesiastical matters  
 "should be determined by the Assemblies of  
 "kirk, and all matters civil by the Parliament  
 "to which end a General Assembly should  
 "be held on the 6th of August, where his Majesty  
 "should be in person, and a parliament  
 "should be held on the 20th, in which an act of oblivion  
 "should pass, for the common peace and  
 "union of all parties. In return for which  
 "the Covenanters were to disband their troops."

in forty eight hours, to discharge their tables and meetings, to render up the King's castles, and to make restitution to all his good subjects of the liberties, lands, houses, goods, and means whatever, taken and detained from them since the first of November: On which the King was to recal his fleet, and withdraw his land forces."

Such was the nature of this first pacification, which, however favourable to the covenanters, was not received by them as might have been expected. For no sooner was it proclaimed in their camp, but the Lord Lindsay protested, "that neither the Bishops nor any of their clergy, were or should be included in this pacification, nor entitled to the benefits of it." And tho' on their return home, they gave up the castle of Edinburgh to General Ruthven for the King, which Huntly and his son got their liberty, on the first of July they published a protestation at the market-cross by the Earl of Dalhousie, that they would maintain the late assembly at Glasgow as most lawful, free and general, and would adhere to their solemn covenant with God, whereby the office of Bishops who yet usurp the title is declared to have been abjured: And that therefore, if they return to this kingdom, they be used as accursed and given over to the devil and out of Christ's body, as ethnics and publicans, and that all who harbour them shall be prosecuted to excommunication likewise." At the same time they issued a scandalous paper, under the title of "some conditions of his Majesty's treaty with his subjects of Scotland before the English nobility," reflecting upon the King's integrity, as having in his

LETTER  
XLVII.



**LETTER** his private discourse expressed himself better  
**XLVII.** ed with their proceedings than what was  
 out in his public declaration: Which paper  
 ing complained of, and disavowed by the Eng  
 commissioners, was burnt at London by the  
 of the public executioner; tho' the covenants  
 in their usual equivocating way, attempted a  
 ry kind of vindication of it.

On these insolent breaches of the agree  
 while the King was in the North, he thou  
 proper to call up fourteen of the heads of  
 party to his court at Berwick, to consult with  
 about his coming to hold the Assembly and  
 liament in person. But matters were so manag  
 that the persons whom he had called were m  
 to believe that it was not safe for them to  
 lest they should be made prisoners, and a mess  
 was sent to apologize for their not obeying his  
 jesty's call. This fresh instance of rudeness so  
 voked the King, that he left Berwick in disgust,  
 on the 29th of July set off for London, having  
 fore his departure constituted the Earl of  
 quair his high commissioner, an office which  
 Marquis of Hamilton now wisely declined. Am  
 Traquair's instructions, positive orders were g  
 him, not to yield to any ratification of the  
 Assembly, nor to enter into any dispute about  
 King's power in calling or voting in assembly.  
 To take care that in giving way to the abolit  
 of Episcopacy, if it be found necessary, no  
 spect be had to the determination of the point  
 the last Assembly, nor any conclusion forme  
 prejudice of Episcopacy as unlawful in itself,  
 only in satisfaction to the people, for settling  
 present disorders, and other reasons of state:  
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arrant from them: And in a paper of further  
structions, the King says, "We allow that the  
covenant of 1581 be subscribed, provided it be  
so conceived, as that thereby our subjects be  
not forced to abjure Episcopacy as a point of  
Popery, or contrary to God's law, or to the  
Protestant religion, but if they require it to  
be abjured as contrary to the constitution of  
the church of Scotland, you are to give way to  
it, rather than make a breach: And for the  
service book and the book of canons, tho' we  
are content they be discharged, we will never  
give our voice nor assent that they be condemn-  
ed, as entertaining any thing of Popery or su-  
perstition, nor that the five articles of Perth,  
tho' discharged with our approbation, be con-  
demned as contrary to the foresaid confession." All this time the Bishops were not in a ca-  
pacity to do much either for their own or the  
King's interest. They wrote however to the Arch-  
bishop of Canterbury, to offer their humble ad-  
vice to his Majesty to prorogue the assembly and  
parliament. In answer to which, the King writes  
with his own hand to the Archbishop of St. An-  
drews, to be communicated to his brethren, "ap-  
proving their advice as reasonable enough, but  
not finding it expedient to follow it at this  
time: Telling them what directions he had  
given to Traquair, to take care of their Lord-  
ships and the loyal clergy: Dispensing from  
their meeting to treat about the affairs of the  
church, as in any part in Scotland he cannot  
promise them a place of safety, and in any  
other of his dominions he does not think it  
convenient, all things considered, and assuring  
them

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XLVI.

See Records  
Collier

LETTER XLVII. "them that, tho' perhaps he may for the  
 " sent give way to what may seem prejudi-  
 " both to the church and to his own govern-  
 " he shall not leave thinking how in time to  
 " medy both: In the mean time expressly  
 " hibiting any of them from being present at  
 " ensuing Assembly, but advising them to  
 " main in England till farther order, where  
 " promises to provide for their subsistence  
 " tho' not in that measure as he could wish,  
 " in such a way as they should not be in want.  
 By this we may see how the King's incli-  
 tions stood, and to what difficulties he was  
 ready reduced, in struggling between his  
 inward sentiments and the exigences of state.  
 At last, the Assembly sat down on the 10<sup>th</sup>  
 of August, and Mr. David Dickson was cho-  
 Moderator, with Mr. Henderson, as the  
 brother, at his elbow, by way of co-adjutor.  
 And here so little weight had his Majesty's  
 instructions, owing either to Traquair's infir-  
 mity, or his want of power, that all that had  
 been done at Glasgow was now confirmed; Epi-  
 scopy utterly extirpated, the Service-book, Can-  
 ons and Articles of Perth abolished, and their  
 Covenant ratified, and ordained to be sworn  
 and subscribed by all the subjects in the king-  
 dom. As a pattern to others, Traquair  
 subscribed it himself, with a particular form of  
 qualifying explication as his Majesty's Commission  
 a favour allowed to no other subject, and which  
 he declared he did not pretend to as Earl  
 Traquair. And thus having finished the business  
 for which they had met, they rose on the 11<sup>th</sup>  
 in triumph. The next day the Parliament  
 convened, and as had been concerted, ratified

acts of the Assembly, the Commissioner as-  
 ting to their proceedings, till at last they en-  
 reached so far on the rights of the crown, that  
 was obliged to prorogue them to the month  
 June next year. We are told by Bishop  
 rnet, that the King was highly displeased with  
 Traquair for subscribing the Covenant, and that  
 the excuse he could make was, that without  
 a compliance he could have had no assistance  
 from the Covenanters, in any thing else that re-  
 ed to the King's service. But what service  
 was that either he or they did the King, we  
 yet to learn, unless derogating from his preio-  
 tive, and encroaching on his property, may be  
 lled doing him a service.

Before we proceed farther to trace the violent  
 progress of the Covenanted kirk, let us see what  
 came of the suffering Bishops, thus insulted  
 and thrown down by a set of revolting sons.—  
 The old Primate Spotswood did not long sur-  
 vive this repeated shock: For he died on the  
 17th of December following, and was buried with  
 great funeral solemnity in Westminster-abbey,  
 near the body of his beloved Sovereign King  
 James. The other Archbishop, Lindsay of Glas-  
 gow, tho' a popular preacher, and a man of ac-  
 knowledged moderation, had no better treatment  
 from his brethren, but was forced to take sanc-  
 tuary in England, and died at Newcastle in two  
 or three years after. Bishop Lindsay of Edin-  
 burgh died in England too, in the time of the  
 following troubles, tho' we are not told where.  
 So did Bishop Ballenden of Aberdeen, Whitford  
 of Brechin, Wedderburn of Dunblain, Aberne-  
 thy of Caithness, and Campbell of the Isles, all  
 of them in exile, and within a few years. Bi-

LETTER  
XLVII.Mem. of  
the Dukes  
of Hamil-  
ton.



**LETTER** shop Maxwell of Ross, against whom, it is  
**XLVII.** Traquair had a personal grudge, was one of  
 five whom the Covenanters retained in the  
 damned list of incendiaries, and always excepted  
 out of every act of oblivion or indemnity: the  
 King preferred him to the bishoprick of  
 lala in Ireland, where he was again a sufferer  
 the Irish Papists in the time of their rebellion,  
 and with great difficulty got out of their hands  
 to Dublin. After this he waited on the King  
 at Oxford, who was so well pleased with  
 distinct account of the posture of religious  
 fairs in Ireland, that on the Archbishoprick  
 Tuam falling void, he was nominated to it by  
 King in 1645, and took possession of it soon after.  
 But hearing of the King's misfortunes in England,  
 he was so affected with the melancholy news,  
 that on the 14th of February 1647, he was found  
 dead upon his knees in his closet, and was,  
 the care of the Marquis of Ormonde the King's  
 deputy, interred in Christ's church in Dublin.  
 Bishop Sydeserf of Galloway survived the troubles,  
 and saw both church and state resettled.

\* In the time of the confusions we find him exercising  
 Episcopal office in the chapel of Sir Richard Brown the  
 ambassador at Paris, by ordaining priests, and amongst them  
 the laborious Mr. John Durel, a native of the island of Jersey,  
 who with his ordination from a Bishop whom the Scotch  
 byterians had excommunicated, officiated in some of the  
 respectable Protestant churches in France; and was still a  
 zealous assertor of both the Hierarchy and Liturgy. This  
 in his "View of the reformed churches beyond the seas,"  
 we see that the French churches made a consistorial act not to  
 any regard to the Scotch excommunications of those days,  
 without a particular specification of a sufficient cause, which they  
 not admit Episcopacy to be: And he quotes a letter written  
 the well known Frederick Spanheim, one of the ministers of  
 Geneva, to the Irishprimate Usher, to the English Earl of Pembroke

of Dunkeld, Graham of Orkney, and Fairly Argyle, submitted to the Assembly's censure, LETTER XLVII.  
 ured their Episcopal character, and accepted parochial charges, neither respected nor much  
 en notice of by either side. But Bishop John  
 thry of Moray bravely stood the brunt of all  
 er malice, and tho' he was fined, plundered,  
 and imprisoned, still maintained the validity and  
 ights of his order, till at last, being old, and  
 likely to give the prevailing cause much  
 ouble, he was suffered to die in quiet in his  
 n house of Guthry in Angus.

to two young Scotch noblemen, Lord Angus and Lord  
 and, with all whom he had been acquainted when in Bri-  
 ; In which, speaking in name of his church, Spanheim has  
 e words, "With singular affection to all the British  
 churches, we reverence and love their illustrious Prelates,  
 and we pray to God for the prosperity of these kingdoms, and  
 of all them that sit at the helm, as well in the church as in  
 the commonwealth, that God may ever have his glory, the  
 King his just right, and the Prelates of your churches their  
 due authority." This letter, Mr. Durel says, was written in  
 1638, and printed at Geneva: The date is observable,  
 shews us that, at the very time when the Scotch Presbyte-  
 rs, who glory in Geneva as their mother-church and standard  
 reformation, were scheming against their Prelates both in per-  
 son and office, that mother-church was reverencing and praying  
 for those Prelates in both respects. To this let me add another  
 er, tho' some years later, from the same quarter, by the pen  
 of another Genevan minister, the learned John Diodati, to the  
 assembly of divines at Westminster in 1647, the whole strain  
 which is in praise of the church of England, sadly lamenting  
 unnatural tumults which were then reading that once beau-  
 tiful and pure church, "that fair eye of the reformed churches,  
 where the needy had been in use to find assistance, and the  
 afflicted a refuge to fly to, &c." This famous letter in the  
 original Latin is preserved entire at the end of Archbishop Usher's  
 by Parr, and is quoted in favour of Episcopacy not only by  
 Mr. Durel, but likewise by our countryman Dr. George  
 Eden, in his "third part of the case of the Episcopal clergy,"  
 by many others.

Thus

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The Bishops thus disposed of, and the abolished by both Assembly and Parliament, the next business which the new kirk of the Covenant set about, was to purge the Universities and mould them to their own taste. In Edinburgh they had not much to do, as Adam the Principal was violent on their side, and they had got their champion, Henderson, transported from Leuchars, to be one of the Ministers in the town. To Glasgow they brought Dick their late Moderator from Irvine, to be Professor of Divinity, which, from the pragmatical and fiery zeal of the man, was thought sufficient to keep all right there. At St. Andrews they placed the famous Mr. Samuel Rutherford in the Professor's chair in the Divinity College, and to strengthen his hands they expelled the two Episcopal Ministers, Gladstones and Wishart, and filled their rooms with Mr. Robert Blair, who many years before, being extruded from the College of Glasgow, where he was one of the Professors, for instilling seditious and anti-monarchical principles into the students, had taken sanctuary among the malecontents in Ireland, and on the present prospects he returned, and valiantly thrust himself into the pulpit in the town of Ayr. And as for Aberdeen, till they could find a new set of masters to their mind, they agreed to remove Mr. Andrew Cant from Inverness, to be one of the Ministers there, which was accordingly done, and sufficiently answered their purpose.

Some time after the prorogation of the Parliament, against which the Covenanters had protested by their friends, Rothes and Warriston, a letter to the King of France, was by some

ans or other intercepted, and being produced LETTER XLVII.  
 inst them, threw them into confusion. This  
 was acknowledged to have been written  
 Lord Loudon's own hand, and was addressed  
 Au Roi, To the King," which is the French  
 from the subjects to their natural Prince,  
 beseeching his Majesty as the refuge and sanc-  
 tuary of afflicted Princes and States, to give  
 credit and faith to the bearer Mr. Colvil,  
 whom they had sent to represent the candour  
 and ingenuity of their proceedings, and to im-  
 plore the assistance of his wonted clemency.  
 Signed, your Majesty's most humble, most obe-  
 dient, and most affectionate servants, Rothes,  
 Montrose, Leslie, Mar, Montgomery, Loudon,  
 Forrester." To reconcile such an application  
 a Popish Prince, with their repeated professions  
 and solemn appeals to heaven, against every the  
 appearance of Popery, must be left to the  
 guilt of these Covenanted Protestants. But it  
 is the treasonable part of the application that  
 laid hold of, and on this just ground the Lord  
 Loudon, as writer of it, was on the 11th of  
 April sent to the Tower of London; yet, after  
 two or three months confinement, was, at the  
 Marquis of Hamilton's solicitation, dismissed with-  
 out further censure, and allowed to return home  
 in triumph.

Thus a new breach was begun between the  
 King and the Covenanters, and both sides pre-  
 pared for war. The Scots seem to have been  
 busy, and were first ready: For on the 10th  
 March, in a convention at Edinburgh, they  
 resolved to raise a new army, and on the 16th A.D. 1649.  
 April old Leslie was again named Commander  
 chief, with proper officers, among whom Mon-  
 trose



LETTER trese was one, to serve under him. And for  
 XLVII. ward were the people to rise, at the daily  
 ~~~~~ gation of their thundering preachers, that by  
 the middle of July the whole levies were com-
 pleted, and all the regiments on the 27th bro-
 together at the appointed rendezvous, where
 was unanimously resolved to march into Eng-
 land, having first sent before them a declaration, which
 in "they obtest the all-seeing God, that they
 "tend not the least diminution of the King's
 "honour and greatness, nor any prejudice or
 "to England, but only to seek their own peace."
 On the other side, the King, after dissolving
 English Parliament, which would give him
 assistance on the present emergency, made a
 to collect a sufficient army, and with all ex-
 pediton marched to meet the Scots invaders, who
 by the time he reached York, were advanced
 to the very borders. On the 21st of August
 they entered England, and a few days after
 detached party of them routed a body of the
 King's horse, that had been sent under the Lord
 Conway, to dispute the passage of the Tyne.
 Upon the 30th, being Sunday, their whole army
 took possession of the town of Newcastle, where
 after sermon in the High-church by Mr. Har-
 derfon, the General and principal officers were
 sumptuously feasted by the Mayor. From that
 place they sent a supplication to the King at
 York, or rather a peremptory demand, "that
 "the acts of their two last Assemblies should be
 "ratified: That no oath or subscription, con-
 "trary to their national oath and Covenant
 "should be required of their countrymen in
 "England or Ireland: That the common
 "condemners between the King and them

be duly punished: That a proper compensation be made them of all their losses: And that the Parliament of England may meet as soon as possible, as the only means to settle peace, and stop the further advancing of their army." These demands the King referred to his great Council of Peers, assembled at York, whose advice he agreed to nominate Commissioners, to treat with them, and accordingly fifteen of the English nobility, most of whom were in concert with the Scots, and soon declared themselves the King's bitterest enemies. From the Scots army came the Earls of Ross and Dunfermlin, the Lord Loudon, and six others of inferior rank, among whom were Watson and Henderson. On the first of October they all met at Rippon, about sixteen miles from York, where Loudon, who was always the mouth of the party, made a long speech, declaring their affection to the kingdom and people of England, whose liberties and privileges they regarded as they did their own: That therefore this present attempt of the Scots to defend themselves, may prove a benefit to the English, by affording them such a fair opportunity of vindicating their liberties and laws from the evil designs of a few wicked men, who had too great influence on his Majesty's councils, and ought to be removed from his presence." This artful speech, very suitable to the plots that were in agitation, had the intended effect: For on the 16th it was concluded on both sides, that there should be a cessation of arms for two months, that the treaty should be adjourned from Rippon to London, to be prosecuted there in the time of Parliament,

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LETTER XLVII. and that till all differences should be fully and finally settled, the Scotch army should remain where they were, and have maintenance for the day they crossed the Tweed, which was to be levied out of the three northern counties of England, and, as the English historians say, exacted with great rigour and oppression. Thus was the King decoyed into a second fatal snare, and the Covenanters once more carried the point.

About this time, however, they were beginning to split into factions among themselves, which tho' cunningly kept down for some time, broke out at last into an open rupture, and contributed, more than all the royal edicts, to humiliate the pride and power of Presbytery. When episcopacy was thrust out of Scotland, there came down from England a taylor and a surgeon, and from Ireland a swarm of Scotch fugitives, mostly lay-men of low life, who all meeting in the western counties, got a number of the common people there to comply with their new way of seeking edification, by private conventions, religious exercise, and were countenanced in their pretensions to superior godliness by Dick Blair, Rutherford, and other great patrons of the Covenant. This was thought to favour much of the Brownistical, or Independent scheme, which had been formed in England in Queen Elizabeth's time, on a plan of this kind, by Robert Brown, in opposition to Cartwright and the other Puritans of the common Presbytery stamp, and which, in a few years after this, rose to such a height in England, as to prevail against Prelacy and Presbytery both. The greater part of the Covenanters were alarmed at this first

pear

erance of such a divisive and dangerous spi-
 breaking out among them. But by the me-
 tion of some prudent friends, and the skilful
 management of their Primate Henderson, the flame
 was smothered at this time, and a conclusion
 mutually gone into, "that whatever had been
 the effects of these private meetings in times
 of trouble and corruption, when many things
 may be commendable, which otherwise would
 not be tolerable, yet, now when God had bles-
 sed them with peace, and with the purity of
 the Gospel, such meetings should be forborn,
 as tending in end to the renting of the whole
 kirk, besides other offences, to the hardening
 of the hearts of natural men, and to the great
 grief of the godly." And in a General As-
 sembly, which they held at Aberdeen in July
 this year, without any commission from the King,
 an act was made, discharging these conventicles, or
 private meetings in all time coming. Yet they
 still gained ground insensibly, even in the city
 of Edinburgh itself, and the high affectation of
 particular piety and devotion in their adherents,
 met with such a favourable reception in most
 places, that the subsequent Assemblies would not
 meddle openly to condemn them, but agreed to
 deal warily and tenderly with them, "for fear
 of giving offence to their friends the good peo-
 ple of England, who favoured those ways."
 On the 3d of November 1640, the Parliament
 of England met, that long Parliament which
 proved so cruel to the nation, and so fatal to
 the King. They fully granted all the demands
 of the Scots at Rippon, with the addition of
 a gift of three hundred thousand pounds, "as
 a friendly assistance and relief, thought fit to

LETTER "be made toward the losses and necessities
 XLVII. "our Brethren of Scotland?" The Scots Com-
 missioners now at London, as a proof of their
 gratitude, presented an accusation against the
 King's two favourites, the Archbishop of Can-
 terbury, and the Earl of Strafford, Lord Li-
 tenant of Ireland. Their long charge against the
 Archbishop was given in on the 14th of Decem-
 ber, and the next day they added a codicil to
 it, not only against the persons of the then Bi-
 shops of England, but even against the office of
 the prelatial hierarchy, as they call it, in gen-
 eral, concluding with their earnest request, "that
 "not only the firebrands may be removed, but
 "likewise the fire itself provided against; that
 "there may be no more combustion afterwards."
 On the 18th the Archbishop was impeach-
 ed of treason by the Commons, and ordered into
 the custody of the Black Rod, from whence he
 was sent prisoner to the Tower, and lay there
 four years before he was brought to his trial.
 But the Earl of Strafford had quicker measure
 dealt to him. On the 11th of November he was
 impeached at the bar of the House of Lords,
 and sent to the Tower on the 25th: On the 22d
 of March next year his trial began, and con-
 tinued till the end of April, when, after long
 debates the Commons drew up a bill of attain-
 der against him, which was at last agreed to by
 the Lords, and with much reluctance signed by
 the King: And so, upon the 12th of May 1633
 this accomplished Nobleman and faithful serv-
 ant of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill,
 to the astonishment of all honest men, and to the
 irreparable

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reparable detriment of the King's affairs ever. Notwithstanding the disgusting behaviour of the Scots Commissioners, the King agreed to hold Parliament some time this summer in Scotland, in his own person, and desired them to notify his resolution to their constituents, that proper preparations might be made for his reception. Accordingly on the 14th of August he came to Edinburgh, attended by the Prince Palatine his nephew, by the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, and a small train of the English nobility. On the nineteenth the Parliament sat down, and the King made every concession which could be desired; that in case he should be forced to come to a rupture with the English, which he had too just ground to fear, he might leave no room for their expecting any support from Scotland. With this he gave way to the ratification of the Assembly in 1639, which condemned Episcopacy contrary to the word of God, tho' he still affirmed that his reason for dispensing with it in Scotland was, not from his own judgment about it, but merely to comply with the opposition which he then saw prevailing against it. He could not however so easily comply with the

This woful compliance of his Majesty, which he always decried as against his conscience, and into which he was overruled by the time-serving casuistry of some eminent divines whom he consulted, lay heavy at his heart to his dying day, and needs either criticism or censure, than what his own pathetic relations have passed upon it. It has been observed too, that with the same penful of ink with which he signed Lord Strafford's death, he signed the bill for the two houses of Parliament during their own pleasure, and thereby in one moment threw away the two greatest supports of his crown and dignity.

article

BETTER article of the incendiaries, as it was called, **XLVII.** if admitted in its original extent, would have posed a very great number of his true and faithful subjects to the rage and fury of their enemies. Against this iniquitous procedure they argued long, and with great force, from the principle of prudence, honour, and conscience. But such was the inveterate malice of the Cavaliers, who were the majority in Parliament, that they would by no argument be prevailed with to pass from five of their *black list*, the Earl of Traquair, Bishop Maxwell of Ross, Sir Robert Spotswood, the late Archbishop's son, and confident of the Session, Sir John Hay the Register, and Dr. Balcanqual, who drew up the King's large declaration in 1639, all of whom they pretended their national oath obliged them to pursue, and bring them to condign punishment: And altho' they agreed, that after trial, the censure of these supposed delinquents should be remitted to his Majesty, yet it was with this restriction, that he should not employ any of them in his service, without consent of Parliament.

Besides this, they likewise extorted from the three following important concessions; that the Parliament should meet once in three years, without any summons from the King, if he should neglect to publish any in that time; that the Privy-council and all the officers of State should not be appointed but by consent of Parliament, and that the Parliament when sitting, or in interval, the Privy-council, should be conservers of the peace between the two kingdoms. To these disagreeable articles the King assented, and was even graciously pleased to confer offices,

of honour on the leaders of the Covenanted LETTER
 At last, on the 17th of November the XLVII.
 Parliament rose, having finished their business, so
 in appearance to universal satisfaction, that
 was said, "a contented King was to depart
 from a contented people," and the next morn-
 early, his Majesty began his journey to Lon-

About this time the Irish Papists took the op-
 tunity of the religious confusions in Britain,
 form a powerful confederacy, and while they
 seizing the King's castles and magazines, they
 at the same time publishing declarations of
 loyalty of their hearts and uprightness of
 intentions, and like the covenanters in Scot-
 taking God to witness that they designed
 the least diminution of his Majesty's great-
 ness, but only to seek their own peace. Among
 the first sufferers from this new confederacy, were
 the Bishops and established clergy of the Protef-
 at persuasion, whose houses were plundered, their
 goods carried off or destroyed, their persons abus-
 ed with all manner of outrage, and many of them

The Earl of Argyle was made a Marquis, Lord London
 of Loudon and chancellor, Lord Lindsay Earl of Lindsay
 one of the Lords of the treasury, General Leslie Earl of
 and keeper of the Castle of Edinburgh, Lieutenant-Ge-
 Livingstone Earl of Calendar, the Laird of Arbuthnot,
 one of their most zealous ruling-elders, Viscount Arbuthnot,
 of Wariston was knighted and made a Lord of Session;
 Henderson got the rents of the Royal chapel, esteemed
 nearly a sufficient morsel for a Bishop; Gillespie, another of
 principal demagogues, had a large pension settled on him;
 new professors in the universities had their provisions liberally
 granted out of the Bishops revenues; and to humour the
 of their clergy, a commission was appointed to sit in January
 to enlarge their stipends, and bring them up to a compe-

barbarously

LETTER barbarously put to death. In a word, what
XLVII the Episcopal clergy suffered from the prevalence
 of covenanted godliness in Scotland, their
 brethren met with the same from the fury of
 tholick zeal in Ireland. And this persecution
 continued, till on the King's return to London
 and laying the matter before his Parliament
 an army of Scots was raised upon English pay
 and transported under the Earl of Leven, for
 defence of the Protestant cause in Ireland. This
 army put a stop to the Popish attempts for
 while: But being called back in a short time
 to assist against the King in Britain, the Irish in-
 gents renewed their depredations, and continued
 to keep their country, for several years, in a
 miserable state of anarchy and disorder.*

The English Parliament having at the instigation
 of the Scots destroyed the Earl of Strafford
 and locked up the Archbishop of Canterbury
 in the Tower, their next attempt was upon the
 clergy, and against the Deans and Chapters.
 At the same time they presented a petition against
 the Bishops having vote in Parliament; and
 because twelve of the Prelates then in town, finding
 themselves insulted by the mob in coming to
 the House to take their seats, had the courage to
 resist in a legal way for the preservation of their
 privileges, they were voted to the Tower on
 the 30th of December, and lay there till May
 next year, when they were liberated without a trial.
 Mean time the disqualifying bill against the clergy

* After the murder of the King, the victorious parliament
 having now nothing to fear at home, sent over Cromwell
 a numerous and well disciplined army, who in a few campaigns
 put an end to the Irish insurrection, but with as much barbarity
 and bloodshed, as had been committed on the other side.

pushed on with great keenness, and at last **LETTER**
 was passed in the house of Lords, was on the **XLVII.**
 of February 1642 assented to and signed
 the King. We are told that no persuasion
 could have induced him to it, if the Queen
 whom he tenderly loved, and who was made to
 believe that her personal safety depended on the
 contents of that bill, had not by repeated impor-
 tunity prevailed with him to sign it at Canter-
 bury, whither he had accompanied her, on her
 journey to Holland with her eldest daughter the
 Princess Mary, who had been lately married to
 the Prince of Orange. Yet even this did not satisfy the faction. For
 on the 1st of September the House of Commons
 laid down the Bishops altogether, which, as a
 mark of triumph, was solemnized with bonfires
 and ringing of bells. And having thus far as
 they could, set aside the ancient and settled go-
 vernment of the church, they proceeded to pass
 an ordinance on the 13th of June 1643, that
 a synod of divines, not chosen by the clergy, but
 by the two houses, should meet on the
 1st of July, and continue during pleasure of Par-
 liament, for the improvement of religion, and re-
 formation of every thing amiss either in the wor-
 ship or polity of the church. To such lengths
 of arrogance did this seditious Parliament stretch
 the exorbitance of power which the King had
 put into their hands, when he parted with his
 prerogative of dissolving them, and there-
 by checking their licentious career. All this
 time, the Scottish malcontents were not idle.
 The Irish business had given them a handle for
 raising up a fresh troop of commissioners to Lon-
 don to transact the bargain for the army with the
 English.

Collier,
 vol. ii. p.
 820.

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English Parliament, which was the avowed errand and at the same time to be ready with their advice there, and their intelligence here, whenever it might be useful to the common cause. The persons pitched upon for this purpose were, the nobility, the Earls of Lothian and Lindesay and the Lord Balmerino, and of the gentry the newly-knighted Wariston with five more, all valiant for the covenant, and well capable to manage any plot entrusted to them. From these commissioners the party at home had due notification of all that passed in England, and were taught to regulate their procedure accordingly.

Thus, when the General Assembly sat down at St. Andrews in July 1642, and the Earl of Dunfermlin the commissioner had presented the King's letter, "craving no more, in recompence for his favours, but that the ministers would their doctrine and example labour to keep subjects in their duty," the Assembly at once resolved to return his Majesty a letter of thanks with a sincere promise of obedience to his commands. But the next day, having got account from London what appearance there was of thorough reformation in England, and that the Parliament there had begun to exert themselves with vigour against Episcopacy and all that longed to it, the Assembly changed their resolution, and forgetting their obligations of loyalty and gratitude to the King, agreed to express their concurrence with these measures, and to earnest wishes for the prosecution of them. It was likewise moved and carried in this Assembly that a *Commission* of certain of their number should be chosen to sit monthly at Edinburgh, for corresponding with the friends in England, in

ing the *Good Work* ; and this is the original LETTER
 that peculiar sort of judicatory, which has XLVII.
 been kept up to this day, and in the intervals of
 Assembly manages all their ecclesiastical concerns.
 this means preparations were made for the
 most favourable opportunity of declaring them-
 selves openly in support of their scheme of refor-
 mation, in which all the King's concessions, large
 and extensive as they were, had not given them
 entire satisfaction. With this view, and to pro-
 ceed in as legal a way, as the nature of their
 design would admit, they had sent the chancel-
 lor of London to solicit the King for a Parliament,
 which his Majesty absolutely refused, as the three
 years agreed upon in the last Parliament were
 yet expired. And therefore, to remove this
 obstruction, by the advice of Sir Thomas Hope,
 who, tho' King's Advocate, was the constant di-
 sturbance in every measure against him, it was re-
 solved to call a convention of the estates to meet
 at Edinburgh on the 22d of June 1643, and the
 newly erected commission of Assembly appointed
 a solemn fast to be kept throughout the kingdom
 on Sunday the 11th of June, and on the Wed-
 nesday following, for a blessing on the meeting,
 and good success to its determinations.
 The King having laboured in vain to prevent
 the rupture with his Parliament at Westminster,
 and finding the insolence of the factious mob
 daily increasing, saw it necessary at last to retire
 from London, and to provide, by all the means
 which God and the laws had put in his power,
 for the honour of his crown and the security of his
 person. To this purpose he had on the 22d of
 August 1642, set up his standard at Nottingham,
 and on the 23d of October he attacked and de-
 feated

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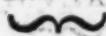
feated the Earl of Essex, the Parliament's General, at Edgehill in Warwickshire. This victory was followed by a train of successes in parts of England, especially in the West, where the Loyalists were much superior to the rebels, and it is generally believed that, if he had marched straight to London, after taking the city of Bristol in July next year, his adversaries would have met him in the most suppliant manner, and submitted to his mercy. But instead of this, he was led by treacherous counsel to besiege Gloucester, and by this fatal delay the Parliament had leisure to look about them, and fall upon new ways to recruit their strength, which then was reduced very low. Among other means of relief they thought proper to apply to their friends in Scotland, with this sweetening assurance to draw them in, "that now they were in ear to extirpate Episcopacy root and branch, to introduce what should be found most agreeable to the word of God." no. 17. 1643. The motley synod of Westminster, appointed and named by the two Houses, had accordingly met on the 1st of July, this year, consisting of six Earls, four Lords, fifteen lay-members of Parliament, and a hundred and eighteen preachers, mostly Presbyterians, with some Independents, and a few Episcopalians in nomination, none of whom, except Dr. Feal alone, ever attended; and to each of these divines was allowed the sum of four shilling a day for maintenance, with a parliamentary immunity against the penalties of non-residence. The General Assembly of Scotland sat down likewise on the 2d of August, where Sir Thomas Hope appeared as King's Commissioner, and Mr. Hender-

son was again chosen Moderator. To this Assembly the English Parliament sent four Commissioners, and the Westminster synod two Ministers, Nye, an Independent, lately come over from New-England, and the famous Stephen Marshall, who had last year absolved five hundred soldiers, taken prisoners by the King at Brentford, from their oaths not to carry arms against him any more, and ordered them back to their former service. When these six Commissioners produced their letters in the Assembly, the Moderator made a long discourse upon the subject of them, and then asked the brethren in general, what answer should be returned to them. Upon which, one of the members, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, observed, that these letters were clear and particular concerning the privative part of extirpating Episcopacy; but as to the positive part, what they meant to bring in, they huddled it up in ambiguous and general terms, so that whether it would be Presbytery or Independency, or any thing else, no man could know: Therefore, so long as they stood there, and would come no further, he saw not how this church, which holdeth Presbytery to be of divine right, could take them by the hand: For which reason he wished that, before further proceeding, the Assembly would deal with the English Commissioners, to obtain from their constituents an explicit declaration; what they were to introduce, as they had done in what was to be removed." Tho' this was certainly a sensible and pertinent motion, it was neither seconded nor relished by any in the Assembly, and the mover himself was ill looked upon for his

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Cuthry's  
Memoirs.

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his pains. So the management of the business was committed to the Moderator and a junta of the leaders, Dickson, Blair, Cant,utherford, &c. with the assistance of the Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Cassilis, Glencairn, Linton, Lindsay, and Loudon, the Lords Balgair, Burleigh, Arbuthnot, and others, under the specious title of Ruling Elders, who have treated several days with the English Commissioners, resolved in the end upon a mutual and religious Covenant, to be sworn and subscribed by both nations. Accordingly, a paper framed upon a preconcerted draught, was brought into the Assembly on the 17th of August, and twice read over: And tho' another of the members, Mr. Brisbane at Erskine, desired, "that fore men were urged to vote about it, lest it might be given them for some few days, to have their scruples removed," yet, without regard to such a necessary caution in a matter of such moment, the question was immediately put, "Approve, or not?" And the roll being called, it was by a plurality of voices carried, "to approve." This is that famous *Solemn League and Covenant*, which made such a noise at that time, and tho' now forgotten by the Presbyterian establishment, is still the darling creed of an increasing party in our country to this day. For which reason, and as it has such a connection with church affairs, I have set it down *verbatim* as follows:

' We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King,

being of one reformed religion, having before LETTER  
 our eyes the glory of God, and the advance XLVII.  
 ment of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour  
 Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the  
 King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true  
 public liberty, safety, and peace of the king-  
 doms, wherein every one's private condition is  
 included: And calling to mind the treacher-  
 ous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts and  
 practices of the enemies of God, against the  
 true religion and professors thereof in all places,  
 especially in these three kingdoms, ever since  
 the reformation of religion, and how much  
 their rage, power, and presumption are of late  
 and at this time increased and exercised, where-  
 of the deplorable state of the church and king-  
 dom of Ireland, the distressed state of the church  
 and kingdom of England, and the dangerous  
 state of the church and kingdom of Scotland,  
 are present and public testimonies: We have  
 now at last, after other means of supplication,  
 remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings, for  
 the preservation of ourselves and our religion  
 from utter ruin and destruction, according to  
 the commendable practice of these kingdoms  
 in former times, and the example of God's  
 people in other nations, after mature delibera-  
 tion, resolved and determined to enter into a  
 mutual and Solemn League and Covenant, where-  
 in we all subscribe, and each one of us for  
 himself, with our hands lifted up to the Most  
 High God, do swear,  
 That we shall sincerely, really, and con-  
 stantly, thro' the grace of God, endeavour in  
 our several places and callings, the preservation  
 of the reformed religion in the Church of  
 Scotland,



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Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline  
government, against our common enemies;  
reformation of religion in the kingdoms  
England and Ireland in doctrine, worship,  
discipline and government, according to the  
of God, and the example of the best refo  
churches: And shall endeavour to bring  
churches of God in the three kingdoms  
the nearest conjunction and uniformity in  
ligion, Confession of Faith, form of Chu  
government, directory for worship, and  
sacricing; that we and our posterity after us  
as brethren, live in faith and love, and  
Lord may delight to dwell in the midst  
us; I beseech you to be diligent in this  
III. That we shall in like manner, with  
respect of persons, endeavour the extirpa  
of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, church go  
ment by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chan  
clors and Commissaries, Deans and Chap  
Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical off  
depending on that hierarchy,) superstition,  
refry, schism, prophaneity, and whatsoever  
be found to be contrary to sound doctrine  
the power of godliness, lest we partake in o  
mens sins, and thereby be in danger to rec  
of their plagues: And that the Lord may  
one, and his name one, in the three ki  
ngdoms.  
III. We shall, with the same sincerity, rea  
and constancy, in our several vocations en  
vour, with our estates and lives, mutually  
preserve the rights and privileges of the pa  
ments, and the liberties of the kingdoms  
to preserve and defend the King's Maj  
person and authority, in the preservation  
of the

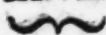
defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms: That the world may bear witness with our consciences, of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts nor intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and great-  


IV. We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties among the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall requite or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent article.

VI. We shall also, according to our places and callings in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing

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thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, suasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary party, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifference or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of kingdoms, and honour of the King: But for all the days of our lives zealously and continually continue therein against all opposition, promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatever, what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known that it may timely be prevented or removed. All which we shall do as in the sight of God. And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God and our Lord Jesus Christ, as is too manifest, by present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof, We profess and declare before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all under our power and charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend

ves, and each one to go before another in the LETTER  
 example of a real reformation, that the Lord XLVII.  
 may turn away his wrath and heavy indigna-  
 tion, and establish these churches and kingdoms  
 in truth and peace. And this Covenant we  
 make in presence of Almighty God the searcher  
 of all hearts, with a true intention to perform  
 the same, as we shall answer at that great day,  
 when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclo-  
 sed: Most humbly beseeching the Lord to  
 strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end,  
 and to bless our desires and proceedings with  
 such success, as may be deliverance and safety  
 to his people, and encouragement to other  
 christian churches groaning under, or in dan-  
 ger of the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to  
 join in the same or like association and  
 Covenant: To the glory of God, the enlarge-  
 ment of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the  
 peace and tranquillity of all christian kingdoms  
 and commonwealths."

Tho' these Covenanters plead "the example  
 of God's people in other nations," it is well  
 known that the example is not peculiar to  
 them as they affect to call "God's people," for  
 the Holy League in France which was first pro-  
 duced by the Cardinal of Lorrain, a plotter on  
 the Popish side, fully as zealous as Mr. Hen-  
 derson on the Puritan, had the same pretext of  
 religion, and held forth the same insinuating pro-  
 motion of "rendering due obedience to the King  
 in maintaining the exercise of the true reli-  
 gion." A like imitation of the Romish pat-  
 tern is but too observable in the fourth ar-  
 ticle about the discovery of malignants, which  
 seems to be neither more nor less, than setting



**LETTER** up a Court of Inquisition in every corner, **XLVII.** haps in every family, of the kingdom, and obliging the son, if he shall think his father malignant, to inform against him, and prosecute him to death. In short, it is easy to see on the very face of this studied composition of hypocrisy and impudence, that under the name of reformation, the main design of it was against the King, whom, with all their pretended loyalty of heart and fallacious engagements of defence, they could not but, in conformity to their expressions, look upon as one of the "enemies of God," being then in open opposition against "the professors of the true religion who were thus *Solemnly Engaging and Covenanting* together. Yet such as it was, it passed with little hesitation in the Assembly, and was the same joyfully received and ratified by the convention of the Estates which had met at the King's summons: On which Bishop Burnet in his Memoirs &c. remarks, that "wise observers wondered to see a matter of that importance carried upon so little deliberation and debate: it was thought strange to see all their consciences so much such a size, and to agree so exactly as the several wheels of a clock, which made it suspected that there was some first mover directed all these other motions. This, by one party, was imputed to God's extraordinary providence, but by others, to the power and policy of the leaders, and to the simplicity of the rest." The next thing the assembly did, was to appoint commissioners to go to London, and confer with the Westminster synod in promoting the new combination; and the men pitched upon were Henderson, Bailey, Rutherford and G

ministers, and Lord Maitland and Watif-  
 ruling-elders. Upon the 30th of August XLVII.  
 these new delegates set off, and on the 25th of  
 September the two houses of Parliament, and the  
 school of divines convened with them in the  
 church of St. Margaret's, Westminster. At this  
 solemnity one White a minister of the synod pray-  
 ed an hour, to prepare them for taking the cove-  
 nant: Then Nye the Independent mounted the  
 pulpit, and harangued upon it, endeavouring to  
 justify it by scripture-precedents, and to shew the  
 benefits that the church has received by such  
 combinations. This panegyrick was seconded by  
 Henderson, who added a complaint of the King's  
 being governed by wicked counsel, and a pro-  
 mise of assistance from the states of Scotland to  
 the Parliament of England, in the cause they  
 had undertaken. When Henderson had done his  
 part, Nye read the covenant from the pulpit,  
 and all the audience held up their hands, in token  
 of their assent. At last being engrossed on parch-  
 ment, it was subscribed by the Lords and com-  
 mons in their respective houses, and by the assem-  
 bly of divines and the Scots delegates in the con-  
 sistory-room of the synod. Immediately after, the  
 Scots commissioners were admitted members of  
 that Assembly, with the same powers and provi-  
 sion that the English had, and in this capacity  
 we find them soon after signing a letter from the  
 Assembly, by order of Parliament, to the reform-  
 ed churches abroad, "to inform them of the  
 great artifices and disguises of the King's a-  
 gents in these parts, and of the state of their  
 own affairs at home."\*

\* The subscriptions to this canting address stand thus, "your  
 most affectionately devoted brethren in Christ, William Twisse  
 Prolocutor, Cornelius Burgefs, John White Assessors, Henry  
 In

**LETTER XLVII.** In Scotland, the work of the covenant was rapidly on, the commission of the Assembly having decreed, and sent peremptory orders to the Presbyteries, that without delay it should be sworn and subscribed throughout the whole kingdom, under pain of excommunication. Accordingly on the 13th of October it was solemnly sworn and subscribed in the high kirk of Edinburgh by the members of the commission themselves, and by the convention of Estates, in presence of so many of the English delegates as had stayed here for that purpose: And on the 22d the convention by an express act ordered it to be sworn and subscribed by all the subjects, "under pain of being punished as enemies to religion, his Majesty's honour, and the peace of these kingdoms, and to have their goods and rents confiscated, and they not to enjoy any office or benefit within the kingdom, and to be cited to the next Parliament, to receive what further punishment his Majesty and the Parliament should inflict upon them." Yet his Majesty had, by his authority, which was not yet disclaimed, expressly prohibited what was here enjoined, under pain of treason, and therefore a few of the principal nobility stood out against this new covenant, and either fled to the King's standard, or trusted to the interest of their friends in the convention. But over the inferior gentry and common people matters were carried with the utmost violence, especially by the preachers, who, under pretence of the oath of the c

"Roborough, Adoniram Byfield Scribes. John Mainland  
"Archibald Johnston, Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Bailey, George Gillespie, Commissioners of the church of Scotland."

venan

erecting a most tyrannical tribunal over LETTER  
 sorts of men and all families in the kingdom; XLVII.  
 that, as Lord Clarendon expresses it, "the  
 preacher reprehended the husband, governed  
 the wife, chastized the children, and insulted  
 the servants in every house."  
 In England, where the clergy had hitherto  
 escaped the rage of covenanting reformation, they  
 were now the principal sufferers. Such of them  
 refused to enter into this *Solemn League* were ei-  
 ther obliged to retire to places under the King's  
 protection where, tho' their persons were safe for a  
 while, they could expect but scanty provision, or  
 run the risk of being plundered and imprison-  
 ed, and exposed to every kind of lawless outrage.  
 London alone, about a hundred and fifteen  
 clergymen were turned out of their livings, their  
 houses rifled, and their wives and families driven  
 into the streets; from which may be conjectur-  
 ed the greatness of the calamity thro' the rest  
 of the kingdom. All these violent proceedings  
 gave such spirit to the faction in England, that  
 Charles got his languishing army quickly recruited,  
 and was enabled to raise the unhappy siege of  
 Worcester, and fight the King at Newbury on the  
 1st of October, where his Majesty had rather  
 the disadvantage. In Scotland, the convention of  
 estates were no less active, and having got down  
 a liberal supply of money from London, they  
 raised a powerful army, more zealously at-  
 tached to the cause now than ever. Old Leslie  
 of Leven once more accepted the command,  
 and now for the third time drew his sword against  
 the Sovereign. Next to him was preferred ano-  
 ther Leslie, David of the family of Lindores, who  
 made a figure, and overtopped his namesake  
 both



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both in fame and fortune. In levying this army, the commission of the kirk, to shew their zeal, and set a good example, ordained every minister to furnish a soldier for that service, which all complied with, some willingly, and others in constraint. So all being got ready, they began their march, no fewer than 18000 and 3000 horse, and by the 16th of January they had pushed as far as Newcastle, where I shall leave them for a while in their military employment, and proceed in my next letter to operations of the two covenanted kirks of Scotland and England, in their now applauded on.

Mean time, I am, &c.

London alone, about a hundred and fifteen women were turned out of their livings; their clothes rifled, and their wives and families driven the streets; from which may be conjectured the treatment of the calamity thro' the rest of the kingdom. All these violent proceedings were owing to the fashion in England, that a black spirit to the fashion in England, that for his long-suffering army quickly returned, was enabled to raise the unhappy people of order, and fight the King at Tewkesbury on the 4th of October, where his Majesty had such a

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Vol. I

## L E T T E R XLVIII.

*proceedings in the Scotch and English Parliaments against the Loyalists, Episcopacy, &c.—Montrose successful on the King's Side—Obliged to disband his Forces, by the King surrendering himself to the Scots—Consequences of this Surrender—The King sold to the English, falls into the Hands of the Independents—Escapes to the Isle of Wight, but is again delivered up to the Parliament—The Scots, in Opposition to the Kirk, raise an Army for his Rescue, which is entirely routed by Cromwell—The King brought to a mock Trial, and murdered at Whitehall.*

**A**MONG the first fruits of the Covenant in Scotland, was an excise scheme, projected by Lord Balmerino, for the maintenance of the army, which was ill received thro' the whole Kingdom, particularly by the citizens of Edinburgh. But the powerful oratory of the pulpit silenced the opposition, and by authority of  
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**LETTER XLVIII.** the Estates the excise was enacted, and proclaimed at the market cross. Soon after, the party were alarmed with the news of the old Marquis of Huntly rising in arms for the King, which they took care to revenge in all haste, by the summary excommunication of the Marquis himself, and four of his chief adherents, the Lairds of Drum, Haddo, Skene, and Tippetty. But what provoked them most of all, was the open desertion of their once good friend Montrose, whom they had been suspecting for some time, and whom the King, to fix him on his fidelity, had lately honoured with the title of Marquis. For which heinous offence, since they could not as yet reach him with the temporal sword, the spiritual one was let loose on him, and on his faithful companions, the Earls of Crawford and Nithsdale, and the Lords Aboyne, Harries, and Rae, who were all excommunicated in the High Kirk of Edinburgh, on the 26th of April, and orders sent to intimate this sentence in every kirk of the kingdom. However, what vexed the falling off of Montrose gave them, was in good measure allayed by the coming in of David Hamilton's brother, the Earl of Lanerk, who, tho' raised to that honour by the King, and made his Secretary, appeared now before the Commission of the kirk, and with strong expressions of sorrow for his former adherence to the King, begged to be admitted to the Covenant, and soon rose to be a Ruling Elder. On the 29th of May 1644 the General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh, without any Commissioner from the King, and passed an act for sending a fresh recruit of Ministers to relieve that attended their army in England, and for

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course to strengthen it and keep it up. And whereas the military Presbytery had sent them word, that the city of York was blocked up by "a swarm of obstinate Papists in it," for so they called all the King's friends; the Assembly returns this encouraging but impudent answer, "That sanctuary which your enemies and the enemies of your God have taken, shall not save them."

At this time too, after waiting the three years intermission, the Convention of Estates turned themselves into a Parliament, and sat down as such, of their own heads, at Edinburgh on the 4th of June, without the least notice of, or from the King. Mr. Cant preached the opening sermon, and satisfied their expectations to the full. The main point he drove at, was to state an opposition between King Jesus and King Charles, and he was pleased to express himself, and upon that account, to press resistance to King Charles in the interest of King Jesus. This was preaching to the times, without regard to the scriptures, and shews what sense these men had of the pretended oath in their Covenant, to defend the King's person. In this Parliament, the loyal John Gordon of Haddo, ancestor to the Earl of Aberdeen, having joined the Marquis of Huntly under the King's commission, and being base-betrayed into Argyle's hands, was condemned by a strange act of their own devising, "that treason might be committed against the States of the kingdom, as well as against the Sovereign himself," and upon this stretch of parliamentary despotism, was beheaded at the cross in Edinburgh on the 10th of July, as was likewise soon after, the Laird of Logan in Dumfriesshire,

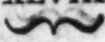


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shire, for having befriended Montrose in his appearance for the King in that neighbourhood. The Earl of Crawford, with the two Generals Ruthven and King, three as honest subjects as his Majesty had, were without any citation seized at the cross, and the title of Earl of Crawford bestowed on their favourite Earl of Lindesay, whom they now made High Treasurer of Scotland, in place of the four Commissioners appointed in 1641. These were bold encroachments on the legal prerogatives of the crown, as well as impolitic strokes of wanton cruelty, while the event of the contention was uncertain. But they were encouraged to both by the success of the covenanted troops against the King's forces, Marston-moor near York, on the 3d of July, which it is said, was owing to the rashness of Prince Rupert on the King's side, and to a brisk assault from the English Oliver Cromwell, and the Scotch David Leslie on the other. This was the first and most severe blow that the King's affairs had met with in the North, and it was succeeded by a train of misfortunes, till the final shock at Naseby on the 14th of June next year, which he never recovered.

Of this critical situation his enemies did not fail to take all possible advantage. The Commons at Westminster renewed the prosecution against Archbishop Laud, and after a tedious examination, aggravated by the most unchristian malignancy, and distinctly answered in every particular point of the complicated and vexatious charge by the old man himself in person, they thought proper at last, to condemn him by an ordinance of their own making, on the 4th of January 1645, which sent him to the scaffold six days after, in

year of his age. At the same time an ordinance passed both houses, for abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and establishing the Directory for public worship, which their Assembly of divines had lately framed. By this directory it was appointed, "that ordinarily one chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting for public worship, and sometimes more when the chapters be short, and the coherence of the matter requireth it, and that all the canonical books be read over in order, beginning the next Lord's day where it ended the last. It lays down rules for managing the sermon, and for the method of prayer, both before and after it: It recommends the use of the Lord's prayer, not only as a pattern, but also as a most comprehensive form of devotion: As to baptism, it forbids the unnecessary delaying it, and the administration of it, by any private unordained person, or any where but at church, and in the face of the congregation: At the receiving of the Lord's Supper, the table, being decently covered, is to be so placed, that the communicants may sit about it, but the posture of the Minister, or when, or how he is to communicate, is not prescribed: The dead are to be buried without any religious ceremony, and the other ministerial offices of marrying, visiting the sick, &c. are referred for the most part to the Minister's own pleasure." But thro' the whole composition, there is not the least mention of the Creed and the ten commandments: For when that point was agitated in the House of Commons, where all these theological questions were debated before a final decision, there was a majority of

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votes

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votes for leaving them out, and the Lords not think it prudent to insist on their being inserted.

About this time too, a treaty was proposed between the King and the Parliament, which began at Uxbridge in Middlesex on the 30th of January 1645, and was managed by Commissioners from both sides. The Parliament demanded  
 " That Episcopacy should be abolished by law  
 " That the sitting of the Assembly of divines be confirmed by his Majesty, and the Directory established as the legal standard of uniformity  
 " That his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant: And that an act of Parliament be passed, for enjoining it on all the subjects of the three kingdoms." The King had empowered his Commissioners to go all lengths consistent with his conscience and dignity: But the demands from the other side were so insolently extravagant, that after a debate of several days on the religious part of the controversy, between Dr. Stewart, the clerk of his closet, for the King and the Scottish Mr. Henderson for the Parliament, the treaty broke up on the 24th of February, without the least agreement in any one point whatever. The decisive affair of Naseby happening soon after, so flushed the two houses that without troubling themselves any longer about the royal sanction, they began now to enforce their religious ordinances with severe penalties, enacting, that if any person should preach or print against the Directory, that he should be fined in any sum between five pounds and fifty pounds, and whoever should read the Common Prayer either in a church or in his own family, should forfeit five pounds for the first offence,

Collier,  
vol. iii. p.  
838.

pound

ends for the second, and suffer a year's imprisonment for the third.

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Thus matters went swimmingly on with the Covenanters in England, to which, their Scotch friends, both in council and camp, did not a little contribute. But in Scotland, the party had not late been so successful. The Marquis of Montrose, after the unlucky affair of Marston-moor, returned to his own country, where he procured the King's commission, and with a supply of twelve hundred men from Ireland, joined to a handful of troops which he had raised at home, on the first of September 1644, obtained complete victory over a superior body of the Covenanters at Tippermuir near Perth, and on the twelfth, overthrew another army of them under the Lord Burleigh at Aberdeen. This unexpected opposition so incensed his adversaries, that they forfeited his estate, and imprisoned all suspected persons whom they could lay hands on, and durst not proceed to greater extremities, for fear of retaliation. Mean time Montrose having scoured the country for some months, at last met with Argyle at Innerlochy, on the 2d of February, and defeated him, with no great slaughter on either side. His next encounter was with General Hurry, at Auldearn, on the 4th of May, where he gained another complete victory: And on the 2d of July he came up with General Leslie at Alford, and got the better of him too, with little loss on his own side, but of his brave and the Lord Gordon. These repeated successes, in so short a time, put the Covenanters to their wits' end, and all engines, civil and ecclesiastical, were set a-going, to stop such a dangerous career. The Parliament ordered levies



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to be raised thro' all the kingdom with the most speed, and the Assembly issued out a lemn exhortation to all ranks and degrees, "mind their Covenants, and to pay their taxes, and public burdens, for conscience sake, that the enemy who had displayed a ner against the Lord, and against his Church might be suppressed."

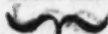
By these methods they collected another merous army, and thought to surround Montrose in such a way, that it should not be possible him to escape them. But he took the start of them, and falling upon their new raised army at Kilsyth, between Stirling and Glasgow, on the 15th of August, gave them the most bloody overthrow they had met with, no fewer than five thousand of them lying dead on the field.—on this unforeseen blow, their leading men thought it prudent to provide for their own safety. Glencairn and Cassilis, who had been busy recruiting in the West country, got over to Ireland and Argyle, Loudon, Lindsay, Lanerk, and the rest of them that escaped, run in all haste to Berwick. The country now came in to Montrose, with submissive acknowledgments and promises: And the city of Edinburgh, which had sent a party to relieve the loyalists who were prisoners in the castle, made the most sacred protestations, even with curses and imprecations of their future allegiance, and in the most compliant manner, begged to be taken into his protection.

At the same time the King sent Sir Robert Spotswood with a royal commission, constituting Montrose Captain General and Governor of the land, with ample powers to confer Knights

summon Parliaments. Whereupon he appointed a Parliament to meet at Glasgow on the 10th of October next, and caused it to be proclaimed at the market-cross of Glasgow, Linlithgow, Edinburgh. But providence had designed otherwise: For the covenanters, seeing their all at stake, and finding their own internal strength unable to cope with Montrose, called in their countryman David Lesly, with the whole body of horse he commanded in England. Montrose, being perhaps too secure in his victory, and deceived by some in whom both King and he too much trusted, was so deceived into a snare, that, tho' he began to see his end at last, yet before he could properly receive it, Lesly by forced marches was up with him, and attacking him with his whole power of horse, entirely routed him, notwithstanding all efforts that Montrose made to stand the shock of such a sudden assault. This battle, so unlucky to the King's cause, was fought at Philiphaugh on the 13th of September 1645, and had most fatal effects. Montrose himself, with a few followers got off safe, but a great number of them, in their way, were seized by the country people and delivered up to the victors, who sent them to several prisons: The remainder of them Stuart the adjutant at their head, drew up in a circle, and by his means got quarter from Lesly, who the preachers thought proper to remonstrate against giving quarter to such wretches, and declared it an act of the blackest impiety to spare them; upon which the army was let loose upon them, and cut them all in pieces, except Stuart who was kept prisoner.

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The rigorous work began now without the because without controul. The commission the kirk took the lead, and under pretence censuring such of the ministry as had not moved for Montrose's victory at Kilsyth, they took the opportunity of examining into the private haviour of those, however learned or pious or wise, who in that time of darkness, as they led it, had shewn any signs of disaffection, without any other fault or further inquiry judged sufficient ground for deposition. And satisfied with thus wreaking their resentment on malignants of their own tribe, they sent three of their number to the committee of estates, to the speedy execution of what prisoners they had. In the mean time, Montrose, tho' disappointed was not disheartened by his last misfortune, having by uncommon activity, and from various parts of the North, got together a considerable army, and made preparations for another

\* In compliance with this bloody demand from the pretended ministers of the gospel of peace, the committee to be executed at the cross of Glasgow on the 28th of October three hopeful young gentlemen who had been with Montrose, Sir William Rollo, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Sir Alex. Colclough, at which sight Mr. Dickson, the godly professor of divinity, cried out, "the work goes bonnily on," which Mr. Guthrie contemporary says, passed afterwards into a proverb. At the same instance, were executed at St. Andrews in November worthy Sir Robert Spotswood, William Murray brother of the Earl of Tullibardin, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Alexander Guthrie, son to the honest Bishop of Moray. The kirk have had more of them sent the same way: But the government which was now sitting refused, and desired advice of the kirk how the rest might be punished without blood, to which Mr. Dickson, in his rustick style of unfeeling pleasantry, proposed "shame them and herry them." So a grand committee was appointed to sit at Linlithgow in February next, and to inquire and referred the remainder of these unhappy men to be deeply

in all probability he would have given the  
 tenants more trouble than ever, if the woful  
 condition of the King's affairs in England had  
 put a final, because authoritative, stop to his  
 proceedings. After the gloomy day of Naseby,  
 the King with his broken troops wandered from  
 place to place for some months, till at last with much  
 difficulty he got safe to Oxford, where he hoped  
 to remain till matters should take another turn  
 in his favour. But when the next spring set in,  
 he was informed that Fairfax and Cromwell were  
 preparing to lay siege to the place, and unwilling  
 to fall into their hands, he left Oxford early in  
 the morning on the 27th of April 1646 in dis-  
 guise, and attended only by Dr. Hudson one of  
 his chaplains, and Ashburnham of his bed-cham-  
 ber, came thro' by-ways on the 5th of May to  
 the Scots army, then lying before Newark upon  
 Trent. Here he was received at first with every  
 mark of respect, till Leven the General should  
 receive instructions from his masters at home,  
 who immediately upon getting the agreeable in-  
 telligence, dispatched the Earls of Lanerk and  
 Glender, and Lord Balmerino, to Newcastle, to  
 the place Leven had on the 13th brought both  
 the King and the army. At the desire of these  
 messengers, the King sent orders to his garrisons  
 every where to surrender, and to Montrose in  
 particular to disband and capitulate with the ene-  
 my. This order, repeated to him in a letter by  
 a private bearer, cut down all Montrose's projects  
 at once: So having obtained liberty to go be-  
 yond sea, he left his own country in the end of  
 August, and went to France to offer his service  
 to the Queen.



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The King being now in the hands, and at disposal of the Scots, the English were obliged to court them, by concessions and offers which of course they would not have thought of. The independent scheme was beginning to prevail among them, by the address of Cromwell, who for his own ends encouraged that way, and had influence enough in the army to spread the spirit of it there. In the synod at Westminster the divines of that persuasion were perpetually busting, clogging the Presbyterian measures, and had frequent formal debates, and threw out proposals in support of their own scheme. Besides, the two Houses of Parliament, by whom that synod had been called, having once got a taste of ecclesiastical power, were not very fond of the Scotch discipline, did not chuse to be fettered in their private interest with any plan of church-government whatever. For when the Scots commissioners objected to some particulars in the Parliamentary reform, and insisted on the absolute authority of Kirk-sessions and Presbyteries, as well as provincial Synods, and General Assemblies, which was said was the settlement most agreeable to the covenant, notwithstanding of this remonstrance the House of Commons testified their unwillingness to part with their spiritual empire, by a public declaration, in April this year, “that they could by no means consent to the granting an unlimited jurisdiction to ten thousand judicatories, that such arbitrary sway was inconsistent with the fundamental laws of the nation, and the necessary consequence excluded the Parliament from having any share in ecclesiastical jurisdiction.”

A.D. 1646.

This was a bitter pill to the Scots, who with great grief of heart wrote to the General Assembly at Edinburgh in June, 1661, that they saw but little hopes of settling the Presbyterian discipline in England. The Assembly indeed was not enough to put the best gloss they could on this mortifying intelligence, and went on with a high hand about their own business. For on the 10th of June they made an act, ordaining "all of high or low degree who had assisted Montrose, to be censured, by acknowledging their offence upon their knees first before the presbytery, and then before the congregation; suspending them in the mean time from the Lord's supper, and if they did not satisfy in the forefaid manner, to be excommunicated." And next day they wrote a congratulatory letter to the English Parliament, telling them, "it was a matter of great refreshment to them, that the enemy had fallen every where before them," at the same time magnifying their own constancy to the Solemn League, and exhorting the two houses to be like. Yet under all this mask of complaisance it is more than probable that, had matters continued with the King as they were the preceding year, this material difference in discipline would have produced an open rupture, and disjointed the two great limbs of the covenant from one another. But now that his Majesty had thrown the weight of his person into the Scotch scale, which it is generally thought he had been artfully decoyed into by the French envoy Montreville, and the instigation of the Scots agents, the English Parliament saw it necessary to be more compliant than otherwise they would have been. Accordingly they now gave out an ordinance, "for the  
 " present

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LETTER XLVIII. "present settling of the Presbyterian government without delay," but still with this limitation which discovered their secret bias, "that the settlement should be but for three years, unless the two houses should think fit to prolong the term." However, precarious as it was, London ministers of that way took hold of it, and published, "Certain considerations and cautions agreed upon June 19th, 1646, for putting the Presbyterian government in execution, according to the late ordinances of Parliament."

This timely condescension closed the threatening breach: And both English and Scots united in reviving their old demands upon the King that he "should take the Covenant, ratify their acts, and abolish Episcopacy in England as he had done in Scotland," besides other equally unreasonable propositions in matters of state, to the number of nineteen in all, which left him neither conscience, character, nor credit. The Scots Assembly had sent up four of their Ministers, Douglas, Cant, Blair, and a James Guthry, the most uncivilly zealous of them, to Newcastle, to assist in managing their cause. But the main stress of convincing his Majesty was laid on their principal chieftain Henderson who was dispatched from the Westminster synod as the only man capable to bring the King to a compliance with the two Houses. The controversy was begun about the end of May 1646 and by mutual consent, was carried on in writing. \* The great point of church government

\* The King's first paper, in answer to Henderson's introductory discourse, is of date May 29th, and was answered by Henderson on the 3d of June: The King replied on the 10th and Henderson on the 17th: The King's third paper

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very fully discussed, and by the King's man-  
of writing, one would think that he had been  
one of his royal palaces among his books,  
in the midst of his chaplains, disputing at  
ease, with all the weight of personal charac-  
in his favour. But when we remember what  
melancholy situation he was in, little better than  
prisoner, among people whom he could not  
distressed in his mind about the perplexities  
state, and harassed in his conscience about  
that he thought important points of religion,  
without books and divines to direct and assist  
; and when we observe too, from the several  
es, how much readier he is in his defences,  
an Henderson in his attacks, we cannot but  
admire the temper and penetration of the arguer,  
whatever force we may allow to the argument.

Mr. Henderson did not long survive this ho-  
rable, but unsuccessful employment, and it  
said, that on his death bed, before four of  
brethren who had come to see him, he deep-  
regretted the part he had acted in the public  
motions; "Taking God to witness, that he  
proposed nothing when he began, but the se-

on in on the 22d, and Henderson's on the second of July.  
next day the King wrote a 4th paper, and a fifth on the 6th,  
and on the 16th of July the debate was closed with this judi-  
declaration by the King, that, "altho' he never esteemed  
any authority equal to the scriptures, yet he believes the unani-  
mous consent of the fathers and the universal practice of the  
primitive church, the best and most authentic interpreters  
of God's word, and consequently the best qualified judges be-  
tween himself and his antagonist: As for example, he says,  
I believe you Mr. Henderson to be at present the best  
preacher in Newcastle, yet I believe you may err, and a bet-  
ter preacher may come: But till then I must retain my opi-  
nion."

"curity

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"curity of religion and the kirk, in opposi-  
 "to Popery, which, he was made to belie-  
 "was at the bottom of the King's design,  
 "now he was sensible all his fears were grow-  
 "less: He had conversed frequently with  
 "King, and was fully satisfied that he was  
 "sincere a Protestant as was in all his de-  
 "nions: For which reason he gave them  
 "advice, as from a dying man, that they should  
 "break off in time, for they had all gone  
 "far already, and nothing now was so pro-  
 "for them as to retreat and return to their  
 "duty to his Majesty, who was the most le-  
 "ed, the most candid and conscientious, the most  
 "religious, and every way the best King  
 "ever did sit upon a throne in Britain.  
 "peating it again to one of the brethren, who  
 "not relishing such discourse, would have  
 "it pass as the ravings of a man in a  
 "fever, that he was not raving, but had  
 "use of his reason as much as ever, and there-  
 "fore desired them, in the name of God, to be-  
 "lieve that what he spake, was from his heart  
 "and with all the sincerity and seriousness  
 "became a dying person."

\* This account, so highly in the King's favour, and upon  
 main, no way reflecting on Mr. Henderson's memory, the  
 thor of "The Cyprianic age" tells us he had from one of  
 four, a Mr. Robert Freebairn, who was afterwards minister  
 Gask and Archdeacon of Dunblain, and tho' coming thro' many  
 hands, it may appear suspicious to some who will not be-  
 any good thing of this injured prince, yet that it was not  
 invention of the narrator's own head, we may rationally  
 clude from this consideration, that the English Dr. Ho-  
 who died within 15 years after Mr. Henderson, in the con-  
 sion of his "Aerius redivivus," which he wrote during his  
 troubles, mentions the story as current even then, "that

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Upon the finishing of Henderson's undertak-  
without any impression on the King, the  
English Commissioners declined any further rea-  
soning, and peremptorily demanded his ultimate  
answer to their propositions. But these were so  
inconceivably extravagant, that he could give  
no satisfaction: So on the 2d of August  
he left Newcastle, and returned to London, to  
propose new resolutions, and effect by force, what  
he could not obtain by treaty. The Scots  
Commissioners had been most earnestly pressing  
him likewise to grant the English demands,  
however hard and severe, and the Chancellor  
of London had the assurance to tell him, " That  
the consequence of his answer was no less  
than the ruin or preservation of his crown  
and kingdom: That the Parliament of England  
was carrying all before them: That they nei-  
ther desired himself, nor any of his race, longer  
to reign over them: That if he refused his  
consent, he would lose all his friends every-  
where, and all England would join as one man,  
to depose him, and set up another govern-  
ment, so that both kingdoms would agree,  
for their mutual safety, to settle religion and  
peace without him, to the ruin of his person  
and posterity:" And concluded with this rough  
declaration, " That if he left England, he would  
not be admitted to come and reign in Scotland." At  
all this bullying the King replied, with great  
courage and magnanimity, " That no condition  
they could reduce him to, could be half so  
miserable and grievous to him, as that to  
Henderson died a convert, frequently extolling those great  
services which, when it was too late, he had found in his  
Majesty."

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LETTER XLVIII. " which they would persuade him to reduce  
 " self, and therefore they might proceed  
 " own way, for tho' all had forsaken him,  
 " had not." However, to keep up the  
 Loudon, Argyle, and Dunfermline set out  
 London, to interpose with the two Houses  
 mitigation of the articles. And when there,  
 don, in a flaming speech before them, did, in  
 name of the kingdom of Scotland, put in a  
 to a joint right of disposing of his Majesty's  
 son, and enforced it by all the arguments  
 duty, honour, and honesty, that the subject  
 not but present to him. But after all this  
 speech, for which he has been sufficiently  
 tolled by the historians, he was easily fatigued  
 and sat down, he and his colleagues, with  
 composure, under this bold and evasive answer  
 of the two Houses, " We do affirm, that  
 " kingdom of Scotland has no right of  
 " exercise of interest, in disposing of the person  
 " of the King in the kingdom of England.  
 As if he was not as much King of the Scots  
 if their King at all, when at London as when  
 at Edinburgh; or as if the Scots army had  
 not have brought him from Newcastle, over  
 Tweed, before the English Parliament could  
 interfered; in which case, by their own doctrine  
 the English could have had no claim in the  
 disposal of him. The whole appears therefore  
 have been nothing but collusion among the  
 ones on both sides, to amuse and pacify  
 were not in the concert, and cannot at the  
 time but raise some degree of indignation, to  
 a set of subjects, pretended friends as well  
 avowed enemies, talking with as much  
 freedom, and unfeeling indifference, about

ing of their King's person, as they could have **LETTER**  
 about a piece of contendible property, or **XLVIII.**  
 tray that had wandered from its former own-

On the 18th of August the Committee of  
 states and Commission of the kirk both con-  
 sidered, to debate the question, "Whether to  
 own the King, or call home the army and  
 leave him to the English?" and at this first  
 meeting it was concluded to send nine Com-  
 missioners to him, to deal with him to sign the  
 English propositions. On the 16th of Septem-  
 ber they returned, and gave in their report to  
 the Committee, that his Majesty had refused to  
 sign. Upon which, the debate was resumed,  
 and the few who appeared for the King, not  
 daring to mention his interest, for fear of ma-  
 jority, pled from this argument, that "as  
 the reason for carrying the army into Eng-  
 land at first, was to pursue the reformation;  
 how could they withdraw it, when that end  
 was not yet obtained?" But the Commission  
 of the kirk soon solved this difficulty, and de-  
 cided the Committee not to delay the calling  
 home of the army on any account of reforma-  
 tion; because, say they, "we cannot force mens  
 consciences!" Forgetting, like true time-servers,  
 their own doctrine and practice some years ago,  
 when they forced people to swear and subscribe  
 their Covenants against conscience and inclina-  
 tion both.

However, the decision of the question was again  
 deferred, till the meeting of the Parliament on  
 the 3d of November. At their first sitting down,  
 they were immediately saluted with a remon-  
 strance from the Commission of the kirk, com-



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plaining of the Committee of Estates for  
fying the agreement with Montrose and his  
lowers, being all excommunicated persons,  
exclaiming bitterly against the King's adhere  
to Prelacy, and of the danger religion was  
from the malignants setting up their heads ag  
This early appearance of zeal was no good  
in the King's favour. And when they were c  
sulted by the Parliament, "Whether, if the K  
" should come to this kingdom, on his be  
" excluded out of England for his refusing  
" sign the propositions, it would be lawful  
" this kingdom to receive and assist him," t  
answered, "that in regard of the engaged  
" of this kingdom by Covenant and treaty  
" was not lawful."

About the middle of December, notice  
sent from the agents at London, that they  
so far agreed in their accounting with the  
liament of England, as to receive £.200,  
sterling in hand, and the public faith for as m  
more to be paid at terms, "provided the S  
" would retire their army, and surrender  
" King without any conditions for him." t  
two Houses had been preparing for a bar  
of this kind: For in October they had p  
an ordinance for abolishing the office and  
of Bishops, and selling their lands to pay  
public debts, and against the 8th of Decem  
they had received the most of the money. t  
intelligence was most cordially received, and  
Commission backed it with a "seasonable w  
" ing to keep in with the Parliament of  
" land, and not to own the King." Yet  
form's sake, there was a new delegation app  
ed to him on the 29th of December, to rep

to sign the propositions, with certification what would follow, if he did not. On the 16th of January these delegates returned with Majesty's last refusal. And so upon the 16th January 1647, it was concluded by a vast majority of the House, "that according to the agreement of their Commissioners, the army should retire, and the King be left to the English, without any conditions for him, or this nation's interest in him." This shameful act, against which there appeared only six of the nobility, four Barons, and three Burgeses, being immediately sent up to the Commissioners at London, the stipulated money was without delay paid to the Commissary General of the Scots at Newcastle, having been sent off from London to York on the 16th of December, in thirty six carts. On the 3d of February, the Earl of Pembroke, who had received the King, took his departure with him, and by easy journeys brought him under a sure convoy, on the 16th, to Holmby- castle, one of his own castles in Northampton- shire, which the Parliament had destined for his lodging. The Scots army with their treasure departed Newcastle on the last day of January, and on the 11th of February their rear crossed the Tweed at Kelso, where six regiments of horse were disbanded, after having been sworn to be true and faithful to the Covenant and cause of both kingdoms.

This disgraceful transaction will admit of no apology, and must stand on record as a lasting monument of the abominable principles of those concerned in it. However, the English Parliament did not long enjoy the pleasure, which they had so dearly purchased, of having their

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Sovereign under their command. For on 4th of June, their army, which Cromwell by this time taught to set up for itself, Cornet Joyce with 500 horse to Holmby, carried off the King, and brought him to camp at Newmarket. The news of this alarmed the Covenanters in Scotland, and made them begin to think what would be the issue of these strange revolutions. Yet they went on with their judicatories, both civil and ecclesiastical, and exercised their authority as if there had been no disorder nor confusion in the island. The General Assembly met on the 3d of August; on the 20th directed a brotherly exhortation to their brethren in England, "that they may be a testimony to the truth of God, and to the kingdom of his son Jesus Christ, so much sisted and opposed, and beseeching them, as ambassadors for Christ, to put the two Houses and all that have taken the Covenant, in mind not to suffer themselves, directly nor indirectly, to be drawn from it to any sinful compliance, or making peace, till Presbytery be settled, and Prelacy abolished." And indeed there was need at this time for all this fervency and zeal: For two of their countrymen, Baillie and Gillespie, who had been members of the synod at Westminster, laid before them a copy of the Prolocutor Twisse's speech, their taking leave of the synod: In which he removed the suspicion which it seems Gillespie had hinted of the synod's defection. Twisse mentions "the bad observance of the Directments," "the Assembly's want of power to censure offenders, and that the Lord was pleased to exercise them with many wrestlings:"

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confesses their affairs to be much embarrassed, and in a kind of chaos at present: In the end, he puts them in mind of the restraint the synod lies under from the Parliament, and that this is no proper juncture to apply for relief, it being a time of general darkness and sad apprehensions." The meaning all which seems to be, that he feared the independents would prevail against them, and their darling scheme of Presbytery to pieces, which happened accordingly.

At the same time Gillespie produced the Confession of Faith, Catechism and Directory lately drawn up by the synod, all which this Assembly approved, and ordered to be made use of. This confession, so well known by the name of the *Minister Confession of Faith*, had been at first the work of chance, and not originally intended in its present form. The two houses had last year ordered their synod to examine and rectify the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the Church of England, in obedience to which order these divines had reviewed the first fourteen, and altered them to a tolerable conformity with their own notions. But finding the rest to be too stubborn for their purpose, they gave over the mendicant business, and thought it more convenient to make a new confession, than reconcile the old one. In this performance it is observable, that their pretensions to ecclesiastical authority fall far short of the claim which was then set up in Scotland. They yield to the civil magistrate the power of convening Church-assemblies, and superintending their proceedings: And as to the independence of the church, the divine right of the presbyteries, and the setting Christ upon his

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his throne, which was the common style of those times, they are altogether silent. It would seem they had felt the pulse of the two Houses, and found it beat too high for such a regimen. This Confession, tho' thus imperfectly drawn, was offered by way of "humble advice to the Lords and Commons" for the sanction of ordinance, to make it pass for the doctrine of the Church of England: And then they broke down the contents of it into a Catechism, spreading it the more readily among the people. But finding this first draught to be too bulky for schools, or common use, they contracted it into an abridgement called the *Lesser Catechism*, which has been used in Scotland ever since. Tho' even in this abridged state, it has more the appearance of a system of divinity for students than of a catechism adapted either to the memory or understanding of children.

The Assembly too, before they rose, appointed a fast throughout the kingdom, and assigned several reasons for such a national humiliation. "That notwithstanding their solemn engagements, a multitude of sins abounded in the land." "That religion and civil government was in danger, from the prevalency of the sectaries in England: That there was a fearful defection every where from the Covenant: That the good people in England, who are zealous of the work of God, are miserably oppressed: That those, who under pretence of liberty, are acting at no less than tyranny and arbitrary power: And therefore, the people are to be instructed to pray, that God would preserve the land from further snares, and bow his heart to the obedience of his will, in all things that concern

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cern religion and righteousness." Such was their method of praying for the King, not as King, for the preservation of his sacred person and royal authority, both which they had already contributed to ruin, but as a dignified tool for them and their brethren to work with, for the full and complete accomplishment of their favourite plan, which sectaries were laying 'snares' to countermine and defeat. The present posture of affairs in England filled their minds with sad apprehensions, and gave them sufficient ground for these grievous complaints. For when the Presbyterian branch of the Covenant there had displaced the King in the field, and got his person into their custody, when they had battered down the church, expelled the regular clergy, and now thought of nothing less than dividing the spoil which they had rapaciously torn, both from the crown and the church, they saw themselves sadly disappointed, and the prey which they had set their hearts upon, violently wrested from their hands by their covenanted brethren the Independents.

Under the sense of this heavy disappointment, the first thing which gave them any relief, was the King's escape from the army on the 11th of November, and getting safe to the isle of Wight, where Hammond the Governor perfidiously detained him, and sent notice to the Parliament what had happened. This sudden turn, which seems to have been the result of a new plot, set the Presbyterians upon their legs again, and both English and Scots fell to work once more with their artful applications and bold demands upon their still distressed Sovereign. The Scots, on hearing the agreeable news, sent the Earls of Lou-

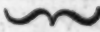
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don and Lanerk, to concur with Lord Maitland now become Earl of Lauderdale, in taking of their national interests, and to bring the King over to their side. With this view, they now presented to him, that if he agreed to the articles which the English parliament proposed for entering into a personal treaty with him, it would be granting more than was fit or just; and would be an entire resignation of his regal authority, rather than which they said, "it was better for him to make some farther steps, giving Scotland full contentment anent the reformation, in which case they would undertake that the whole kingdom should engage for restoration."

Upon these assurances, repeated again and again with most solemn protestations, the King was persuaded, on the 15th of January 1603, to agree to all their demands, and they solemnly engaged that all Scotland should unite and take arms for his re-establishment with honour. Matters being thus transacted with the Scots, the King called for the English commissioners, and dismissed them with a final negative to their propositions: Which so incensed the two Houses that they broke out into the most virulent language against him, and passed an act declaring it treason "to hold any further correspondence with the King, or make any more addresses to him without their leave," and at the same time they sent a peremptory order to Hammond, to shut him up in close confinement, which was instantly obeyed. The Scots agents, on their turn, gave in their report to the committee of estates, who were well enough pleased with it. But the commission of the kirk began to grum

the King's concessions as not satisfactory, and LETTER XLVIII.  
 named the committee to take care that religion   
 sustained no damage. On the 2d of March the  
 Parliament sat down, and on the 25th the com-  
 mission sent six ministers and three ruling elders  
 with a paper of eight articles, remonstrating a-  
 gainst the King's concessions, and protesting that  
 there might be no such grounds of war as to  
 break the covenanted union of the two kingdoms,  
 and disoblige the Presbyterians of England.

Thus the contention was begun, and a conti-  
 nued train of altercations and opposition carried  
 on by the kirk, till the 3d of May, when the Par-  
 liament appointed a levy of 30,000 foot and 6000  
 horse, and soon after declared Duke Hamilton  
 commander in chief, against all which the com-  
 mission solemnly protested, and sent copies of  
 their protestation to all the presbyteries, with strict  
 orders to keep a public fast on the last Sabbath  
 of May against that course. The chancellor Lou-  
 dou, tho' he was one of the three who brought  
 the King into the present snare, thought proper  
 to break off from his engagements, and not only  
 joined the violent party, but even, to testify his  
 submission, submitted to do penance in the high-church  
 of Edinburgh for his sinful compliance with these  
 unlawful doings. The Marquis of Argyle, the  
 Lords of Eglinton, Cassilis and Lothian, the Lords  
 Palmerino and Burleigh, with many others, ap-  
 peared active against, and did what they could  
 to suppress the Parliamentary levies. The Gene-  
 ral Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 12th of  
 May, and on the 24th emitted a declaration,  
 that there is no possibility of securing religion,  
 if this engagement for the King be carried on;  
 that his concessions are not sufficient, and that



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“ before he be assisted, he must give assurance  
“ under his hand and great seal, to settle religion  
“ in all his dominions according to the *Solemn*  
“ *League and Covenant.*” To strengthen the  
declaration, they make an act on the 28th against  
the foresaid acts of Parliament and committee, and  
against all oaths and bonds in the common cause  
imposed without consent of the kirk: And on the  
last of July they remonstrate against the  
fulness of the Engagement, as being a notorious  
breach of the covenant in all the six articles  
it, and therefore they charge all to be no way  
accessory to it, “ as they would eschew the wrath  
“ of God, and escape the censures of the kirk.”  
To these declarations of the Assembly the Com-  
mittee made answer in a long letter, proving that  
it was their bounden duty commanded by God  
to assist and deliver their King out of captivity  
and requiring the Ministers every where to stir up  
the people by their prayers and preachings, and  
by every other means of their calling, to obey  
the public orders for this business. But the As-  
sembly continued obstinate in their resolution  
and on the 2d of August they supplicated the  
Committee to forbear that undertaking, “ as be-  
“ ing a snare to mens consciences, to involve  
“ them in guiltiness, and to withdraw them from  
“ their former principles and vows in the *Solemn*  
“ *league.*” Yea, they had the assurance  
at last to present an address to the King himself  
on the subject, in which among other base in-  
sults, they tell him, “ that in all that had be-  
“ fallen him, it would be his wisdom to receive  
“ the right hand of the Lord writing bitter  
“ things against him, as for all his provocations  
“ so especially for resisting his work of the  
“ Covenant.”

Covenant, and shedding the blood of God's people, for which it was high time to repent: LETTER XLVIII.

That if he had hearkened to their counsels, and cement their League and Covenant, he might have been sitting in peace in his own house.

That if he will yet hearken, he may yet be restored, tho' they are afraid their counsels now will be in vain and without success, because of the wrath of the Lord of hosts, who bringeth down the mighty from his throne: But they shall mourn in secret for it." This language needs no comment, and plainly shews the oppositions of these men, and what infamous liberties they took with that ambiguous Covenant, and of their own devising.

Yet, notwithstanding of all this opposition from the kirk, the army was raised as proposed, and on the 8th of July began their march to England; but upon the 18th of August they were met by Cromwell and Lambert, with all the force of the English army, near Preston in Lancashire, and utterly routed with a prodigious slaughter. The Duke was taken in his flight, and sent prisoner to Windsor Castle, where, in a few days, he got a number of fellow-lodgers from other parts of England for the same cause. And now the Scottish malecontents had full scope, with the Chancellor Loudon at their head, to break their resentment on all those who had shewn any sign of favouring the *Unlawful Engagement*, as it was now called. Cromwell after his victory marched a part of his conquering troops as far as Edinburgh, but was soon called back to London by a new treaty between the King and the Parliament, which was begun at Newport in the Isle of Wight on the 15th of September, but to

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**LETTER** as little purpose as any of the former. For  
**XLVIII.** two Houses, tho' not a little humbled by  
 overbearing insolence of Cromwell and his mi-  
 tary partizans, were yet as stiff and supercilious  
 as ever, and would not allow the King's divines  
 and other assistants to be present in the room  
 when their Commissioners were debating a  
 point with him. And these Commissioners were  
 so rude and boisterous, that two of them took  
 him with great bitterness, that, unless he took the  
 Covenant, and consented to the utter abolishing  
 of Episcopacy, he would certainly be damned.  
 Under all these buffetings, his Majesty stood firm  
 and unshaken as a rock. The inward regret which  
 he felt in his mind, and so pathetically expressed  
 in his meditations, for the concessions made  
 against Episcopacy in Scotland, which had been  
 by force or fraud extorted from him, had produced  
 an effect upon him now, that tho' he was willing  
 to admit certain regulations and limitations  
 of the exercise of the temporal power which had  
 long been annexed to the Episcopal order, he  
 was inflexibly determined not to give the sanction  
 of his name or authority to the total abolition  
 of the order itself, which they had already  
 as far as they could, laid aside without him.  
 So the treaty was spun out, without any prospect  
 of accommodation, till the 20th of November,  
 when Cromwell having got to London, put  
 a final stop to it, by the usual terror of a  
 monstration from the army. On the 30th,  
 King was taken from Colonel Hammond, and  
 carried to Hurst Castle, by an order of a council  
 of officers, and on the 23d of December  
 was removed to Windsor, where Duke Hamilton  
 was permitted to wait on him. And now a

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For a fast was held at Westminster, to seek the  
 and beg his direction in their future pro-  
 edings against the King: On which occasion  
 the abominable buffoon Hugh Peters, their chap-  
 told the audience, that, "upon a strict scru-  
 tiny, he had found there were in the army  
 five thousand saints, no less holy than those  
 who now conversed in heaven with God Al-  
 mighty:" And kneeling down, begged, in the  
 name of the people of England, "that justice  
 might be executed on that great Barabbas at  
 Windsor."

All this time there were Scots agents at Lon-  
 don, the Earl of Lothian and Mr. Robert Blair, to  
 put up an hypocritical appearance of mediation,  
 and transmit proper intelligence to their consti-  
 tuents. On the 4th of January 1649, a sort of  
 parliament sat down at Edinburgh, and ordered  
 a fast to be kept on the 10th, the result of  
 which was an act for purging of judicatories,  
 ordering, that malignants should be divided into  
 four classes, the first to be secluded from all pub-  
 lic offices during life, the second for ten years,  
 the third for five, and the fourth till the next  
 session of Parliament. With respect to the King's  
 concerns, which, it might have been thought,  
 in such a crisis, deserved their attention, they  
 sent instructions to their agents, "that  
 they should not debate the question about the  
 King's life, but only labour for a delay, and  
 that they should in no case say or do any-  
 thing that might occasion a national quarrel."  
 Accordingly the agents addressed the Commons,  
 who had now excluded the House of Lords, and  
 put all the power into their own hands, that  
 they would not proceed to try and sentence the  
 King,



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King, till the advice of the Scottish nation first had upon it. The Presbyterian Ministers in and about London, drew up a spirited monstrance against what they saw in agitation directed to the Lord General Fairfax, and signed by forty seven of them, on the 18th of January. But all this interposition was too late: For Majesty's fate was now determined. The martial began on the 20th, and was finished the 27th. It is not for a pen like mine to attempt a description of this unparalleled scene of brutality on the one hand, and magnanimity on the other. I shall therefore make use of a simple, but pathetic narration of Bishop Guto who was alive at the time, and closes his memoirs with it; "The next news we had, concerning his Majesty's arraignment, being several times brought from St. James before that committee in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, he did still except against the authority of the court: Yet, upon the 27th day of January, was he sentenced them, to be, upon Tuesday the 30th, beheaded before the gate of Whitehall: Which accordingly performed; and being dead, faithful cousin, James Duke of Lenox, the permission to convey the royal body to Windsor Chapel, where it was interred. ended the best of Princes, being cut off in the midst of his age by the barbarous hands of unnatural subjects."

The character of this unfortunate Monarch has been drawn by many an able hand. I content myself with giving that admirable abridgement of it by the noble historian Clarendon who knew him well, and was a good judge

"that he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best christian that the age in which he lived produced."

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I am, &c.

If any thing could be added to this comprehensive description, it might be said, "and the best writer too." His *Eikon*, or meditations on his own sufferings, which has been proved and is now almost universally acknowledged to be his composition, from the masterly elegance of the style, and the beautiful vein of mild but majestic seriousness that thro' the whole of it, would warrant this addition.

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## L E T T E R XLIX.

*Proceedings against the Loyalists—The Mar of Montrose betrayed and executed—An raised in Scotland for the King—Weakened the Kirk, and defeated by Cromwell—Division among the Presbyterians—Charles II. created at Scoon—Marches into England, and Troops being routed at Worcester, escape to France—Instances of Cromwell's Tyranny in Scotland—His Death, and Consequences of Measures taken by General Monk for a Restoration—The King proclaimed at Westminster—He embarks for England, is met by Monk at Dover, and makes a magnificent Entry into London.*

**A**FTER the fatal 30th of January, the triumphant party in England had nothing to fear, and could now, with boldness, execute the same wrath upon the servants that had done upon the master: For on the 9th March they sent the Duke of Hamilton to his Sovereign, in whose service he had been

was so unlucky, as to be either suspected or LETTER  
 appointed. This was uniform and self-confis- XLIX.  
 at procedure in England, where the Commons  
 on the 7th of February, resolved, "that the  
 office of a King is unnecessary, burdensome, and  
 dangerous, and ought to be abolished." But  
 Scotland the public transactions bore a very  
 strange and unaccountable kind of aspect. Im-  
 mediately upon the news of the King's murder,  
 a convention assembled by way of a Parliament,  
 which the Chancellor Loudon presided, and  
 which proclaimed the now King Charles II.  
 and sent over Commissioners to treat with him  
 at the Hague, where he was residing. The treaty  
 was soon concluded, tho' under most ungene-  
 rous and mortifying limitations. For, taking ad-  
 vantage of his reduced and dependent situation,  
 as well as of his youth, for he was then but in  
 the 19th year of his age, they obliged him to take  
 their covenant himself, and would allow none  
 to be about him but such as took it likewise. Yet,  
 under all this outward appearance of duty and af-  
 fection to the royal family, they still retained their  
 ill-rancour to the faithful friends of it: For on the  
 10th of March, they brought to the scaffold and  
 beheaded the Marquis of Huntly, who from first  
 to last had been steady to the crown, amidst all the  
 changes that had happened. And not satisfied  
 with the destruction of this old and open enemy,  
 they proceeded to wreak their vengeance upon  
 each of their own former associates as had joined  
 in, or declared for the last year's unsuccessful at-  
 tempt under Duke Hamilton. And the more ef-  
 fectually to reach these malignants, it was enacted,  
 that all who had served or assisted in that under-  
 taking, should be incapable of bearing any office  
 in



LETTER in the state, or sitting either in Parliament  
 XLIX. Council, "till they had first satisfied the Kirk, b  
 "public profession of their repentance for have  
 "been accessory to that *unlawful engagement*."

The state being thus purged and modelled, the true covenanting taste, the Kirk had full scope to rule and tyrannize at pleasure, and exercised power, to all the extent of Episcopal or even Papal rigour. The few ministers who were suspected not of disaffection only, but even of moderation were deposed; numbers of the laity, for grumbling at the covenant, were fined and imprisoned; the very Noblemen and Barons were obliged to take young probationers into their families in quality of chaplains, but in reality be spies upon them, and to report their private behaviour to the Presbyteries; and to enforce these severities, they had parties of Highlanders at their command here and there, whom the concealed episcopalians used to call *Argyle-Apostles*. The General Assembly met in July, and on the 20th they passed an act "that the engagers in the war for relieving the King, make public satisfaction in sackcloth, or be excommunicated."

\* By this judgment, the Earl of Glencairn was deprived of the office of Justice-General, and the Earl of Lindisay removed from being treasurer, tho' both these noblemen had taken the covenant, and the last of them had been from the beginning a violent stickler for it. The Earl of Lauderdale too, another of that party, had been commissioned upon some business to the present King when Prince, and was now with him in Holland. And the Earl of Lanerk, having under all his compliances shifted backward and forward, incurred the displeasure of the King and London who now governed all, had been apprehended by them, but got out of their hands and escaped also to Holland where he soon became Duke Hamilton, on the death of his brother without male-issue.

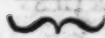
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aining even such as submitted to their censures  
 "subscribe a declaration of the unlawfulness  
 of that engagement, and of their sorrow for  
 their sin and guilt by their accession to it, and  
 solemnly to promise never to own the like cour-  
 ses again." They likewise ratified an act of  
 the last Assembly, "that all persons whatever  
 should take the covenant at their first receiving  
 of the Lord's supper," and confirmed an order  
 made by the commission in December, "that  
 such seducers as had dissuaded people from peti-  
 tioning against the unlawful engagement, should  
 be debarred from the covenant." Yea so  
 fully were they set against this engagement  
 for the King's relief, that in "a seasonable and  
 necessary warning," emitted by them on the  
 10th, they call the defeat of the army, tho' at-  
 tended with the death of thousands of their coun-  
 trymen, "a mercy and deliverance which ought  
 to be remembered with thankfulness and praise."  
 They likewise wrote a letter to the King, in  
 which they reprimand him for adhering to the  
 counsels of James Graham, (so they contempt-  
 uously called the Marquis of Montrose) and his  
 accomplices; they require him to settle the Pres-  
 byterian Government and worship in all his do-  
 minions, and upon that condition they promise  
 him their assistance, otherwise they tell him "all  
 the blood shed by his father will be laid to  
 his charge."

In the motley Parliament too of this famous  
 year, the kirk obtained a singular favour, by an  
 abolishing the heavy grievance of patronages,  
 and setting up what they called the gospel-right  
 of popular elections. And this is the first time  
 ever this favourite claim, which has made

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so much noise among them even to this day, the least countenance from any thing that could be called civil authority. For notwithstanding some ambiguous murmurings in the books of discipline at the beginning of the reformation which at that time for prudential reasons seem to favour and court the people, it is certain fact, that no man was ever thought to have just title to a kirk or legal benefice, unless he had a presentation from a patron, and collation either from the Bishop when episcopacy was established, or from the Presbytery, when that form prevailed. Even the Parliament of 1592, less this right of patronage as it stood, and while rescinds all former acts in favour of Bishops, orders, "that in all time coming presentations of benefices be directed to the respective presbyteries." And this method continued to both law and practice, till towards the end of this civil war, when the kirkmen, sensible of their now acquired strength, took upon them to dispose of kirks at their own pleasure, by abusing the deluded populace with a sham election, in reality imposing ministers upon them by their own usurped authority.

Mean time the King kept his little court at the Hague, and found it very difficult to preserve peace and quiet among the few that came to wait on him, tho' they all made equal professions of duty and service to him. The Marquis of Merose having, since he left Scotland in 1646, travelled thro' France, Germany and Flanders, soliciting assistance for his distressed Sovereign, to no purpose, came now to the Hague, where the King most cordially received him, and presented him with the ensigns of the most noble

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or

of the Garter. But this reception highly pleased the other two attending parties, the commissioners from the kirk and council, and the new Duke of Hamilton and his adherents: \* Montrose, like a dutiful subject, rather than against his Sovereign, took his leave of that disreputable court, and having got proper credentials and formal commission from his Majesty, went again to Germany, and as far as Denmark, in hopes of obtaining succours of men and money for his master's service. In this laborious employment he spent most of the winter. But finding himself disappointed of the large supplies he had been led to expect, he at last set sail for Hamburgh with only five hundred soldiers and about an hundred officers, and landed safe in the Orkneys on the 15th of April 1650. Here he met with kind entertainment as that poor country could give him, and the whole presbytery unanimously drew up a declaration of their loyalty, and their resolution to adhere to their allegiance to the King. Upon this account they were all deposed by the next General Assembly, and their moderator Dr. Aitkin minister of Birsa, who had presented the paper to the Marquis, was excommunicated, and an order of council was sent to apprehend him and try him for his life, which he got notice of, and escaped to Holland, where he resided till the restoration; and returning then,

\* Tho' both these parties were jealous of, and looked sour on one another, yet they united in their animosity against Montrose, even to that degree of rudeness, that when at anytime he came into the room where they were, tho' the King himself was present, they immediately withdrew and left the room, unless James Graham was ordered to retire because; forsooth he stood excommunicated by the kirk, and forfeited by the civil judicatory of the kingdom.

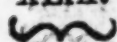


LETTER was in a few years made Bishop of Galloway.  
 XLIX. From Orkney Montrose went to Caithness, where he published his commission, and invited all loyal subjects to join him for the King's service. But here again being deceived by fair promises, he was on the first of May overpowered by a strong body of horse which had been sent against him, and being betrayed by a gentleman to whom he had fled for shelter, was delivered to his adversary David Leslie, who carried him in great triumph to Edinburgh.

On the third day after, he was brought before their Parliament, where the president Loup made a most bitter and virulent speech against him, telling him, "that he had broken all the covenants by which the nation stood obliged to God, and the kingdom, and had committed many horrible treasons, murders and impieties, all which he was now brought to suffer a most dign punishment," with many personal reproaches which he durst not have uttered in any other place. To all this the Marquis boldly answered, "that he had indeed taken the first covenant, and had been as faithful to it as any of them, so long as the avowed design of it was observed: That the Solemn League and Covenant he had never taken, so could not break it, tho' now it was known over all Europe what monstrous mischiefs it had produced: That he had the King's commission for his first appearing in arms, in which service he had acted always as a gentleman, and not suffered blood to be shed, but in the heat of battle: That he saw many persons there, whose lives he had saved: That at the King's command

and he laid down his arms and left the country, which all their force could not have compelled him to. That he had now returned by the present King's orders, and with his authority, and whatever fortune he might have had, was always willing to have obeyed his commands: Wishing them therefore to consider well the consequences of their present procedure, and requiring that all his actions might be examined and judged by the law of the land, or by the law of nations." But without regard to his spirited and legal defence, the President, after some deliberation, told him,—That on the morrow, being the 21st of May, he was to be carried to Edinburgh-Cross, and there to be hanged on a gallows thirty feet high for three hours, then to be taken down, and his head to be taken off and set upon the halibooth, and his legs and arms to be hanged up in other public towns in the kingdom, and his body to be buried at the place of execution, except the kirk should be pleased to take off his excommunication, in which case it might be buried in the common place of burial." This savage and iniquitous sentence, which he heard with the greatest magnanimity and firmness of soul, was accordingly executed, in all the appointed circumstances of cowardly rage, and thus put an end to the short but glorious life of this truly admirable man, in the 38th year of his age. After his death, the scaffold which was set up at the Cross for the mangling of his body was, contrary to all former custom, kept removed near two months, for the execution of the Scots officers who were taken with him, and other worthy men who had embarked in the

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same cause: So that it became all covered with blood and gore, and was called "the miniature altar," of whom it was sarcastically observed on this occasion, "that they delighted not in unbloody sacrifices."

Yet while they were thus butchering the King's friends, for acting in his service and under commission, they were treating with himself, both inviting and expecting him over from the place of his exile. And his necessities were so such, and his condition so low, that he was obliged to overlook such unaccountable behaviour, and take these rigid bigots as he found them. So he left Holland with his small retinue, and arrived at the Moray-firth on the 23d of June 1650, but not permitted even to come ashore till he had taken the Covenant: nor would they allow Dr. Hamilton or his adherents to remain near the King's person, and even prohibited his being supplied with money by such wellwishers as were inclined to have given him a present on his arrival. They indeed raised an army under Dr. Leslie, but were so far from trusting the King with the command of it, that he was never consulted in any public measure, nor called to sit at any council, and never saw the army when it was there, but once.

The news of the King's being in Scotland reached England, and the Parliament there, who now from its broken and disjointed state began to be in derision called the *Rump*, taking the alarm, ordered their army to march northward. But Fairfax, not willing to fight against the covenanted Scots, laid down his commission. Cromwell, who had no such scruples, was appointed commander in chief of all the forces of England.

and setting out from London on the 29th June, crossed the Tweed with his army on the 22d of July, and came in sight of Edinburgh about any opposition. This hostile invasion made no alteration among the Scots Politicians: the prevailing party, under the influence of the kirk, continued as obstinate as ever, and published a proclamation, banishing all malignants, they called all that had been concerned in the *Unlawful Engagement* from their armies, which with order drove away no fewer than four thousand as good men as the King had: The King too, at this critical juncture, was busy with officious zeal, and was daily calling upon the people to be deeply humbled for the transgressions of his father in following evil counsels, shedding the blood of God's people, opposing the covenant-work of reformation, and tolerating in his kingdom the idolatry of the Queen. The *Commission*, to give a public testimony of their principles, on the 13th of August, emitted the following declaration, which was approved the same day by the committee of estates, and has been called the *Act of the West-Kirk*: "The commission of the General Assembly considering, that there may be just ground of stumbling, from the King's Majesty's refusing to subscribe and emit the declaration offered to him by the committee of estates and commissioners of the General Assembly, concerning his former carriage and resolution for the future, in reference to the cause of God, and the enemies and friends thereof, doth therefore declare, that this kirk and kingdom, do not own nor espouse any malignant party or quarrel or interest, but that they fight merely upon their former grounds



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“ and principles; and in defence of the cause  
 “ God and of the kingdom, as they have done  
 “ these twelve years past: And therefore, as they  
 “ do disclaim all the sin and guilt of the late King  
 “ and of his house, so they will not own  
 “ nor his interest, otherwise than with a subordi-  
 “ nation to God, and so far as he owns  
 “ prosecutes the cause of God, and disclaims  
 “ own and his father's opposition to the word  
 “ God, and to the Covenant, and likewise  
 “ the enemies thereof: And that they will with  
 “ convenient speed take into consideration  
 “ papers lately sent unto them from Oliver Crom-  
 “ well, and vindicate themselves from all  
 “ falshoods contained therein, especially in those  
 “ things wherein the quarrel between us and  
 “ party is mistated, as if we owned the late King's  
 “ proceedings, and were resolved to prosecute  
 “ maintain his present Majesty's interest, both  
 “ and without acknowledgment of the sins of  
 “ his house and former ways, and satisfaction  
 “ God's people in both kingdoms.”

In this artful paper, we have an authentic ex-  
 position of their former views and future purpose,  
 and from the whole strain of it, may easily see  
 what their sentiments were of the late King's  
 and how indifferently they stood affected to  
 young Prince whom they had amongst them.  
 Mean time the two armies were advancing toward  
 one another, and Cromwell being straitened for  
 provisions, retreated towards Dunbar. Lelly  
 lowed him with caution, till, by the influence  
 the enthusiastic preachers, who, by blasphemous  
 pretending revelations from heaven, promised  
 tain victory to their army of saints, he was pre-  
 sed upon, contrary to his own judgment, to

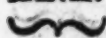
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the enemy battle, which Cromwell readily accepted, and on the 3d of September gave them a total rout, killing three thousand on the spot, and taking nine thousand prisoners, with all their colours, artillery, and ammunition. The remnant of them fled to Stirling, and the preachers impudently ascribed this calamity to the manifold provocations of the King's house, and to the secret malignants who had still remained in the army. Cromwell after his victory took possession of Edinburgh; and the ministers of the city, not thinking themselves safe, took refuge in the Castle, from whence they wrote to Cromwell, who had invited them back with assurances of freedom to preach, that they found nothing expressed from which they could infer security to their persons, and therefore they resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and wait upon him who had hidden his face for a while from the Sons of Jacob." This enthusiastic language was lost upon Cromwell, who was as much master of cant as they were, and in answer wrote back to the Governor of the Castle a long letter, in which he vindicates himself from the imputation of insidious dealing, charges the ministers with laying the foundation of their reformation in worldly mixtures and accumulations of power, and concludes with an observation which is worthy to have come from a better man, that "When ministers trust purely to the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong holds, and every imagination that exalts itself, which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the New Jerusalem, then, and not before, and by that means, and no other, shall Jerusalem which is to be the praise of the whole earth, the city of

" the

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“ the Lord be built, the Zion of the Holy One  
“ Israel.”



The Governor had likewise charged Cromwell and the Westminster junto with departing from their first principles, and not being true to the ends of the Covenant, and further objected, that in England men of secular employments usurped the office of the ministry, to the great scandal of the reformed kirks. To the first part of the charge Cromwell replies, by desiring to know whether the Scots bearing witness to themselves was sufficient evidence of their having prosecuted the ends of the Covenant, and whether their bare affirmative be enough to justify their conduct, since every doctrine and practice must be tried by the touchstone of God's word. To the other point, of indulging the use of the pulpit to laymen, he answers in these words, “ Are ye troubled that Christ is preached? Does it scandalize the reformed kirks, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant, if it be so. I thought the Covenant, and these men, would have been willing that they should speak good of the name of Christ. If not, it is no Covenant of God's approving, and the kirk you so much magnify, the spouse of Christ.” And where the Scots, after their defeat, had pled for themselves, “ that they had so learned Christ, as to hang the equity of the cause upon events,” which indeed is sound doctrine, tho' they had not always kept up to it, he retorts upon them, “ Did not you solemnly swear, peal and pray? Did not we do so too? Were not your expectations, as well as ours, renewed from time to time, whilst we waited upon God to see how he would manifest himself upon us?”

“ appe

appeals? And shall we, after all our prayers, LETTER XLIX.  
fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn ap-  
peals, call these bare events? The Lord pity

you." Thus Cromwell fought our zealots with  
our own weapons, turned their own artillery of  
the Covenant upon them, and shewed himself as  
for them with the pen as he had been with  
the sword.\*

After this defeat of the Scots at Dunbar, the  
quiescent party resolved to admit the King and  
his friends to the service of their country, and to  
take a share in the common measures for that pur-  
pose; tho' there was still a stiff discontented set,  
in the Parliament and General Assembly, who  
opposed this loyal as well as beneficial resolution,  
and formally remonstrated against it. This gave  
rise to the two Presbyterian Parties of public Re-  
monstrators and Remonstrators, who after this would  
not unite in any business, but continued jarring  
and counteracting one another, till their division  
brought their downfall. Besides these political

It was during this extraordinary period of pretended il-  
lumination, that George Fox, a mechanic in England, preached  
the new invention of the "Inward light," and began the  
movement of the Quakers, which was soon after greatly supported by  
the countryman Robert Barclay of Urie, who, under all his  
simplicity of the light within, fought their battles with the car-  
penter's weapons of a liberal and accomplished education. His Apo-  
calypse, which he dedicates with great plainness and becoming  
simplicity to Charles II. and which upon such an untenable  
basis is not a contemptible, tho' a very cunning composition,  
and with the activity and secular influence of the English  
William Penn, who was Urie's great intimate, kept the quaker  
movement in countenance, and some degree of reputation for a  
time, till upon the death of these two champions, they sunk gra-  
dually into obscurity, and now are considerable for nothing, but  
for the superstitious continuance of their fundamental opposition  
to the very elements and outward profession of christianity.

squabbles,



LETTER squabbles, they began likewise to split and  
 XLIX. themselves about religious rites and practice.  
 ~~~~~ The Lord's Prayer, which hitherto had been  
 constant use in the public worship, thro' all
 various modes of church polity, and stood par-
 ticularly recommended, almost to a positive inju-
 tion, by the new Directory, became offensive
 the more enlightened brethren, who, not daring
 abrogate it by a formal sentence, let it fall into
 suetude, with all the epithets of blasphemous
 contempt. The Doxology too, tho' not of div-
 original, yet of high antiquity in the church,
 of continued practice in Scotland from K
 down to the Covenant, met with the same
 and was jostled out after the same manner, not
 any shew of authority, but by affected omission
 the old custom.*

Mean time the King, being put under Arg
 inspection, who wished well to none of his fam
 found himself little better than a prisoner, and
 daily exposed to all the rudeness and malevol-
 of the preachers, who were perpetually clam-
 ing and praying against the sins of the King
 his household. To free himself from this unp-
 fant thralldom, he made a sudden start to
 North Highlands, where some of the loyal
 were ready to receive and assist him: And
 this, being treated with more respect, he was
 last, on the first of January 1651, crowned
 Scoon, with all the pomp and signs of joy that

* Several other decencies, such as the men's uncovering
 heads when they enter the church, and putting up a short
 tion in secret, the minister's kneeling in the pulpit for the
 purpose, which even the first covenanting assemblies had rec-
 as laudable practices, were now ridiculed, and thrown
 use, as not suiting the purity of this refined age.

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 King out of
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 men.

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vided state of the nation, and the weight of such LETTER
 enemy as Cromwell lying in the metropolis with XLIX.
 victorious army, could admit of. *

The coronation thus over, all parties had access
 to his Majesty, and a Parliament being called to
 meet at Stirling, the Hamiltonian malignants were
 admitted to sit in it, having been previously oblig-
 ed, as Lord Clarendon tells us, "to wipe off the
 stain with which the engagement had defiled

At this solemnity the young Earl of Rothes carried the
 rod of state, the Earl of Eglinton the spurs, the Earl of
 Argyll the sceptre, and the Marquis of Argyle the crown,
 the canopy over his Majesty from his apartment to the church,
 borne by the eldest sons of the six Earls of Perth, Southesk,
 Montrose, Hartfield, Panmure and Tweeddale. We have an
 account of the whole solemnity from one who was present, the
 Rev. Mr. Robert Baillie, who had been one of the Scots com-
 missioners at the Westminster synod, and writes thus. "This
 day we have done that which I earnestly desired and long
 expected, crowned our noble King with all the solemnities at
 home, so peaceably and magnificently as if no enemy had
 been among us. This is of God: For it was Cromwell's
 purpose, which I thought he might easily have performed, to
 have married by arms that action, at least the solemnity of it.
 The Remonstrants with all their power would have opposed
 it. Others prolonged it, so long as they were able. Bless-
 ed be God, it is this day celebrated with great joy and con-
 cement, to all honest-hearted men here. The King
 swore the covenant, the league and covenant, and the co-
 ronation oath. Mr. Douglas, from 2 Kings Ch. ii. Joash's
 coronation, had a very pertinent, wise and good sermon.—
 When Argyll put on the crown, Mr. Douglas prayed well.
 When the chancellor set him on the Throne, he exhorted
 well. When all was ended, he with great earnestness pressed
 sincerity and constancy in the covenant on the King, declaring
 against K. James's breach of the covenant, pursued yet
 against the family, from Nehem. v. 13. God's casting the
 King out of his lap, and the 34th of Jeremiah, many plagues
 on him, if he did not sincerely keep the oaths now taken.
 He closed all with a prayer, and the 20th psalm." Baillie's

LETTER " them, by submitting to stand publicly on
 XLIX. " stool of repentance, in acknowledgement of the
 " former transgressions," with which rigorous
 imposition they had no help but comply. So
 after this the King set up his standard at Aberdeen
 and in a short time collected a considerable army
 which, under himself, he gave the command
 to David Leslie, as Lieutenant General. This
 put Cromwell in motion, and after a skirmish
 kind of war for some months, a detachment of
 Scots was attacked and defeated in Fife by a party
 of Cromwell's, with the loss of two thousand
 killed, and twelve hundred made prisoners. On
 Cromwell came over the Frith with the rest of
 forces, and marching on till he had got to
 north of the royal army, the King suddenly
 camped and moved for England, Argyle and
 many others of his stamp having left him and
 turned home. On the 6th of August the King
 entered England by Carlisle, with a gallant
 army of sixteen thousand men, at the head of which
 he was proclaimed King of Great Britain. Had
 he expected that great numbers would have
 flocked to his standard: But such is the influence
 of power, when once established by whatever means,
 that the Rump Parliament, though founded in
 usurpation the most unjust and even unpopular,
 had authority enough to raise the militia every where
 and prevent any considerable junction.

Besides, the expedition was much hurt by
 the committee of Scots ministers that were in
 the army. These men having observed or suspected
 that, after their entrance into England, the King
 and his intimates seemed cooler in their regard
 to the Covenant, they of their own heads, without
 acquainting the King, sent a messenger to General
 Malton

Massie, who led the van always a day's march ahead for inviting in the neighbouring gentry, and as himself a zealous Presbyterian, desiring him to publish a declaration "of the King's and the army's attachment to the Covenant, and their next resolution to prosecute the true intent of it," and forbidding him to receive any new soldiers, but such as would subscribe an obligation to the same purpose. This officious and unseasonable overflow of intemperate zeal for their unhappy Covenant, discouraged the loyalists in these parts, where the Covenant-heat was neither so general nor so warm, and made many people less forward to join than otherwise they would have been. Yet under all these disappointments, casual or designed, the King held on his march as far as Worcester, where he made a halt to refresh his troops. Here Cromwell, who, upon finding that he had given him the slip, was following him at the heels, came up with him, and falling on him with much superior force on the 3d of September, gave him a total and decisive overthrow. The King himself did all that could be expected on the occasion; but his troops being overborn by numbers, were, after a stout resistance, broken and routed. Three thousand of them were killed, and near seven thousand taken. Duke Hamilton was wounded in the action, and falling into the victors' hands, died of his wounds the next day: The Earls of Rothes and Lauderdale, and the Generals Middleton and Massie, were taken and carried to London. The King himself providentially escaped, and having skulked in different places, and for some days been forced to hide himself in a tree, called from that time the Royal Oak, at last, on the 22d of October, got safe over to France, after

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LETTER fourteen months enjoyment of a kind of
 XLIX. royalty among the Covenanters in Scotland.

When Cromwell marched after the King, left General Monk, with seven thousand men, manage matters in Scotland against the King's interest; and this able commander fulfilled his commission with amazing activity and success. After he had brought the whole kingdom under his obedience, an act was passed at London, incorporating Scotland into one commonwealth with England, to which act of encroachment the Scots were forced to yield, and for form's sake choose twenty one members, to represent the whole nation in the English Parliament. In consequence of this mortifying surrender of privilege the Commons at Westminster appointed six Commissioners to govern and administer justice in Scotland, the two Generals Monk and Lamb being two of the members; in virtue of which commission, Monk sent five of his Colonels to form the King's College at Aberdeen, and the

* He first seized the Castle of Stirling, where he found records of the kingdom, and sent them to London: He took the town of Dundee by assault, and following the example and instructions of Cromwell, put a number of the defenceless inhabitants to the sword. The garrison which he placed there was a great annoyance to the King's cause in that neighbourhood. For while the King was on his march thro' England, a party of them sallied out on the 28th of August, and at a place called Eliot, apprehended the Earls of Marischal, Lindsay, and Lothian, with several gentlemen of note, who had met to consult of forwarding the levies in these parts for the King's service, were all sent prisoners to London, to keep company with the unhappy captives from Worcester. This unexpected blow, added to the terror of Monk's success and severity, wrought an effect every where, that no place of strength stood out against him, and in less than ten months all Scotland was reduced and bridled by his garrisons.

milit

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litary reformers turned out Dr. Guild the Principal, and Mr. Middleton the Sub-principal, putting Gilbert Rule in room of the latter, and showing the Principal's place on the Independent minister of Aberdeen, Mr. John Row, who kept till 1661. Nor was this all the length that Monk went with his new powers. He even brandished his sword over the General Assembly itself, and published an ordinance, that neither the Covenant, nor any other religious oath, should be imposed on any person, without direction from the King of England; threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not acquiesce. He likewise gave orders to the civil judges, not to meddle with the goods or estates of such as the Assembly should communicate, nor to prohibit correspondence with them, or put them to any other trouble, as had been the cruel custom hitherto. This check to the arbitrary discipline of the kirk was highly displeasing to some, but as satisfactory and welcome to others.†

The disappointed party had recourse to their usual way of remonstrating, and wrote to General Lambert, "Confessing indeed, that they are justly punished for their late treaty with the King, but complaining of the English army for countenancing deposed ministers and allowing them the pulpit, for silencing ministers on the score

† The Laird of Drum wrote Monk a polite letter of thanks for restoring conscience to its just freedom, and rescuing people from the intolerant tyranny of the Presbyteries. This gentleman, who had suffered much for his loyalty, being cited on a charge of Popery by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, summoned in return to appear before Colonel Overton, one of the English judges, declared himself under the protection of the King of England, and refused to acknowledge any other jurisdiction.

" of

LETTER "of their meddling in their sermons with mat-
 XLIX. "of state, for tolerating the gathering of churches as is done in England, for lessening
 "authority of kirk assemblies, and putting un-
 "states on them of unsound principles, and c-
 "cluding with an offer of compliance as far
 "their consciences, and the liberty of the k-
 "will give them leave, and with their earnest
 "quests to Lambert, to interpose with the o-
 "English Commissioners in their behalf." The
 letter shews how differently matters went
 them now, from what they did formerly. Be-
 was of no avail: Their patron, Lambert, was
 deed equal with Monk in civil authority,
 Monk was possessed of the military power, and
 that means had most weight in the administrati-
 So they had no help but do the best they cou-
 and go on with their curtailed jurisdiction, as
 as people were inclined to submit to it, since
 could no longer enforce it by temporal penal-
 upon the refractory. And Cant, who was one
 the triumvirate that spread the first covenant
 infection, saw it necessary now to prepare his
 herents for suffering; and to secure the dignity
 the Covenant, he now began the custom of
 quiring a promise from parents, when
 brought their children to baptism, that they sh-
 educate them in the belief of that sacred eng-
 ment, as being, in his estimation, of more
 sequence to the true faith, than any of the rece-
 symbols of early antiquity.

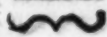
In July 1653, the General Assembly met
 Edinburgh, and after sermon were beginning
 usual, to enter upon business, when Lieut. Co-
 nel Cotterel, who commanded there under Mo-
 broke in upon them, and mounting a bench, m-
 proclamati-

clamation, "That no Judicature ought to sit, which had not authority from the Parliament of England." This done, he ordered them to retire, and guarded them off till they were past the West Port. Then he commanded them to form into a circle, and surrounding them with his troops, after he had reprimanded them for the presumption of their meeting, he took away their commissions, and enjoined them, under severe penalties to disperse, and not to meet three of them together, but to quit the town immediately, and repair to their respective dwellings. This was a severe blow to the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland, thus to have their General Assembly, which had maintained its ground so long, and acted in defiance of even sovereign authority, scattered like chaff, by the wind of command from a single English officer. What was become now of the Loudons, and Lindsays, and Waristons, and Andersons, these daring heroes of holy chivalry, who could outbrave Kings and Commissioners, and combat royal edicts with bold protestations? The times seem to be strangely changed, and the men now in power were neither to be bullied by words, nor flattered by deceitful promises.

Cromwell had lately been playing the same game with the Parliament in England: For on the 20th of April this year, he went to the Parliament House with his guards, and after dealing with buffoonery and opprobrious language abused the members, most of whom were his intimate acquaintances, and who had been his accomplices in villainy, he ordered his soldiers to throw them all out with disgrace, and locked the doors. And thus expired the Assembly of Divines, which had been an oracle to our Covenanters, and after ten years labour, great expence and to little purpose, except making a Creed and Catechism, had dwindled down to a seapty committee, and was now dissolved with contempt.

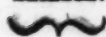
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A D. 1654.

They had learned, from experience, the proper method of curbing unruly tempers, and it truly be said, that Charles I. had taught Cromwell how to manage the Assemblies of the Scottish Kirk.

The usurper having now got to the height of his ambition, by being declared Lord Protector in December last, was willing to have peace and quiet, if possible, established under his newly acquired sovereignty; and to begin his reign in the usual form, had been pleased in April year to pass what he called an "act of grace and pardon" to the people of Scotland.

About the same time the French court had entered into a treaty with him, and by their ambassador complimented him in a strain of the most fulsome and even blasphemous flattery, he made it an article, that neither the King nor his brothers, should be harboured in any of the French dominions. And now Cromwell, elevated with the friendship of such a powerful nation, carried all before him, and by his Tryers and Major-Generals ruled over the three kingdoms especially over Scotland, with a rod of iron. Yet the kirk, tho' grievously restrained in

* Out of this act, or any of the benefits of it, are excepted the Queen Dowager and her two eldest sons Charles and James Stuarts, the two deceased Dukes of Hamilton and Argyll, 2 Viscounts, 8 Lords, and the two Generals Monk and Middleton, who are all forfeited, and their estates sequestrated into the protector's coffers: Of the rest whom he permitted to keep their estates, there are heavy fines laid on the Marquis of Douglas, 20 Earls, 1 Viscount, 12 Lords, 38 inferior Barons, to the amount in whole of English money 162200 pounds, to be paid to George Bilton Treasurer at Leith, the one half on the second day of August, and the other on the second day of December, 1654. To such a state of slavery and oppression was Scotland now reduced.

public judicatories, could not agree in private among themselves. The *Protesters* or *Remonstrators*, who were the party that had always insulted the King, and with the Covenant in their mouths had still cried out against having any thing to do with him at all, were perpetually attending with and harassing the *Public-Resolutioners*, who still professed to entertain some degree of affection to the King's person and cause. Many of them went even so far as to correspond with his Majesty and his friends in their exile, and endeavoured to keep up a little zeal for his service among their brethren at home. The *Remonstrators* were aware of this, and sending up a representation of the case to the Protector in 1657, the more security deputed to that office, the famous Mr. James Guthrie preacher at Stirling, who Shimei-like had cursed the King to his face, and afterwards for his seditious behaviour was condemned in the Parliament 1661, and hanged at Stirling as a traitor. The *Resolutioners*, on the other hand, commissioned Doctor, afterwards bishop, Sharp, then minister of Crail in Fife, a man of address, who thro' the influence of Lord Broghill one of the Scottish governors, was brought upon the Protector, by the description he gave him of the other party's turbulent and swelling principles, that he was favourably disposed, and his antagonist disappointed in his expectations.

From this time the *Resolutioners* got the ascendant, and by a majority for the most part in the towns and presbyteries, kept the *Remonstrators* under a great measure under the hatches; and this contributed not a little to the great change which was soon after brought about. For now Oliver's

Vol. II. 3 I hypocritical

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LETTER XLIX. hypocritical severity was beginning to make his ministrations odious even in England. His independent notions had opened a door to most exorbitant licentiousness in religion. The new Quaker light of George Fox blazed out with still more intolerable extravagance in a James Nailor at Bristol, who had the impudence to personate our Saviour, and guilty of other hideous enormities consequent to that horrid presumption. The Socinian peculiarities too were about this time brought into England by a Mr. John Biddle, a man of parts, and who had got his education at Oxford. In 1644 he began to vent his notions in polemics against the true deity of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost, which Archbishop Usher in a personal conference with him in 1646, and then at the Westminster synod by a decree in 1648, thought to reclaim him from, but without effect. In the latter's time he published several short tracts in defence of his opinions, under the shelter of the liberty of conscience which then prevailed, and makes use of the same objections and arguments both from scripture and the fathers, that were afterwards adopted by Whiston, Clarke, and other English writers of that stamp, and are so current and fashionable among the rationalists of the present age. The old established Episcopal clergy were the chief objects of Cromwell's wrath, and to them he would never be prevailed with to grant any favour. For tho' he intended at first to have a more than ordinary regard for the universally esteemed Archbishop Usher, and once gave him a promise to allow the Episcopal clergy a share in the common indulgence, yet when the primate put him in mind of his

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he, he told him, that "upon advising with his council, it was not thought safe to grant liberty of conscience to those men who were declared enemies to his government:" And immediately he enforced his former orders against them, by which they were prohibited to manage schools in private schools, or officiate in noblemen's or gentlemen's families, under pain of imprisonment.

These and many such like instances of dissimulation and cruelty, which were Cromwel's two predominant qualities, by degrees united the bulk of the nation against him, after the first heat of the contagious madness was over; and the discovery of this change in peoples humours, which was sagacious enough to find out, kept him in a racking agony of mind, under a continual terror of plots and assassinations. So that, had his life been spared a little longer, it is more than probable, as matters were turning about, that the scourge of Britain would either have sunk back into his original obscurity, or met with the fate, which his infamous carcase was doomed to, a little more than two years, of being hanged on a gallows at Tyburn. But he died in good time, if not for his eternal, at least for his temporal interest, on the 3d of September 1658, in the 60th year of his age, and was succeeded in his ill-gotten power by his son Richard, who did not long keep possession of it. Being either not able from weakness, or not willing from principle to act the Usurper as his father had done, within a few months he resigned the protectorship, and retired to a private condition, in which he lived nearly to the uncommon age of 90, and died on the 12th of July 1712, without meeting with the

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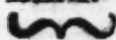
least trouble all the time, from the posterity that King whom his father had brought to scaffold.*

Upon Richard's retirement, in May 1659, General Monk, who seems to have had a perfect affection for Cromwell, being now disengaged from any such obligation, saw himself at liberty to be a little more open in indulging his bias towards the old constitution, and tho' he still found it necessary to act with caution and reserve, was so far as to correspond with some of the principal royalists, that he might take advantage of the confusions, which were now breaking out at London. The Rump-remainder of the Long Parliament, sensible of Richard's inactivity, immediately resumed the reins of government which Oliver had wrested out of their hands, and published their edicts and ordinances in a very high strain. Lambert, and the other republican officers, displeased with this intended diminution of their power, erected a junto of their creatures into what they called a *Committee of Safety*, and in a few months turned the Rump out of their seat. These proceedings gave Monk a handle for appearing in support of his old masters, and, at the same time, opened up to him a fair prospect of crushing Lambert, whom he had always been jealous of, as an obstruction to his designs. To this purpose, in November he summoned a Convention of Estates in Scotland, and to suit the canting

* It is said, he kept in the hall of his country-house a chest full of the many fawning and servile addresses that had been presented to his father, which he used to sit upon, and tell those who came to see him, that "low as his condition now was, he had beneath him the lives and fortunes of all the good people of Britain."

the times, told them, "he had a call from God and man to march into England to settle the peace there," requiring them to provide money for the subsistence of his troops, and to keep the peace of their own country in his absence. At this meeting, sundry of the nobility, particularly the Earl of Glencairn, were urgent with Monk to declare for a free Parliament, which was generally understood to be the same thing as declaring for the King: And this application, though it seemed to take little notice of it at the time, he afterwards owned, made such an impression on him, as mightily encouraged him to prosecute the design which he soon so happily accomplished. On the 18th of November, Monk began his march towards England; but hearing, by the way, that Lambert was at Newcastle with twelve thousand men, he stopped at Coldstream, near Berwick, to deliberate what was to be done. While he lay here, he dispatched a messenger to Dr Sharp, desiring Dr Sharp to come to him with all possible expedition, as he had something of the greatest importance to consult with him upon. When the Doctor arrived, Monk told him both the design and uncertainty of his undertaking, as he stood in doubt of the inclinations of his own officers, and Lambert, his avowed enemy, was in the neighbourhood, with a superior force. Upon which Sharp fell to work, and after mature weighing what he had heard, drew up a declaration in Monk's name, shewing the reasons of his present posture, and proposed march into England. This declaration, without mentioning the King or his interest, was so accommodated to the temper of all the contending parties, that, being read that day at the head of the army, it confirmed them

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them all in their duty and obedience to the General: And at last reaching Lambert's headquarters, it wrought such an effect there, that the most of his men deserted him, and either joined Monk or went over to Fairfax, who lay at York, and corresponded with Monk.

So, on the first of January 1660, Monk entered England, with this additional supply of strength which Dr. Sharp's management had procured him, and without encountering any opposition, discovering his intentions to any one by the way, he marched into London on the 4th of February and took up his lodgings at Whitehall. Here he was caressed and courted by all sides; and some of the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland sent up Dr. Sharp, whom they knew he had an esteem for, to manage their matters with him. Yet, with this seeming command, Monk had need of all caution and courage about him. The Rump put him upon several disagreeable employments, which he artfully executed, without any dangerous consequence to his own designs, and even got them to pass a vote, on the 23d of February, for a new Parliament, to meet on the 25th of April. At the same time, he procured the releasement of the Earls of Lauderdale and Lindsay, and the release of the King's friends, who had lain in prison many years, and were all liberated on the 3d of March. As was likewise, old Bishop Wren of Ely, who had been confined in the tower since 1645.

Thus, by playing off the Rump's artillery against themselves, and now and then shewing some favourable propensity to the other side, he by degrees brought his main point to a proper bearing. For on the 10th of March the rebellious engagement, to be true and faithful to the Common

we

without a King or House of Lords was re-
 leaved; and on the 16th an act passed for dissolving
 Parliament, which had now continued, in vari-
 ous forms, some months more than nineteen years;
 with a special proviso in the act, not to infringe the
 rights of the Upper House any longer. This was in-
 stantly declaring for the King, and accordingly his
 friends, in both kingdoms, ventured now to shew
 themselves without fear or reserve. His Majesty
 in expectation of something favourable, left
 England some time ago, and was residing at Bre-
 da in Holland, where he was publicly waited
 on by deputations from all parties. From Eng-
 land the Nobility sent six, the Commons twelve,
 and the city of London fourteen, as a committee
 to offer him their submission. The Presbyterians
 of that nation deputed some of the most emi-
 nent of their divines to catch his favour in time,
 endeavouring to persuade him, "that they
 had always, pursuant to the obligation of the
 Covenant, wished his Majesty very well, that
 they were happy to hear of his Majesty's con-
 stancy in the Protestant religion; that for them-
 selves they were no enemies to a moderate
 Episcopacy, and only desired not to be pressed
 with such things in God's worship, as by many
 were reckoned indifferent, and by tender con-
 sciences unlawful."

About the beginning of May, General Monk
 sent over his friend Dr. Sharp to inform his Ma-
 jesty of the state of affairs, and how successfully
 the Royal cause every thing was going on.
 The Doctor was graciously received on such a
 welcome errand, and tho' he was commissioned
 only by Monk, to whom he had been sent up
 with but a small number of his brethren, yet in
 many

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LETTER XLIX. many conferences with the King, he took the opportunity to address his Majesty in name of the body of the ministry of the kirk of Scotland, which he said, "had persevered in her integrity and alty in all revolutions." The King heard all with great attention, and told the Doctor, "He would reserve a full communion about these matters till his coming to England." In one of these conferences the discourse having turned upon the divisions between the *Remonstrators* and the *Resolutioners*, which had so much vexed the King when he was among them; and his Majesty being asked, What should be done with these remonstrators, the Doctor answered, "That it is not fit that your Majesty give them countenance, or put power in their hands, yet I think it will all be suitors to your Majesty, that pity and pardon may be their measure." To which the King with a smile replied, "Were they in your case, they would not allow you such measure." We have sufficiently found evidence of their malice against us, I pray it may not be charged upon them." And indeed it is not to be wondered at, that the King should express himself in such a way about a set of men, whose false principles he was so sensibly acquainted with, who had not only insulted him with personal civilities, but had likewise by their turbulent humours been the ruin of the best laid schemes of his success. However, to give all the general satisfaction that he could, consistently with his sentiments, he published a declaration in Holland, "Promising liberty to tender consciences, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for difference of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

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dom, and that he shall be ready to ratify such LETTER I
acts of Parliament as shall upon mature delibe- XLIX.
tion be offered to him, for the full granting
that indulgence." This was going as far as
could reasonably be desired in his present situation,
could not but give content to all who wished
see peace and quiet once more restored to the
bled land. Accordingly the Convention-Par-
ment having in consequence of the former vote
at Westminster on the 25th of April, and set-
the necessary preliminaries, the King was so-
ly proclaimed in presence of both Houses on
8th of May, and on the 10th a day of public
figuring was joyfully observed in London,
the Common-prayer again read before the
ds. And now, every thing being thus got
y, his Majesty embarked for England on the
of May, was met at Dover on the 25th by
eral Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and
the 29th, being his birthday, when he was
plete 30 years of age, made a magnificent en-
into London, amidst the loud acclamations of
rejoicing subjects.

I am, &c.

IN the happy restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, the church and kingdom immediately revived and recovered the lost of her former regal splendor. Bishops had revived the late calamities of the worthy Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, who had attended the late King on the scaffold, and had been since Lord's Bishop. The restoration of their former seats and the

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LETTER

L. L.



L E T T E R L

*Effect of the King's Restoration on the Church
 England—State of Affairs in Scotland—
 Acts of Parliament during the Usurpation
 rescinded—Patronages restored—Loyal
 Address from the Synod of Aberdeen—General
 Desire of Episcopacy—Four Scottish Bishops
 consecrated at London—Restoration of Episcopacy
 confirmed by Parliament—Various Acts of
 the Covenants, and in favour of Episcopal
 Government.*

A.D. 1660.

ON the happy restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors, the church of England immediately revived, and recovered the splendour of her former legal settlement. Nine of Bishops had survived the late calamities, of whom the worthy Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, had attended the late King on the scaffold, preferred to the See of Canterbury, which had been vacant since Laud's death. The other eight took possession of their former sees, and the

the Bishopricks were soon regularly filled with LETTER L.
 and able Prelates: The King too, in terms
 his declaration, desired a conference between
 select number of Episcopal clergy and Presby-
 terian divines, which was accordingly begun at
 Savoy on the 25th of March next year, but
 broke up as usual, without any accommodation.
 To remove some trivial objections made by
 Presbyterian Dr. Reynolds, who afterwards
 accepted a Bishoprick, the Common Prayer was
 reviewed, and amended in some few improprieties
 of language, and with the addition of some gene-
 ral prayers was brought to the form in which it
 remained ever since.

On this occasion Mr. Robert Baillie expresses his disap-
 pointment, in a letter of January 31st 1661—"But as nothing
 perfectly blessed on earth, some water was quickly poured in
 the wine of many: I am sure in mine, as I expressed it in a
 long and free letter to Lauderdale. Bishops and liturgies
 were every where set up in England and Ireland without con-
 sideration, our league and covenant by a number of printed
 pamphlets was torn to pieces. This was the more grievous,
 as at the beginning it appeared most easy to have been reme-
 died. His gracious Majesty was ready to have been advised
 by his parliament. The leading men there were avowed co-
 venanters and presbyterians. Lauderdale and Mr. Sharp, both
 at Breda and London, had very much of the King's ear.—
 It was for us in that at the beginning, firm enough. The
 Queen and her party was on our side. The Episcopal men
 were sundry of them as evil as before: Bramhall, Wren,
 Heylin, Thorndike, Cosins, Sydserf, Hammond, Pierce, none
 of the best or most orthodox: Juxon and Duppa, smally learn-
 ed; Sheldon, Morley, able indeed, and very wise men. But
 the overturning of all the reformation of England without a
 summary petition, to me was strange, and very grievous, and I
 wish we knew not yet the bottom of that mystery. I wish
 our friends, Scots and English, have been honest and faith-
 ful; sure they have not been so prudent and industrious as I
 think they should have been." From this account it appears
 that the "Queen and the papists were on the side of the co-

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L. I



But in Scotland, tho' the civil establishment quickly and without noise followed the English example, in owning the restoration of their King, yet the affairs of the church were not smoothly and speedily resettled. The Presbyterians here had long been the prevailing party. Their two covenants had seduced most of the people either by persuasion or terror, and the sterner remains of the Episcopal church had been more cruelly persecuted by the Scotch Covenanters, than the English clergy had been even by Cromwell and his independents. Our Bishops had been early driven away by repeated threats and acts of barbarity, and all of them except one had died before the late King. Of the leading men of the nation, some were still attached to their old engagements in favour of Presbytery, and others were afraid to appear too forward in pushing a change, as being uncertain from present circumstances what might be the event, and unwilling from experience to risque the resentment of former oppressors. Indeed the rupture between the *Restorators* and *Resolutioners* had done much hurt to the common cause, and weakened both their power and influence to a great degree. The *Resolutioners* were those whom the King favoured most, being more moderate and pacific than the others, tho' it was not to be thought that either party while adhering to their covenanting principles could claim or expect much favour from him.

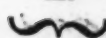
When the King returned, Dr. Sharp came over to London about the same time, and was employed by his former constituents to manage the *Covenanters*. And we see our own Bishop Sydeserf classed some of the greatest names that the church of England has of,

at court. In the course of this employ-
 ment he informed them from time to time, how
 matters were going on in England, and what little
 prospect there was of continuing a kirk settlement
 in Scotland upon the plan of the Covenant. The
 Presbyterians too in England wrote to the brethren
 here, under direction to Mr. Robert Douglass
 and others at Edinburgh, giving an account
 of their own straitened situation, and after a mixture
 of congratulations and sighs they tell them, Aug. 10.
1660.
 The general stream and current here is for the
 old Prelacy in all its pomp and height: And
 therefore it cannot be hoped for, that the Pres-
 byterial government will be owned as the pub-
 lic establishment of this nation, while the tide
 runs so strongly the other way, and the bare
 toleration of it will certainly produce a mischief,
 whilst Papists, and sectaries of all sorts, will
 wind themselves under cover of such a favour:
 Therefore, no course seemeth likely to us to
 secure religion and the interests of Christ Jesus
 our Lord, but by making Presbytery a part of
 the public establishment, which cannot be ef-
 fected, but by moderating and reducing Episco-
 pacy to the form of synodical government, and
 a mutual condescendence of both parties in
 some lesser things, which come within the lati-
 tude of allowable differences in the church.
 This is all we can at present hope for, and if we
 could obtain it, should account it a mercy, and
 the best expedient to ease his Majesty in his
 great difficulties about the matters of religion:
 And we hope, none that fear God, and seek
 the peace of Zion, will interpret this to be any
 transgression from our principles, or apostacy
 from the Covenant.

Of

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Of the same date, the King directs a letter, perfigned by himself, and subscribed Lauderdale to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in which, among other things, he says, "We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance, in the exercise of their functions, all those ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becometh men of their calling. As we do expect, that Church Judicatories in Scotland, and Ministers there, will keep within the compass of their station, meddling only with matters ecclesiastical, and promoting our authority and interest with our subjects, against all opposers," &c. Dr Sharp was the bearer of both these letters, and with them he delivered his commission to his employers, from whom he never received any other trust of any kind.

While the business of the church was thus under deliberation, the Committee, which had been appointed by the King's last Parliament at Stirling in 1651, met on the 23d of August, to prepare matters for the Parliament; and, by the King's order, the Earl of Glencairn presided in it. The convention, among other things, gave orders to apprehend ten or twelve ministers of the *Remonstrator* party, who had met at Edinburgh, and drawn up a new remonstrance, putting the King in mind of the Covenant, which he had solemnly sworn when he was among them, and declining his having any power or authority in the government of the church. The Committee likewise summoned sundry suspected persons to appear before them, and find bail for their answering in the next Parliament, and among the rest, the

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sembly clerk, Johnston of Wariston, who feared the worst, as indeed he had good cause, wisely got out of the way, and was declared fugitive. On the first of January 1661, the Parliament met down at Edinburgh, General Middleton, now created Earl of Middleton, being appointed High Commissioner, and the Earl of Glencairn, Chancellor, in the room of the Earl of Loudon.— Among the first transactions of this Parliament, was a declaration, “ that there is no obligation upon Scotland, by covenant, treaty or otherwise, to endeavour by arms a reformation in England, or to meddle with the administration of that kingdom : And expressly inhibiting all his Majesty’s subjects from presuming, upon any pretext whatever, to require the renewing or swearing the Solemn League and Covenant, or any other covenants or public oaths, concerning the government of church or state, without his Majesty’s special warrant and approbation.” But the great blow given to the covenanted cause, was the Rescissory Act, as it is called, which passed the 28th of March, ‘ Rescinding and annulling all the pretended Parliaments from the year 1638 to this time, because of the force and violence the Sovereign was under all the while.’ The Treasurer, Lindsay, now become Earl of Crawford, (by the death of Lodowick, the loyal Earl of Crawford, without male-issue) strenuously opposed this act, and argued long and keenly upon the point, especially in support of their favourite Parliament in 1641, where the late King was present in person ; pleading, ‘ That to annul a Parliament was a terrible precedent, and destroyed the whole security of government : That another Parliament might annul the present Parliament,

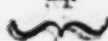
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I.



as well as this one could execute what was proposed: So no stop could be made, and a certainty of fixing things for the future, notwithstanding of this opposition, the assent of a great majority; and thereby, the government of both church and state was again on the same footing that it had been on, when the troubles began. The church was brought to that "settlement by law," which the King in his eye in his letter of August last: And several patrons of benefices were restored to their legal rights of presentation, which had been taken from them by the violent practice of the puritanes, and that practice authorized by a convention after the murder of the King in 1649. In consequence of which the Parliament, in 1660, made an act in this first session, directing "patrons in all time coming to be careful that they grant presentations only to such as have given sufficient evidence of their loyalty, literature and peaceable disposition, who shall take the oath of allegiance before they receive the presentation." The act further states, that his Majesty had already begun to exercise his right by granting commissions under the great seal, about presentation to benefices, and of his Majesty's patronage.

* This was specious declamation. But his Lordship have looked back and remembered a General Assembly convention of 1638, which had rescinded and annulled prior assemblies, and even some parliaments too of 40 years standing; and in which he himself had been eminently successful, even in contempt of authority, in carrying the "Terrible Precedent," which he is now so eloquent when it had indisputable authority on its side.

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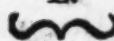
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 Vol. I

The passing of these acts so early, and so easily, LETTER
 highly agreeable to the wiser part of the na- L.
 and by taking off these intermediate encroach-
 of usurpation and injustice, gave a freedom
 many of the ministers to discover the sentiments
 which they had been so long obliged to conceal,
 to express their desire of and tendency towards
 more orderly scheme of government than they
 had been under for some time. The Synod of
 Aberdeen in particular openly declared themselves,
 drew up "an humble address to his Majes-
 ty's high Commissioner, and the high court of
 Parliament," in which, after a general acknow-
 ledgment of the "national guiltiness of Scotland
 in the sinful and rebellious affronts and wrongs
 done upon Royal authority, whether during
 the reign of our late most gracious Sovereign
 and blessed martyr Charles the first, or since his
 cruel murder, to our gracious King who now
 by the Lord's most wonderful providence reigns
 over us," they come to a particular enumeration,
 saying: "Particularly we acknowledge these
 and grievous sins to be lying upon the land,
 namely, the rising in arms against the King, and
 teaching up the lawfulness of defensive arms,
 subjects against the supreme Majesty, which is
 contrary to scripture, to all sound antiquity, to
 the constant practice of the primitive church, to
 the judgment of all orthodox divines, to our
 national confession of faith, and to the oath
 of allegiance: Popular reformation without, much
 against the King's special consent and au-
 thority: Assisting the King's enemies by joining
 forces with them when in rebellion against
 him: Preaching down the King's cause and in-
 deed, and giving out a paper called a "Seasona-
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LETTER

L.



' ble warning for delivering up the King at Ne
 ' castle: Preaching against the relief of his M
 ' jesty, of precious memory, when he was a suff
 ' ing prisoner in the Isle of Wight, where
 ' was detained till the usurpers brought him
 ' the fatal block: Putting unjust limitations a
 ' restrictions upon our gracious King, who no
 ' by God's blessing, reigns over us in despite of
 ' open or veiled enemies, who of late have put
 ' the robe of loyalty, besides the many indigni
 ' put upon his sacred person by a factious
 ' treacherous party in an infamous and trea
 ' able remonstrance: The opposition made
 ' these remonstrators to the public resolutions
 ' both King, Church and State for the just
 ' fence of the King, religion, honour, and all
 ' was dear to men and christians, when the
 ' was invaded, and a great part of it possessed
 ' an army of sectaries from England: Exclud
 ' the King's interest out of the state of the que
 ' between his Majesty's own army and that
 ' per and tyrant Oliver Cromwell, by that
 ' mous act of the West-kirk: Forcing the Ki
 ' Majesty being then in their power, rather as a
 ' ble prisoner than a free King, sore against his
 ' to subscribe declarations against himself and
 ' Royal Family: the little sympathy with his
 ' jesty in his sufferings abroad: The sinful ne
 ' of duty, for fear of men, in not praying for
 ' in public: sinful silence in not preaching
 ' lutely against the usurpers: Too much p
 ' compliance with them, sitting down like Issa
 ' under the burden, and being like Ephraim
 ' silly dove without a heart, &c. We do there
 ' conceive that now God calls us to engage,
 ' we do hereby in the strength of God engage

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* It is sign
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selves never to be accessory to any disloyal prin-
 ciple or practice, but to preach subjection, obe-
 dience and submission, and to press the same
 from the word of God upon all under our minis-
 try: And since it hath pleased the King's Ma-
 jesty and his high court of Parliament, because
 of the over-reaching of many ministers in Scot-
 land, and their outstretching of Presbyterial go-
 vernment into civil concerns, to take away
 and rescind all laws and acts whereby the go-
 vernment of this church had any civil authority;
 may it therefore please the commissioner's Grace
 and the high court of Parliament to join with
 us in this our earnest petition, and to transmit the
 same to his sacred Majesty, that he will allow
 us to be still under his protection, and that he
 may be pleased in his wisdom and goodness to
 settle the government of this rent church accord-
 ing to the word of God, and the practice of the
 ancient primitive church, in such a way as may
 be most consistent with Royal authority, and may
 conduce most for godliness, unity, peace and or-
 der, and for a learned, godly, peaceable and
 loyal ministry, that shall be capable and willing
 to preserve the peace of the three nations. This
 paper we have ordained to be registered in our
 synod-books of Aberdeen, *ad futuram rei memori-*
am, and in testimony of our unanimity herein,
 we have all subscribed it with our hands, at
 King's College, this 18th day of April, 1661
 years.* (This address, from so numerous a sy-

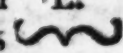
LETTER.
L.

* It is signed by Alexander Ross minister of Monimusk, Mo-
 derator, and other 52 from the different Presbyteries within the
 bounds, of whom three were afterwards advanced to the episco-
 pate, Mr. Arthur Ross at Kinnerny, Mr. John Paterfon at Aber-
 deen, and his son of the same name at Ellon, and a fourth, Mr.

LETTER nod, deserves to be taken notice of, as it so particularly, and by way of historical narrative, describes the sad destructions of the late unhappy times; and we need not doubt but that, coming from such a respectable body, it would have a good deal of influence.

Soon after this, the Parliament wrote a most beautiful letter to the King, and sent up the chancellor Glencairn, and Rothes president of the privy council, to present it, and give his Majesty an account of their proceedings, and of the state of affairs in Scotland. Along with them went Dr. Sharp, whom last year the King had named one of his chaplains for Scotland, with a pension of 200l. sterling, and now called up to court for his advice about the settlement of the church. The King himself, who still consulted with Scottish men, and with them only, about Scottish affairs, always declared it to be his own opinion, that the government of the state was Monarchy, so that of the church should be Episcopacy. In this opinion the most of the Royalists now joined; and when the Chancellor and Dr. Sharp went to London, they represented to the King that, whatever might have been the case before, the violent proceedings of the Presbyterians of late had made such an alteration in peoples tempers, that the greater and honestest part of the nation would now be found desirous of episcopacy. The synod of Aberdeen, they said, had as good as petitioned for it, and many others earnestly wished it, tho' the party they had taken in the late troubles made it not so decent for them to move too much in it.

George Meldrum at Aberdeen, turned out on a change of time to be one of the bitterest enemies that the Episcopal church had.

ed to press the matter home, Dr. Sharp assured **LETTER**
the King, that none but the *Remonstrators*, whom **L.**
Majesty knew too well, would be against it; 
of the *Resolutioners*, who were by far the most
merous, not twenty would oppose it. Besides
this, the intended change was much urged and
warded by the Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor
England, and by the Duke of Ormond, Lord
tenant of Ireland, two as good subjects and
ful Counsellors as the King had.
After all this previous consultation, the busi-
ness was in end formally proposed in a Scots coun-
cil at Whitehall, where the newly created Duke
Hamilton, who had married the first Duke's
daughter, and Sir Robert Murray, the first
ident of the lately erected Royal Society, were
for delaying a final decision, till the King
was further satisfied about the inclinations of the
people. But the Earls of Crawford and Lauder-
dale, two noted Presbyterians, tho' both of them
high office under the Crown, openly declared
against it.* However, the result of all was, that a
letter should be written to the privy council of
Scotland, intimating the King's intentions for re-
storing episcopacy, and demanding their advice
thereon. The chancellor Glencairn brought
this letter, and ordered it to be read the first
time that the council met, when after some scrupu-
lous objections by the Earl of Kincardine alone,
The writer of Archbishop Sharp's life tells us, that Lan-
gle coming out from the council, and meeting the doctor
with the Earl of Stirling, said to him with an austere
and threatening gesture, "Mr. Sharp, Bishops you are to
be in Scotland, and you are to be Archbishop of St. An-
drews: But whoever shall be the man, by G---d I will smite
him and his order below the fifth rib."

about

LETTER about people's humours, and the hazard of being too hasty, it was unanimously resolved to comply with his Majesty's intentions, and a proclamation was issued, declaring it to be "his Majesty's pleasure to restore the government of the church by Archbishops and Bishops, as it stood before in the year 1637."

By this time, Dr Sharp was returned from London, about the end of August, with instructions from the King, and offers to some of the leading men among the ministers, particularly Mr Robert Douglas, who, tho' he declined the King's offers himself, because of his age, and being dipped so far in the oaths and public concerns of the late times, yet told Mr Sharp, that "he who was young, and lay not under such engagements, could comply, he neither could nor would blame him." Accordingly, in November, Dr Sharp was called up again to London, where likewise Mr Andrew Fairfowl, minister at Dunfermline; Mr James Hamilton at Cambusnethney, and Mr Robert Leighton at Newbottle; all whom his Majesty had made choice of, either from personal knowledge, or sufficient recommendation. These four were all consecrated in 1661, and for the same reasons occurred then, by the Bishop of Winchester, and two other English Bishops, and were nominated by the King to the following Sees; Sharp to Exeter, Andrews, Fairfowl to Glasgow, Hamilton to London, and Leighton to Dunblain. The date of their consecrations are differently related, but seem to have been at different times: Only one would appear to have been all performed at the same time in 1661: For there is a proclamation from the Privy Council of Scotland, on the 9th of

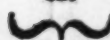
July 1662, discharging all ecclesiastical meetings
Presbyteries and Synods, till they should be
authorised for that purpose by the Archbishops and
Bishops.

LETTER
L.

A concurrence of circumstances, which could
not well be guarded against, had reduced our
Church to the necessity of thus applying to England
a second time for assistance. Our Bishops had
been forced, by the fury of the first covenant, to
seek sanctuary in different parts of England, where
the King indeed promised them his protection, but
at the same time, signified to them his desire, that
they should hold no meetings, nor enter into any
ecclesiastical consultation, for fear of irritating the
discontents at home. The Bishops, therefore,
did not think it prudent, by any step that might
have been called premature, to obstruct the pacific
views of a Sovereign, who, they knew, wished
them well, and under all the hurtful concessions
that had been wrung from him, still retained an
affectionate regard for them and their order. In
this state of suspense and expectation, and before
the King's power was wholly broken, they all,
except one, died, without having had time, or in
their situation thinking it incumbent on them, to
provide for the Episcopal Succession. On the
other hand, the English Bishops, besides that they
were not so harassed in their persons as ours had
been, had the advantage of being a more numer-
ous body; as we have seen, that though, in the
time of the usurpation, death had taken away as
great a number of them as all the Bishops of Scot-
land came to, there were still nine of them pre-
pared to resettle their own church, and to rebuild
this

LETTER

L.



This restoration of Episcopacy, thus begun upon mature advice, and after long deliberation was confirmed in the next Session of Parliament which sat down on the 8th of May 1662, and which the very first act runs thus: 'Forasmuch as the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the church doth properly belong to his Majesty, as an inherent right of the crown, by virtue of his royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical; and the proceeding in the narrative, to mention the intemperances and exorbitancies occasioned by throwing the Bishops and Episcopal Government, which they say, they find 'to be the church government most agreeable to the word of God, most convenient and effectual for the preservation of truth, order, and unity, and most suitable to monarchy, and to the peace and order of the state;' the enacting part is in these terms: 'Therefore his Majesty, with advice and consent of his Estates of Parliament, hath thought fit, necessary, and accordingly doth hereby redress and restate the state of Bishops to their ancient place and undoubted privileges and jurisdictions, and doth hereby restore them to the exercise of the Episcopal Function, Presidency in the Church, Power of Ordination, Inflicting of Church Censures, and all other acts of church discipline which they are to perform, with the advice and assistance of such of the clergy as they shall find to be of known loyalty and prudence:' And in another clause of this act, it is declared, 'Whatever shall be determined by his Majesty with the advice of the Archbishops and Bishops, and such of the clergy as shall be nominated to his Majesty, in the external government and

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of the church, shall be valid and effectual ; LETTER
 is, shall have the force of a law of the land, L.
 which no deed can have without the King's con-
 currence.*
 In consequence of this act, Episcopacy was again-
 the legal church-establishment in Scotland,
 a tumultuous interruption of twenty four
 years. The four lately consecrated Bishops now
 possession of their destined sees, and the other
 Bishopricks were soon filled with proper per-
 sons, by canonical consecration from their hands.
 The see of Edinburgh was given to the worthy Dr.
 Sibbald, one of the old ministers of South-Leith,
 who had been deprived and imprisoned for his
 opposition to the first Covenant, but was liberated
 at Montrose after the battle of Kilsyth, and get-
 ting beyond sea attended the gallant Marquis as his
 chaplain. The see of Aberdeen was conferred on
 another sufferer, Mr. David Mitchel, who had

* This Act of Parliament has been the subject of much sneer
 and obloquy from the Presbyterian Party, who exclaim against
 as sacrilegious encroachment upon the intrinsic powers of the
 church, and ridicule the Episcopal Clergy as betrayers of the
 cause of Christ, by their submitting to it, and thus, they say,
 building their ecclesiastical fabric upon such an Erastian founda-
 tion. Yet, any one may see, that the act gives the church no
 new rights, nor meddles in the least with any of her intrinsic
 inherent powers : It only restores to her what had been sacri-
 legiously taken from her by violence and injustice, and removes
 the effects of illegal usurpation, in order to make room for the re-
 establishment of the old Episcopal Government and Policy. Be-
 cause the cry of Erastianism comes but awkwardly from those who
 do much stress on the famous Westminster assembly of divines
 and laymen, which was originally called, and progressively di-
 rected and controuled in all their consultations, not by King
 and Parliament indeed, but by a Parliament without and against
 King, which gave them all their orders, and exercised an
 ecclesiastical supremacy with as Erastian a hand as any King
 pretended to.

LETTER been minister in Edinburgh, but was deposed by the Assembly of 1638, for reading the Service book, and forced to flee into England for his life. The Commissioner Middleton got his own place as minister of Fettercairn, Mr. David Strachan, nominated to the see of Brechin, and Mr. David Fletcher minister at Melrose, to the see of Angus. Mr. John Paterfon at Aberdeen, who had in the end after much hesitation subscribed the solemn league and covenant, but was still a quiet peaceable man, was made Bishop of Ross, and Mr. Patrick Forbes, the learned and orthodox son of a turbulent father, Forbes of Alford, Bishop of Caithness, both on Archbishop Sharp's recommendation. Mr. George Haliburton minister at Perth, who had been harassed by his brethren, but protected by friends, was transferred to Dunkeld, and Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie minister at Elgin, once a rigid covenanter, to Moray. The see of the Isles was given to Mr. Robert Wallace, minister at Barnwell in the shire of Orkney, and old Bishop Sydserf was translated to Orkney.

† It may appear strange that this man, being the only survivor of the Episcopal order before the troubles, and one too who seems to have been a particular butt of the covenanters, was not advanced to the primacy, or at least restored to his former see of Galloway. But when we consider, that by this time he would probably be an old man (he died the next year) and had been much out of the country for many years, so that he must have been in a great measure a stranger to many of the tempers, and most of the persons now upon the stage, and consequently not so fit to manage the public concerns of the church at such a critical juncture, nor even to deal properly with the cross humours that prevailed in these western parts, we may rather be inclined to conclude, that whoever were the authors or disposers of these allotments, had best consulted the good of the church by placing a pilot of Dr. Sharp's tale upon the helm, who by former acquaintance could gain upon the peaceable, and by his activity check the troublesome part of the old malecontents.

But this legal settlement was not the only service LETTER
 that this Parliament did to the episcopal church : L.
 to secure her against the pernicious effects of 
 separate covenantings, which she had so severely
 smarted under already, an act was passed this ses-
 sion, requiring all persons in public trust or office
 to sign a declaration, " That it is unlawful in sub-
 stance, upon pretence of reformation, or on any
 pretence whatever, to enter into leagues and co-
 venants, or to take up arms against the King or
 those commissioned by him : That particularly
 these two oaths' commonly called the *National Co-*
venant begun in 1638, and the *Solemn League*
and Covenant in 1643, were and are in them-
 selves unlawful oaths; taken by and imposed
 upon the subjects of this kingdom against the
 fundamental laws and liberties of the same :
 And that there lieth no obligation on me or any
 other subject, from these oaths, to endeavour
 any change or alteration of the government ei-
 ther in church or state, as it is now established
 by the laws of this kingdom." The English
 Parliament had gone before ours in this business :
 in May last year they made an order for burn-
 ing the *Solemn League and Covenant* by the hands
 of the hangman, which was executed accordingly
 the 22d in London, and soon after over all Eng-
 land. And no wonder that both nations should
 join in testifying their abhorrence of that hy-
 pocritical bond of iniquity, which, tho' in a fit of
 scholastic madness they had been decoyed into,
 under a mask of superior godliness, they had both
 seen and felt the dismal fruits of, in a torrent of
 blood and desolation, from which nothing but the
 merciful hand of God could have in such a gentle
 wonderful manner delivered them. Yet

LETTER this national testimony against it did not give universal satisfaction. For some of the most rigorous of the covenant went out of office, rather than sign the declaration, which they detested as a renouncing their sacred vows; and among the rest the treasurer Crawford resigned the white staff, and Sir James Dalrymple of Stair gave up the place of a Lord of session, but was afterwards reconciled to the declaration, and kept his post, though he saw a change of times appearing more to his mind.

Besides this act against the covenants, our parliament in this session took under consideration another matter of church concern, with a view to insure the regularity and due subordination of the inferior ministry in time coming. It appeared that a great many kirks and benefices were possessed by incumbents, who had intruded themselves into them, either by main force in the use of their power, or under colour of the pretended law of 1649, and still drew the rents and profits of them, in manifest violation of the standing rights of patronage, and to the detriment of both King and subject. To remedy this injury, an act was passed about the middle of May in these terms: 'The King's most excellent Majesty, considering that, notwithstanding the right of patronage, should be duly settled and established by the ancient and fundamental laws and constitutions of this kingdom, yet divers ministers of this church have and do possess benefices and stipends, and their respective cures, without any right or presentation to the same from the patrons; it being therefore most just that the law should be so amended, that the said patrons, and undoubted Patrons of Kirks be restored to the possession of the right of their respective advocations, donations and patronage.'

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Therefore his Majesty, with advice and consent of LETTER
his estates of Parliament, doth statute and or- L.
dain, that all these ministers who entered to the
cure of any parish in burgh or land within this
kingdom, in or since the year 1649, when the
patrons were most injuriously dispossessed of
their patronages, have no right unto, nor shall
receive, uplift, nor possess the rents of any be-
nefice, modified stipends, manse or glebe for this
present crop 1662, nor any year following, but
their places, benefices and kirks are *ipso jure*
vacant: Yet his Majesty, to evidence his willing-
ness to pass by and cover the miscarriages of
his people, doth with advice foresaid declare,
that this act shall not be prejudicial to any of
these ministers in what they have possessed or
is due to them since their admission, and that
every such minister who shall obtain a presen-
tation from the lawful patron, and have colla-
tion from the Bishop of the diocese where he
liveth, betwixt and the 20th day of September
next to come, shall thenceforth have right to
and enjoy his kirk, benefice, manse and glebe,
as fully and freely as if he had been lawfully
presented and admitted thereto at his first entry,
or as any minister within the kingdom doth or
may do: And for that end it is hereby ordain-
ed, that the respective patrons shall give presen-
tations to all the present incumbents who shall
in due time make application to them for the
same. And in case any of these kirks shall not
be thus duly provided for before the said 20th
of September, then the patron shall have free-
dom to present another betwixt and the 20th
day of March 1663, which if he shall refuse or
neglect, the presentation shall then fall to the
Bishop *jure devoluto*, according to former laws.

And

LETTER. ' And ſicklike his Maſteſty, with advice foreſi
 L. ' doth ſtatute and ordain the Archbiſhops and
 ~~~~~ ' ſhops to have power of new admiſſion and co  
 ' tion to all ſuch kirks and benefices as belong  
 ' their reſpective ſees, and which have vaill  
 ' ſince the year 1637, and to be careful to pl  
 ' and provide theſe their own kirks conform  
 ' this act."

I have ſet down this famous ſtatute at full length  
 as it was attended with important conſequences.  
 Such of the incumbents as were willing to comply  
 with the act, which moſt in the North-country  
 were, and had received Epiſcopal ordination,  
 were readily admitted on their timely application  
 to the patron and Biſhop for their reſpect  
 authorities. Others who had entered with  
 others only from the Presbyteries, or as ſome did,  
 their own hands, without any formal ordination  
 all, either were ordained anew by the Biſhop  
 which mightily offended the outſtanders; or where  
 circumſtances appeared favourable, were received  
 on their ſubmiſſion and ſwearing canonical obedi  
 ence to the Biſhop, and by him empowered to  
 exerciſe the office and function of Presbyters  
 in the church, according to the preſent conſtitution.  
 But in the South and Weſt, the moſt of theſe  
 legal intruders being men of the moſt rigid ſtand  
 and either ſuſpecting the malignancy of the patron  
 or not willing to come under any dependence  
 upon Biſhops whom their Covenants had abjured,  
 turned obſtinate, and reſuſed to take the benefit  
 of the act by the time prefixed. And therefore  
 the privy-council, meeting at Glaſgow after the  
 term was expired, in purſuance of the deſign of  
 the act of Parliament, made an act declaring ſuch  
 kirks *ipſo facto* vacant, and requiring the

be planted anew before the 20th of March, in LETTER  
of the statute. L.

Immediately upon the publication of this act of council, these men did not wait a legal execution or rejection, but of themselves forbore the exercise of their ministry, and deserted their flocks: and this, it was thought, they did out of a presumptuous conceit that the church could not be served without them, and that ere long the administration would be obliged to yield to them, and then court them to return to their charges. But they were mistaken, and several of them did in blame themselves, and were blamed by the more judicious of their party, for being so unreasonably stiff, or so foolishly tame, in throwing up their kirks without something of their wonted opposition. However they bawled out, as their predecessors do to this day, against the arbitrary novelty of this Act of Glasgow, as it is called, forgetting, in the mean time, their own many acts of Glasgow, twenty four years before, which were equally cruel, and far more unjust, than what was done at this time. For with what little shew of reason or equity they made, or make, such logical exclamations, will readily appear from the act itself. The Parliament meddles not with ministerial character, either as Presbyterians, or of any other denomination: It only declares, that was matter of fact, that they had taken and were keeping possession of houses, and lands, and tithes, which certainly are matters of parliamentary jurisdiction, without any just title, and in open violation of another party's rights; and at the same time, by an extraordinary and unmerited use of royal clemency, it puts them in an easy way of legally keeping hold of what they had illegally seized.

LETTER seized. If they could not, or would not, comply with the prescribed terms of making out a title, they were in no better condition than the members, as it were, of a wrecked ship, and the ruin of the nation, when providing for a general restoration of property and privilege, could not justly deviate from the intended plan, to please the humours or consciences of a few particular malecontents.

It happened unluckily too, that our outlaws here had before their eyes the example of the Presbyterian brethren in England, who had been by the Parliament of that nation, laid under the same restrictions, and required to comply with the enjoined terms before St. Bartholomew's day of this year, which many of them had refused, and in consequence were now ejected. This comparison in suffering, as it was called, upon the same principles, and happening much about one time, mutually fostered the surly humour in both nations, and gave additional strength to the disaffected party in Scotland. Yet our administration went on leisurely indeed, but by regular steps, in prosecution of the measures which had been adopted. For in the third Session of this Parliament, which began on the 18th of June 1663, and where the Earl of Rothes was Commissioner, in place of the Earl of Middleton, the Lords of the Articles, had been a standing branch of our parliamentary constitution, but disused in the late confusion, were now restored, and the Bishops again appeared to be an essential part of that preparatory Committee. At the same time, an order was made for regulating the meetings of the national Synod, or, as it is called in England, the Convocation of the Church of Scotland; and an act passed,

this Synod shall consist of the two Archbishops  
 and their Suffragans, all the Deans and Arch-  
 deacons, the fixed Moderators, along with one  
 Minister of every Presbytery, and one Commis-  
 sioner from each of the four Universities: That  
 the Synod, thus constituted, is to meet at such  
 places and times as his Majesty by proclamation  
 shall appoint, and is to debate, treat, consider,  
 consult, conclude, and determine upon such  
 religious matters, causes, and things, concerning  
 the doctrine, worship, discipline, and govern-  
 ment of this church, as his Majesty shall, from  
 time to time, under his royal hand, deliver, or  
 cause to be delivered, to the Archbishop of St.  
 Andrews, President of the said National Assem-  
 bly, to be by him offered to their consideration:  
 That unless his Majesty or his Commissioner be  
 present, no national assembly can be held: And  
 that no act, canon, order, or ordinance, shall  
 be owned as an act of the national Synod of the  
 Church of Scotland, but such as shall have been  
 considered, consulted, and agreed upon by the  
 President and major part of the members above  
 specified.

LETTER  
 L.



I am, &c.

Vol. II.

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LETTER





## L E T T E R II.

*Account of the Faith, Worship, and Discipline of  
Scottish Church after the Restoration—In-  
rections among the Covenanters—Indul-  
granted—Affertory Act passed—Effect  
both—Murder of Archbishop Sharp—  
count of the Test Oath—And of the Ryd  
Plot—Death of Charles II.*

**W**E have now seen the Scottish Church more favoured with a legal establishment and put in possession of all those privileges which might assist her as an important branch of society, in preserving peace, order, and regularity, among all the members of that society. the care and cautious management of the Bishops the Episcopal Government soon became generally acceptable, and was for the most part cheerfully submitted to by the people.† All the mode

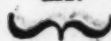
\* Even Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, who knew them as having been many years professor of divinity at Glasgow and their government, in his preface to the life of the worthy  
Presbyter

Presbyterians, even Mr Robert Douglas himself, LETTER:  
 such an eminent promoter of their cause, at- LI.  
 tended the Episcopal worship and communion in  
 the parish kirks. For hitherto, there was no ex-  
 ternal badge of distinction between the two parties,  
 either in faith, worship, or discipline. The old  
 Confession of Faith, drawn up by our first re-  
 formers, and ratified in 1567, had all along been  
 the received standard of doctrine to both, tho' the  
 Presbyterians had of late introduced the Westmin-  
 ster Confession, in many points different from it,  
 and in some even contrary to it. There was no  
 set form of prayer, or appointed form of prayer in the public  
 worship, the late opposition having discouraged  
 any new attempt that way. Many, indeed, of the  
 Episcopal clergy compiled forms to be used by  
 themselves in their particular congregations, with  
 some petitions and collects taken out of the English  
 Book; and all of them uniformly concluded their  
 prayers with the Lord's Prayer, and their singing  
 with the Doxology, both which the zealots of the  
 other side decried, as superstitious and formal.  
 The two sacraments were administered by both  
 parties in the same manner, without kneeling at  
 the one, or signing with the sign of the cross in the  
 other; only in baptism, the Episcopal clergy re-  
 quired the Apostles' Creed, and the Presbyterians,  
 in general, the Westminster Confession, and some

Bishop Bedell of Kilmore, speaks well of all our Scottish Bi-  
 shop whom he was particularly acquainted with, 'as having, he  
 observed among them as great and exemplary things as  
 are to be met with in all ecclesiastical history.' And tho' in  
 some of his other writings he appears to have changed his senti-  
 ments, and sets them out in a less favourable light, this may be  
 much owing to the new run of political principles which he  
 began to imbibe, and was afterwards so conspicuous for, as to  
 detract in the men, or real mistake in their conduct.

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of the more rigid of them, the Solemn League and Covenant, to be the model of the child's religious education. And then, with regard to discipline the establishment had their Kirk Sessions, as Presbyterians have at present; they had the Presbyteries, where some experienced minister, the Bishop's nomination, was moderator; they had their Diocesan Synods, in which the Bishop of the Diocese in person, or one by his express appointment, presided; and they might have had their National Synods or General Assemblies under certain regulations, if the King had found it proper either to call or allow them. And the King, or supreme Magistrate, has power to allow or prohibit conventions of the lieges, as him shall seem expedient, must be acknowledged by all who respect the prerogatives of Majesty, the necessary powers of government.

No doubt, in the primitive church of the first centuries, the neighbouring Bishops often met together, and consulted among themselves about the common interests of religion, by virtue of the purely spiritual powers committed to them. But between that old ecclesiastical constitution and the times we are speaking of, there could not but be a considerable difference in point of external polity, as it will be acknowledged, that the protection and encouragement given by the rulers to the church has a title to such degree of submission from the church as she may grant without materially hurting her radical powers, or departing from her original foundation. So was the situation of the church in general when established under the Roman Empire, while it stood, and of the particular churches in the various kingdoms which progressively broke off from it,

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the papal pretensions had risen to the height of modern encroachment; and such was the situation of the church here, when she emerged from beneath the deluge which the torrent of the covenant had brought upon her. The King claimed the privilege of convocating a General Assembly or council of the church in his narrow kingdom of Scotland, as the christian Emperors had done of calling general councils in their extensive dominions; a privilege which all Protestant writers agree in yielding to the Sovereign, as belonging, not to his christianity, but to his crown.

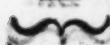
What reasons this King might have had, for calling such an Assembly in all his reign, need not be inquired into at present. It may be presumed that the Bishops saw no immediate necessity for such national conventions, since they were allowed full freedom in their inferior jurisdictions, and had standing regulations both ecclesiastical and civil, whereby to direct their government of the church. Besides, they had frequent meetings among themselves about church matters, according to the practice of the early ages, when certain the Bishops met here and there as was convenient, without these tumultuous conventions of Presbyters, which the reformed system, especially in Scotland, brought along with it. And the King himself, with all his claims of supremacy, whether just or not, was still inclined to countenance the Bishops, and to preserve to them their superiority over the Presbyters, with all such immunities and privileges belonging to their order as were consistent with their constitutional incorporation into the state. For there are extant sundry letters of different dates from the Earl

of



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of Lauderdale, the King's great favourite, Archbishop Sharp, assuring him of the King's solutions to name no Bishops to vacant sees, such as should be recommended by the two Archbishops in their respective provinces, and there warning his Grace to be very diligent and cautious in his recommendations. How far Lauderdale, who had been once a violent covenant and is variously spoken of by the historians those times, was sincere in his professions of kindness to Episcopacy, may be still a matter of doubt. But so it was in fact, that for a while he did make such professions, and by these means, of concension on the King's side, and attention to duty on the part of the Bishops, matters were tolerably quiet for some years after the restoration.

But the flame of the Covenant was only smothered a little, not quite extinguished. There was still a remainder of the furious *Ramond* faction, whom no laws could restrain, and gentleness mollify. And tho' the terms of communion with Episcopacy were made so easy, Mr. Honeyman Archdeacon of St. Andrews, afterwards Bishop of Orkney, shewed to the world a publication of his at that time, that Mr. Comyn, one of the most sensible Presbyterians in England, said when he read it, "What would our brethren in Scotland be at, or what would they have? Would to God we had these offers." Yet his Scottish brethren made use of these offers, and were resolved never to be satisfied. For in 1666 they broke out into rebellion, took up arms in great numbers, in defiance to government, renewed their Covenant afresh in all the bigotry and enthusiasm of the

committed many acts of hostility and cruelty LETTER  
LI.  
 on the King's loyal subjects. At last, having  
 their preaching rambles thro' the country Iwel-  
 to the number of two thousand, they conceiv-  
 such an opinion of their own strength, as to  
 venture an engagement with the King's troops on  
 17th of November at the Pentland-hills, but  
 were defeated with the loss of five hundred of  
 men killed in the action. Of the prisoners taken,  
 few were hanged at different places, who might  
 have saved their lives if they would have renounc-  
 the Covenant: And the King, out of his in-  
 clemency, put a stop to further execution,  
 ordering his commissioner Rother to set the re-  
 maining wretches at liberty, upon their simply  
 promising to obey the laws for the future.

Yet neither this disappointment of their blind  
 hopes, nor the experience of the Royal mercy,  
 had any effect: The rebellious spirit still kept up,  
 and what they could not execute against the state,  
 they resolved to attempt upon the church. The  
 Primate's activity and vigilance, they saw, were  
 not easily to be overcome; but his person lay  
 open to their assaults, and could be dispatched by  
 a private stroke sooner and safer than the establish-  
 ment in general could be born down by a public  
 stroke. With this malicious view, having long  
 waited for a convenient opportunity, at last on  
 the 11th of July 1668, as the Archbishop of  
 Andrews was coming down the street of Edin-  
 burgh in his coach, attended by Bishop Honey-  
 man of Orkney, a James Mitchel, one of the in-  
 fugents who had escaped from Pentland-hills,  
 fired a pistol charged with three bullets into the  
 coach, which luckily missed the Primate for whom  
 it was designed, but broke Bishop Honeyman's  
 arm.

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arm. In the confusion, the villian got off, but apprehended in 1676, and hanged in the Grassmarket, glorying in the execrable deed, and avowed the most destructive and damnable principles to the very last. This daring outrage could not alarm and provoke the administration both church and state; Yet the King hoping to quiet if possible, the minds, and sweeten the humours of these restless people, did by his letter, dated Whitehall, June 7th 1669, grant an indulgence to the Presbyterians, on conditions which could not be said to bear hard even on the most tender consciences. He had oft proposed such a thing in England, but the Parliament there would not consent, and always checked the proposal. However his Scotch council thought the measure expedient, and gave their concurrence: Particularly the Earl of Tweeddale was most active in it, a man of great worldly wisdom, but of loose notions as to government of any kind, and in this assisted and directed by two men, who, Bishops and men of good character, were not strictly prelatical, the English Bishop Wilkins of Chester, and our own Bishop Leighton of Dunblane.

This indulgence thus obtained was accepted by many of the Presbyterian preachers, who, though they would not go the length of a full compliance with the Episcopacy, happened to be men of more moderate and peaceable tempers, and were now not only connived at, but even put in actual possession of vacant kirks in those places where it was thought the people inclined most to their persuasion. Yet, notwithstanding this stretch of lenity, so irreclaimable were the remains of the Covenanters, especially in the West, that they still pursued their extravagant courses, and

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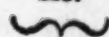
openly and impudently renounced their allegiance, LETTER  
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under the old pretext of their covenant engagements. Nay, so bitterly enraged were they against their own brethren who accepted the indulgence, that they threw off all communion with them, and branded them with as odious names as they could. The established clergy, calling the one party "the King's curates," and the other "the Bishops' curates," which they then designed, and the zealots of them to this day use, as a title of contempt.

I am not to meddle with the question of the King's prerogative in granting this indulgence; but one unhappy consequence of it was, that it opened a door towards larger encroachments of the same kind. For the statesmen, who had advised the King thus by his own power to dispense with the laws, finding it not very agreeable to the established church, which now had the laws in her power, and fearing to be called to account for their advice some time or other, saw it necessary to provide for their future security, by the most effectual means they could think of. To this purpose, when the Parliament sat down in November this year, the Earl of Lauderdale, who had the principal hand in the indulgence, and was now his Majesty's commissioner, got an act passed the 16th, tho' with great reluctance, called the *Affertory Act*, declaring, 'That his Majesty, by virtue of his supremacy, has the ordering and disposing of the external government and polity of the church, as an inherent right of his crown: And that his Majesty and his successors may settle, enact, and emit such constitutions, acts and orders concerning the administration of the external government of the



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‘ church, and the persons employed in the same  
 ‘ and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings and  
 ‘ matters to be proposed and determined there  
 ‘ as they in their royal wisdom shall think fit.”

By this last clause, it must be acknowledged that the intrinsic power and proper foundation of a christian church is too nearly struck at: and therefore the Bishops struggled as much as they could against it. The Primate in particular argued long and strenuously that it should not pass, but was interrupted by the commissioner from the Throne, who satirically observed, “ that Lord St. Andrews would not allow the King’s supremacy in terms of the act, because it seemed he designed it for himself.” But besides this political design of these statesmen to secure themselves from future danger, it was thought that there were other hands employed in the framing of this strange-looking statute, and that it was contrived by Mr. Robert Douglas and his brethren, who still had a great deal to say with their old accomplices in the Covenant, Lauderdale, Tweeddale, and some others of the council in order to justify the indulgence which had taken them off from the Episcopal communion, and to secure themselves in the enjoyment of their present liberty, by thus getting it made as good and legal. Whatever it was that gave rise to the Assertory Act, it is certain that it was attended with most disagreeable consequences. For it not only raised a jealousy between the church and the state, but likewise laid the Bishops open, though innocent, to the slanders and reproaches of their enemies, for so tamely giving up their privileges, and having a hand in unchurching themselves: if the whole Bench of Bishops had been able, the

their few votes, to have hindered the passing of LETTER  
 or had been obliged to have struck out against LI.  
 with the then popular argument of tumult and  
 rebellion. They did what lay to their hand, in  
 reasoning and pleading against it as Bishops, while  
 was under debate, and when it was carried they  
 could do no more, as subjects, but yield to it, and  
 make their best of it.

The first unhappy effect of this act fell upon  
 Dr. Alexander Burnet, who had been Archbishop  
 of Glasgow since Fairfoul's death in 1663. This  
 good man, after the affair of Pentland-hills, shewed  
 great inclination to have these infatuated people  
 treated with lenity: And when their examination  
 came before the privy-council, he laboured  
 much to get their lives spared, and even went so  
 far as to transmit an account of the council's  
 proceedings against them to the English secretary  
 of State, Arlington, to be communicated to the  
 King. Lauderdale, being secretary for Scotland,  
 was highly offended at this, as an unpardonable  
 interference with his office, and not only threaten-  
 ed the Archbishop with a criminal prosecution,  
 for what he called revealing the King's secrets,  
 which however faulty in a privy counsellor, was in  
 the present case no way uncharacteristic in a  
 Bishop, but likewise for the quicker execution  
 of his long-harboured resentment, procured, in  
 terms of this new act, a letter from the King to  
 the privy council, discharging the Archbishop of  
 Glasgow from officiating in his diocese till his  
 Majesty's further pleasure. And upon this order,  
 however mortifying and unwelcome, the peace-  
 able man called his clergy together, and in great  
 simplicity told them, "he was not to act for some  
 time as their ordinary among them, till the King

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“ should be pleased to allow him.” This happened in December 1669, and immediately Bishop Leighton of Dunblain was nominated by the King commendator and administrator of the See of Glasgow during pleasure. Thus wantonly did Lauderdale exercise the power which the late king had thrown into his hands. But the ambitious man, being created a Duke in 1672, and thus engrossing the Royal ear, carried matters with high a hand, that not only a party of his own countrymen, Hamilton, Kincardine, Tweedale, and others combined against him, but even the English began to take offence at his too great influence with the King, and the house of commons once had a design of impeaching him. The Bishops of England too were highly disgusted at his arbitrary usage of Archbishop Burnet, and thought themselves so far interested as to make a common cause of it. So at last, finding himself thus beset by such powerful antagonists, he saw it necessary to lay aside his ordinary haughtiness, and was for a while after reconciled first to Archbishop Sharp, and then by his means to the worthy Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. Sheldon, which for a while warded off the intended blow against him. Upon this change of temper in Lauderdale, the inhibition against Dr Burnet was taken off, and on Bishop Leighton resigning the charge of Glasgow, which he had been soon weary of, the old Archbishop returned to his See, where he continued till the year 1677 when he was removed to St. Andrews. While the Bishops had thus the influence of the asserted act to combat on the one hand, they were equally harassed by the effects of the indulgence on the other; For those preachers who by means of the king had got possession of kirks, brought with them

to the church, their peculiar affection for General Assemblies, where the Presbyters, by their plurality of voices, would be a counter-balance to the authority of the Bishops, and therefore, would be ready enough to recommend the propriety of the promiscuous Conventions, which tended so much to humour the pride of the second order, at the expence of the radical privileges of the first. This aspiring disposition, which had such a plausible appearance of concern for the public good of the church, broke out at last to such a degree in Edinburgh, that in July 1674, the Bishop, Dr. [unclear], was obliged to pronounce sentence of excommunication against three of the most factious of his Presbyters, Turner, Robertson, and Cant, "for their insolently and audaciously insisting for a National Assembly." From which sentence of excommunication the Bishop they appealed, not to the Metropolis, as they might or ought to have done, if they thought themselves aggrieved, but in the true Presbyterian style of the first Covenanters, to the King and Privy Council.

Much about the same time, Dr. James Ramsay, who, from being Dean of Glasgow, was promoted to the See of Dunblain in 1673, gave such countenance to the Presbyters who began to cabal for a National Synod, that in 1675 it was proposed to remove him to some other See, which produced a very angry letter from him to Archbishop Sharp, in which he expressed the injustice of such a proposal, to which the Archbishop, as he well could, gave a suitable and prompt return. Yet Ramsay went on in his own way of fomenting and abetting these mutinous proceedings, to the great offence of the King and of his brethren, so that after long bearing with him to no purpose, it was found necessary, in

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**LETTER** in 1684, to translate him to Ross, where the  
**LI.** fection was not so prevalent, and his influence  
 could not do much harm. These were, no doubt, disagreeable measures, but such as christian prudence would lead the church to put up with, rather than risk the return of former confusions. It was no wonder that the King had no great regard for the General Assemblies of Scotland, from remembrance of the many insults which both father and himself had met with from these Conventions: And no well disposed christian would in such a case, have too strenuously insisted on them, if there was no other reason for them, at that time there was no other, but asserting their privilege in the church, to hold such meetings at their pleasure, whether there was a necessity for or not.

Thus, the effects of the Presbyterian Intemperance, and the burden of the Assertory Act, equally heavy upon the church in this reign; the Bishops did what they could, in their capacity of governors of the church and subjects of the state, to guard against the pernicious tendency of both. They drew up modest representations of the divisive consequences that the intemperance had produced, without answering the demand that was expected, and referred it to his Majesty's wisdom to provide a proper remedy. In 1675, five of them met at Edinburgh, to consider about the state of the church, and the divisions that prevailed, and sent an account of their deliberations to Archbishop Sharp, then at Bath, on his health: And in April 1678, the Primate, Bishop Young of Edinburgh, Paterson of Glasgow, Ross of Argyle, and Wood of the Isles, made out a memorial "concerning the gro-

of schism and rebellion in Scotland," and com-  
 manded the Archbishop of Glasgow to present it  
 to the court for his Majesty's instruction. Thus they

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took every prudent measure, as much as they  
 could have done in a National Synod, consistent  
 with their obedience as subjects, to preserve order  
 in the church, and peace in the state, in opposi-  
 tion to the designs which were perpetually form-  
 ing against both.

At the same time, while the established clergy were  
 struggling with legal difficulties, and the indulged  
 ministers, under protection, spreading their dan-  
 gerous tenets, the true sons of the Covenant, who  
 justly abhorred them both, were busy contriv-  
 ing their schemes, railing at and excommunicat-  
 ing the King, going armed to their seditious  
 meetings, and carrying their madness to such  
 a pitch of barbarity, that murdering of soldiers  
 in their beds, abusing the persons and families of  
 the clergy, and insulting all that had the least con-  
 tact with authority, were things familiar to  
 them, and become their daily practice.\* At last,  
 after the repeated instigations of him who was a  
 sinner from the beginning, and under the per-  
 mission of heaven, for the filling up the measure of  
 their iniquities, they put in execution the horrid  
 scheme, which they had once attempted, and  
 had their hearts set upon, against the one per-  
 son in the kingdom, whom, next to Majesty, they  
 feared and hated: For on the 3d of May

To such a degree of profaneness had these people carried  
 the abuse of the sacred office, that, as Lauderdale in one of  
 his letters to Archbishop Sharp complains, the very common  
 minister of the burgh of Irvine in the West-country took upon  
 himself the office of the ministry, and preached publicly in their  
 churches.

LETTER 1679, a desperate band of nine ruffians,\* all  
 LI. horseback and in arms, way-laid Archbishop  
 Sharp as he was returning home from Edinburgh  
 and coming up with his coach at a place called  
 Magus Moor, between the Struthers and  
 Andrews, ordered him to "Come out, thou  
 bloody traitor;" which the venerable old man  
 having done with great composure, while he  
 fired them only to spare his life till he recommen-  
 ded his own soul to God, and prayed for them,  
 they instantly fell upon him, and basely and  
 barously murdered him, with twenty two wounds  
 in different parts of his body. In this atrocious  
 manner fell Dr. James Sharp, Archbishop of  
 Andrews, and Primate of all Scotland; a sacrifice  
 in his person to the malice of the Covenanters  
 and in his character, the great object of the  
 calumny to this day. His betraying their cause  
 with the King, as they alledge, is what they  
 never forgot nor forgiven to him, tho' his  
 letters on that occasion, and the letters of the  
 English Dissenters in London at the time, fully  
 vindicate him from that spiteful imputation: If  
 had it been as they say, the charge comes ill  
 that party, whose first rise was founded in a most  
 flagrant apostacy, and was carried on by a course  
 of more consummate perfidy and rebellion  
 than Dr Sharp had been, or could have been  
 guilty of. But it is enough for his vindication  
 that the traducers of his memory are the authors  
 of his murder, as it is not to be expected that  
 who can applaud or approve the wilful murder  
 of any man whatever, will be ready to shew

\* John Balfour, David Haxton, George Balfour, James  
 Sel, Robert Dingwall, Andrew Gillan, Alexander and  
 Henderson brothers, and George Fleming.

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to the best or most spotless character that  
existed. LETTER  
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The news of this daring outrage on a person of  
rank, spread an universal consternation over  
the kingdom; and orders were immediately issued  
for apprehending the murderers, and bringing them  
to condign punishment. But they had got off to  
their sanctuary in the West, where their friends  
and employers received them with open arms,  
and in a few weeks collected an army of 1600  
horse and 4000 foot, among whom were fifteen of  
their ministers, and the renowned David Willi-  
son, so well known for his feats in the fields of  
glory, one of the number. With this armed  
band they kept their conventicles in the fields,  
where they always swore not to give over till  
episcopacy was utterly extirpated, and Presbytery  
established again on the pure Covenant-bottom.  
And having had some little success in a skirmish  
with a small party of the King's troops near Lou-  
doun-hill, they went on with great boldness and  
valour till the 22d of June, when the Duke of  
Monmouth came up with them at Bothwellbridge,  
not far from Hamilton, and gave them a total  
overthrow, killing about 300 of them, and taking  
200 prisoners, and among the rest, two of their  
preachers Kidd and King, who were after-  
wards tried and hanged for rebellion. It was  
said by themselves that, if Monmouth had pur-  
sued his victory, scarce one of them would have  
escaped. But this *un-natural* son, the first pro-  
ducer of the King's licentious amours, tho' at the  
head of the Royal army, was in his heart a secret  
opponent of the cause, and had been engaged in  
a rebellion of much the same stamp in England. For  
about this time, what was called the Popish plot,



LETTER under the management of Titus Oates, that infamous tool of the English Republicans, was agitated; which sent many great men to prison and poor men to the gallows, and drove the Duke of York, the King's only brother, and heir apparent to the Crown, from the court.

Upon this uncivil treatment, his Royal Highness at the King's desire, came down, with his family, to Scotland in October 1679, and took his residence at Holyroodhouse, where the Lords of session thought it their duty to wait upon him, and their president Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, in their name made a congratulatory speech on the occasion, in which, among other expressions of compliment, he said, "it was a matter of great joy to the nation to see one of the Royal family among them, after being for so many years deprived of that honour, and the nation being entirely Protestant, it was the fittest place his Highness could make his recess to at that time." I take notice of this part of the President's speech, only with a view to point out a strong attestation, here given to the religion of the nation, which, at that time, was known to be Episcopacy, and yet is here declared, even by Lord Stair, to be "entirely Protestant." Would his Lordship's thoughts, when he spoke of his countrymen in the West, and many of them his own tenants, who were preaching and praying, covenanting and fighting, to disturb the "entirely protestant" nation, and unhinge the established constitution? For notwithstanding their defeat at Bothwellbridge, which from their knowledge of Monmouth's private attachments, they had not been looking for, they still continued fierce and resolute as ever, under the direction

three fanatical demagogues, a Cargill and two  
 Camerons, brothers, one of whom undertook at  
 this time to kill his Royal Highness when he dined  
 in public, but was disappointed by being ac-  
 cidentally known in the street, and obliged to  
 second for his own safety. Yea, so daring were  
 they now become, that they entered into a new  
 covenant, disclaiming and renouncing all obedi-  
 ence to the King and Government, and declaring,  
 that the Covenant is the original contract be-  
 tween God, the King, and the people, and that  
 King Charles having broken this contract, had  
 forfeited the crown; so that it was necessary to  
 make war against him, and both lawful and  
 right to kill him and all who served him."—  
 And on the 22d of June 1680, at the market cross  
 of Sanquhar, after a solemn procession and singing  
 of psalms by one of the Camerons, they publish-  
 ed a declaration which they called "the decla-  
 ration and testimony of the true Presbyterian,  
 Anti-prelatick, and Anti-erastian persecuted par-  
 ty in Scotland," homologating the testimony  
 given at Ruglen, May 29, 1679, and all the  
 faithful testimonies of those that have suffered of  
 late, and declaring war against Charles Stuart,  
 and the Duke of York, with all their adherents;  
 with a threat in the end, "to reward those that  
 are against us as they have done to us, as the  
 Lord gives the opportunity."  
 In pursuance of these intolerable combinations,  
 they again pushed their fortune in the fields, but  
 with no success. Cargill was caught at Queens-  
 berry on the 3d of June, with the new Covenant,  
 and was hanged: And Cameron was killed in a  
 skirmish with the King's troops at Airdsmoss on  
 the 23d of July after. The measures now taken

LETTER by Government, with the public executions of some few rebels here and there, who all had their lives offered them if they would only have said "God save the King," were not only complained of at the time, but are still in the mouths of many who affect to cry out against "the persecutions of Charles the Second's Reign." But what could government do? Here was the first man in the church, and a privy-counsellor in the state, openly and inhumanly murdered, and his murderers protected and abetted, the King's authority renounced, and his person set up as a mark for every private ruffian to shoot at, his office insulted, his laws defied, his very mercy affronted: And all this by a pitiful parcel of hot-headed fanatics, not the thousandth part of the nation either for numbers, figure, or property. And were such wretches, despicable, no doubt, if they had made no noise with their foolish principles, to have suffered to go on without check in, or dismissal without punishment for, their rebellious practices. One thing however may be observed, that the violent doings, if they must be called such, may be said to have been not only the consequence but even the effects of Archbishop Sharp's death, whose activity might have in a great measure prevented these tumults, as his influence in the privy council would have been of great use towards mitigating the severity of justice in suppressing them.

Yet the King, provoked as he was, took all possible and prudent methods to settle these distractions, and to restore the peace of the kingdom. For next summer 1681 he called a Parliament in Scotland, and sent down his brother, the Duke of York, to be Commissioner. The first act of the Parliament is concerning religion, "Ratifying

all acts, laws and statutes made by his Majesty's LETTER  
 Royal Grandfather and Father of blessed me- LI.  
 mory, or in any of his present Majesty's former   
 Parliaments, for settling the liberty of the true  
 kirk of God, and the Protestant religion pre-  
 sently professed within this realm, and all acts  
 against Popery, ordaining the same to stand in  
 full force and effect, as if they were specially  
 mentioned and set down herein." And to secure  
 the rights of the crown, which the English bill of  
 union was then striking at, another act passed  
 declaring, "That the crown of Scotland by in-  
 herent right, and by the nature of the monarchy,  
 as well as by the fundamental and unalterable  
 laws of the realm, is devolved and transmitted  
 by lineal succession according to proximity of  
 blood, and that no difference of religion or act  
 of parliament can alter or divert the right of  
 succession and lineal descent of the crown to the  
 nearest and lawful heir," and making it high-  
 ly treason by writing, speaking or any other way, to  
 endeavour to alter, suspend or divert that right  
 of descent. But the act which made the greatest  
 alteration afterwards, was the Test-act, as it is called,  
 the first clause of which required people to swear,  
 That they owned and sincerely professed the true  
 protestant religion contained in the confession  
 of faith recorded in Parliament 1567, and that  
 they believed the same to be founded in, and  
 agreeable to the written word of God, and that  
 they will adhere thereto all the days of their  
 life, and educate their children therein, and  
 never consent to any change or alteration con-  
 trary to it." At the same time they were  
 obliged too to renounce the national Covenant  
 and Solemn League, to disclaim the endeavouring  
 any



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any alteration in either church or state, and engage for the support and defence of the crown against all resistance.

This Test Oath was to be sworn by all persons in public trust in the church, state, and army, such as refused were to lose their movables, and different besides. Yet, notwithstanding these heavy penalties, the Bishops and clergy had scruples about this Test, and most of them refused to take it in the high sounding sense of some of the words of it. This procured an act of council, explanatory of the Test, at Edinburgh, November 1681, bearing, that ‘ Upon account of jealousies and prejudices against the Test, as if designed to hurt the doctrines and powers of the church, to expose the present settlement of Episcopacy to alteration; therefore, his Majesty’s Commissioner, and the Lords of his Privy Council, do allow, authorise, and empower the Archbishops and Bishops; to take and administer this Oath in this express sense: 1. That tho’ the Confession of Faith, ratified in Parliament 1567, framed in the infancy of the Reformation, deserves its due praise; yet, by the Test, they do not swear to every proposition or clause contained in it, but only to the true Protestant religion, founded on the word of God, and contained there, as it is opposed to Popery and Paganism. 2. That by the Test, or any clause in it, no invasion or encroachment is made intended, upon the intrinsic spiritual power of the church, or power of the keys, as it was exercised by the apostles, and the most pure primitive church, in the three first centuries after Christ, and which is still reserved entire to the church. 3. That the Oath and Test

‘ will

without any prejudice to the Episcopal Govern-  
ment of this national church, which is declared,  
by the first act of the second Session of his Ma-  
jesty's first Parliament, to be most agreeable to  
the word of God, and most suitable to Mon-  
archy, and which, upon all occasions, his Ma-  
jesty hath declared he will inviolably and unal-  
terably preserve.' This explanation of the of-  
fensive passages in the act was sent up, on the 8th,  
to the King for his approbation, which he was  
pleased to give in the fullest manner, by a letter  
in the Privy Council of date the 15th, supersign-  
ed CHARLES R. and subscribed Moray, in which  
he says, 'We are so pleased with that explanatory  
act, that we will not delay to send you our  
hearty approbation thereof, with our hearty  
thanks for your zeal in our service: Especially  
in what relates to the security of the persons,  
rights, interests, and privileges of our orthodox  
clergy, which we do now, as we have oft done  
before, in a particular manner recommend to  
your care, as a matter wherein you may render  
unto us most acceptable service: And therefore,  
we expect that you will, upon all fit occasions,  
give them all possible encouragement, as those  
whom we have received, and will constantly  
better, under our royal protection, against all  
their enemies.'

On receiving this letter, which, under the  
King's hand, so mollifies the harsh sound of the  
act, and leaves the church to the free ex-  
ercise of all the powers and privileges which she  
in equity claim as a church, the Bishops were  
entirely satisfied on that invidious, but delicate  
point, that, on the return of his Royal Highness  
from London, in March next year, seven of them,

viz.

**LETTER** viz. the two Archbishops, Burnet and Ross; and the Bishops, Paterson of Edinburgh, Bruce Dunkeld, Aitkin of Galloway, Haliburton of Brechin, and Ramsay of Dunblain, wrote to Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, how sensible they were of the benefits of the Duke's administration and desired his Grace to make their grateful acknowledgements to his Royal Highness accordingly. But however reconciled the Bishops and some of the clergy were to this Test, it was not so palatable to the Presbyterian part of the laity, and some of the principal contrivers of it fell in their own snare. Stair, the Lord President of the Session, who, with the Earl of Argyle, had fully got the old Confession put at the head of the oath, as a fence against the Duke's Popery, was willing to sign that part of it with great sincerity, was so dissatisfied with the other part which struck at the Presbyterians, and called them Fanatics, that he resigned his office, and in the end of next year retired in disgust to Holland where he had time, with others of the same station to concert the famous expedition, which was undertaken six years after. His accomplice, Argyle whom the King had graciously relieved from the burden of his father's parliamentary forfeiture went another way to work, and being a Privy Counsellor, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, offered, for the keeping of his place to take the oath, but would needs qualify it to his own sense, by declaring, 'That he was desirous to give obedience to the Test as far as he could and now took it so far as it is consistent with himself, and with the Protestant Religion: But that he did not mean to bind up himself in his profession from endeavouring, in a lawful way,

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thing he might think for the advantage of the church or state, not repugnant to the Protestant Religion and his loyalty: And this he understood as a part of his oath.' The Privy Council, taking into consideration this qualifying stricture, and finding it entirely destructive of the intention of the act, earnestly pressed Argyle to retract his declaration, representing to him, from the opinion of the ablest lawyers of the kingdom, that, by law, all such as put limitations upon their allegiance, were guilty of treason. But the presumptuous man refusing to depart from it in the least, and allowing copies of it to be spread abroad, was prosecuted for treason, and found guilty; but made his escape out of prison, by connivance, and got over to the then common asylum, Holland, where he was indeed as busy, but not so cautious, nor lucky, as his wily friend Stair: For venturing too soon, and on his own strength, to make the attempt which, at his taking the Test, he seems to have had in view, he was disappointed, and lost his head on a scaffold, three years before the grand design, which was more artfully concerted than his rash attempt had been, could be brought to perfection. Thus, these two eminent champions of Presbytery, who, whatever sentiments of affection they might have had for the crown, were avowed enemies of the church, and had introduced this double-faced oath to entangle the Episcopal Clergy, were unexpectedly caught in the trap of their own devising, and drew down upon themselves, the effects of an act which they had intended and hoped should have operated another way.

However, a foundation was now laid; and this severity, as it was called, to a nobleman of



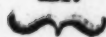
LETTER Argyle's note and figure, was made a plausi-  
 II. handle, to keep up the malignant humour against  
 both church and state: For soon after this, the  
 administration was alarmed by the discovery of a  
 new plot for assassinating the King and his brother,  
 in their returning from Newmarket to London, at a private house on the road called Rye,  
 from which circumstance, it has been called the *Rye-house Plot*. The first discovery of this  
 deep-laid scheme was made on the 12th of June  
 1683, and the prosecution of it, which lasted for  
 weeks, brought to light a great number in  
 nations who had been engaged in it; some  
 whom escaped in time, and others suffered for  
 Of the English, the person of the greatest character,  
 and who was most regretted on account of his  
 virtues in private life, was the Lord Russel, elevated  
 to the Earl of Bedford, who was found guilty  
 and beheaded on the 21st of July. This noble  
 Lord was attended, when under condemnation,  
 by two eminent divines, Dr. Tillotson, and a  
 countryman Dr. Burnet, who both laboured  
 to convince him of the sinfulness of the course  
 he was engaged in: And to work the more effect  
 upon him, Dr. Tillotson wrote him a letter  
 the day before his execution, in which he puts  
 in mind, ' That the christian religion doth plainly  
 \* ly forbid the resisting of authority: That  
 \* our religion is established by law, which is  
 \* only difference that can be urged between  
 \* our case and that of the primitive christians; yet  
 \* the same law which establishes our religion,  
 \* declared, that it is not lawful, on any pretence  
 \* whatever, to take up arms against the King  
 \* which ties the hands of subjects, tho' the law  
 \* nature, and general rules of scripture, had

at liberty: And that his Lordship's opinion LETTER  
LE  
of the lawfulness of resistance in certain cases,  
is contrary to the declared doctrine of all Pro-  
testant churches, tho' some particular persons  
have sometimes taught otherwise: Begging his  
Lordship, therefore, to consider how it will  
agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant  
religion, to go contrary to the general current of  
the Protestant doctrine.

The arguments of these two famous Doctors at  
this time, upon this intricate subject, especially  
his strong letter, were brought to their remem-  
brance some years after, upon the then apparent  
change in their conduct; and an attempt was  
made, from their side, to reconcile that conduct  
to their former principles, but with what justice  
or strength of reasoning on either side, I shall not  
take upon me to determine. I shall only observe  
how fashionable it was then to pretend, at least,  
an expression of fondness for the now ridiculed  
doctrine of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience;  
and that not only among the Episcopal clergy,  
whom their enemies are daily representing as the  
scatterers of Kings and enslavers of the people, but  
even among those who publicly avowed an opposi-  
tion to Prelacy, and would be thought the only  
defenders of the liberties and rights of mankind:  
For the Presbyterian Synod of Fife, in their 'Sea-  
sonable word of exhortation and admonition  
against Episcopacy,' in April 1661, use as high-  
sounding language this way, as the most fawning  
writer of the slavish tribe could have done, where,  
speaking of King Charles on his restoration, they  
call him 'their Sovereign, inferior to none but  
God, who is his only Judge, invested by God  
with a peerless supremacy over all persons and

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‘ ranks within his dominions, the chief nurse  
 ‘ father of the church, and keeper of both  
 ‘ tables of God’s law; the sovereign protector and  
 ‘ defender of the worship and ordinances of God  
 ‘ God’s vicegerent, sent by him to bear the sword  
 ‘ with imperial power; the supreme civil governor  
 ‘ nor over all persons, in all causes, civil and eccle-  
 ‘ clesiastical, &c. Who, if in any thing to be  
 ‘ joined we cannot give active obedience, we  
 ‘ will be pacified by our passive obedience, which  
 ‘ we resolve to yield, as our God calleth us, ra-  
 ‘ ther than to sin against him.’ Such was the  
 language then, however much exploded now; yet  
 inconsistent, indeed, with the practices and plots  
 which, under these fine sounding professions,  
 much infested both this reign and the next.

Of the Scotch partners in the Rye-house affair  
 the principal sufferer was Baillic of Jerviswood  
 who was condemned and executed next year for  
 his share in it. Besides him were concerned, the  
 Earl of Tarras, the Lord Melvil, the Lairds  
 Gesnock, Polwart, Torwoodlie, Westshiels, Easton,  
 Lenshaw, Gallowshiels, and Philiphaugh.  
 Sir John Cochran, Commissary Monro, the two  
 independent preachers Carstairs and Fergusson  
 with many others of less note, some of whom fled  
 over sea, and others saved their lives by turning  
 evidence. Thus was an end put to this traitorous  
 combination, which was intended to have produced  
 most fatal consequences to the nation; and the  
 King having retracted his former abused indul-  
 gences, both church and state were now in a better  
 way of enjoying some degree of peace and quietness  
 from the further attempts of fanatics of any kind.  
 But in the beginning almost of this flattering pro-  
 spect, an unlooked for event happened, which

a chain of co-operating circumstances, paved way for the Revolution that followed soon after: For on the 6th of February 1685, his Majesty, King Charles II. died at Whitehall, without lawful issue, in the 55th year of his age, and 4th of his reign; a Prince of such a mixture of qualities, that it is not easy to form a general character of him, further than what is universally acknowledged, that what we call good nature and desire of ease, was predominant in his constitution to such a degree, that it may justly be said of him, "He loved neither to give nor take trouble;" but how far this is commendable in King, is not for me to say.

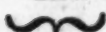
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I am, &amp;c.

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## L E T T E R LII.

*Peaceable Accession of James VII.—His Attachment to Popery, and impolitic Measures—Disorderly behaviour of the Scotch Bishops and Clergy—The King's Proclamation against the same—And Toleration of Recusants—Consequences of it—Declaration of the Prince of Orange—He invades England, and obliges the King to take Refuge in France.*

A.D. 1685. **T**HE same day that Charles died, his only surviving brother James Duke of Albany and York was proclaimed at London with the utmost solemnity, and with all the appearances of universal satisfaction. On the 28th of April the Parliament of Scotland met, and after reading the King's letter, the Duke of Queensberry the commissioner made a speech to them, in which, "I assure them of his Majesty's resolution to maintain and protect the government of the church

by law established, together with the rights and liberties of the people, and recommends to them the suppressing that fanatical and irreclaimable party, who had brought them to the brink of ruin and disgrace, and were not more rebels against the King, than enemies to mankind.' In return to which the Parliament passed the following acts. 1. For ratifying and confirming, in their whole strength and tenor, all former acts and statutes for the security, liberty and freedom of the true church of God, and the Protestant religion, presently professed within the kingdom. 2. For annexing and uniting the excise of foreign and inland commodities to the crown of Scotland for ever. 3. Ordaining that all such persons as being cited in case of high treason, field house-conventicles, or church-irregularities, shall refuse to give testimony, shall be liable to be punished as guilty of these crimes respectively in which they refuse to be witnesses. 4. Making a plentiful offer to the King of 260,000 pounds year-ly during his life. And 5. Declaring that the giving and taking the national covenant, as explained in 1638, or the solemn league and covenant commonly called, or writing in defence of them, or signing them to be lawful and obligatory on themselves or others, should incur the crimes and pains of treason.

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Thus the reign of James had a promising enough appearance in the beginning: but this agreeable prospect was soon interrupted. For within a few weeks, Argyle landed from Holland in hopes of a powerful junction at home, and being taken at Inverkeithing before he could collect a sufficient force, was carried to Edinburgh, and on the 30th June beheaded, on his former sentence. This early

LETTER early piece of justice immediately opened  
 LII. mouths of the secret malecontents, and awakes  
 the remembrance of the prosecutions for the  
 plot, which in the next reign the successful per-  
 magnified with great bitterness, and to this  
 exclaim against, as flagrant instances of the cru-  
 and sanguinary tyranny of the two Stuart  
 thers.\* Yet the Parliament continued their  
 professions of loyalty, and on hearing of Argy-  
 invasion in Scotland, and Monmouth's march at  
 the same time in England, they promised  
 "stand by his Majesty with their lives and  
 "tunes without reserve," not meaning thereby  
 introduce a blind slavery, as has been malicio-  
 pretended, but merely to exclude those trea-  
 ble limitations of obedience invented by the Co-  
 nanterers, contrary to standing laws, and on  
 pose to seduce people into rebellion.

Thus matters went on here for a while, calm  
 and peaceably enough, notwithstanding the King's  
 attachment to Popery, which was universally  
 known, and which his greatest enemies acknow-  
 ledge was the only blemish in his character.  
 And indeed when we remember what a father  
 was educated under, till he was fifteen years of  
 a man who had given such proofs of his un-  
 standing the religious controversies of the time  
 as fully as most men in his day, and who main-

\* These people would do well to remember what happened  
 not many years before to the two Marquisses of Huntingdon  
 Montrose, to President Spotswode, to the Laird of Haddo  
 hundreds of Gentlemen more, many of whom fell a sacrifice  
 resentment of this very Argyle's father, in the bloody days of the  
 Covenant, besides the many thousands who died in the civil wars,  
 the guilt of which lies on them who raised it, and never made  
 the least profession of repentance for it.

to have been a martyr for, as he was a constant devout adherer to, the principles of pure protestant christianity, as distinguished both from popish

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persecution, and covenanted fanaticism, we cannot wish that this son had, like his elder brother, continued to be satisfied with the religion of a father. But it is needless now to be wish-

ing or reasoning upon the point. The fact was against our wishes, and as matters turned out, against his Royalty and worldly interest. For in

England, where his personal presence made his conduct more conspicuous, his popish attachments began to raise jealousies and apprehensions

in his prejudice: And these were increased by his impolitic measures, which whether he was

drawn into them by the treachery of others, or entirely by the force of his own inclination, were made great handles of offence. Such were his orders

in March 1686, to the Archbishop of Canterbury to prohibit the clergy's preaching on controverted points; the suspending the Bishop of London

in September, by the high commission court of his Majesty's erection; the sending a formal ambassa-

de to the Pope, and receiving a Nuncio from him, when the then Pope was none of his friends; the

striking upon the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in forcing members upon them against their statutes; and his admitting his Jesuit con-

fessor, father Petre, into the privy council, which, as is told, his Italian Queen, Popish as she was, bowed on her knees, tho' to no purpose, might be

excused. These irregular proceedings in such a short time, seemingly of no great moment in themselves, being of a suspicious look in their probable consequences, imperceptibly and progressively gen-



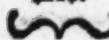
**LETTER** dered the flame which soon broke out with violence in England, and in course caught this kingdom too. And one thing which contributed much to give the alarm here, was the unhappy circumstance of the Earl of Perth, who had been made chancellor in 1684, on the resignation of the first Earl of Aberdeen, and had hitherto appeared a firm Protestant, changing his religion and embracing the King's; with a view, it was said, to get a better by that compliance of the treasurer Queenberry, with whom he had some differences about matters of office, and who accordingly, to gratify this new favourite, was turned out of that lucrative post.

But the great ground of quarrel was laid in the beginning of the year 1686, by the court-party bringing into the second session of Parliament the famous bill for taking off the late test and other penal laws against the Papists, which was a favourite point with the King, and what he had much at heart to accomplish. This was a ticklish business thrown upon the Bishops, and in the parliamentary character they could not but take a share in it. It was their misfortune too not to be unanimous in their sentiments upon it, which deed was not to be much wondered at, from the nature of the proposal, and the double capacity in which they stood, as belonging both to the church and to the state. As a branch of the legislature it might be thought unpopular in them to have a hand in removing laws which, however severe, had been at first placed and often renewed as a necessary barrier to the constitution. On the other side, it might look uncharacteristic in Christian Bishops, to be against any appearance of lenity and compassion to a number of their countrymen.

ing under the perpetual terror of bloody penalties religious mistakes. It is true the bill was soon published: For it went no further than the Lords of the articles, and never came into the house.— the disappointment produced grievous and visible effects. Such of the Ministry as opposed the chancellor and the court were removed from their offices, and amongst the rest the Advocate's place was taken from the learned Sir George Macdonald, who was as able a lawyer and as loyal a subject as the King had, and given to Stair's eldest son, Sir John Dalrymple, to the great surprize of many who knew the son's principles to be the same with the father's, and feared the consequences of such a man getting into such an employment. At the weight of the King's displeasure fell most sensibly upon the church, where he expected to have found the readiest submission, and over which the assentory act gave him such an unlimited power.

To soften this displeasure if possible, two of the Bishops, the Primate Rofs of St. Andrews and Bp. Gordon of Edinburgh went to court, and in March drew up and subscribed a paper, in which they say, It seemeth reasonable and dutiful to grant what his Majesty desireth may be done for him, viz. To take off the sanguinary laws concerning religion, in so far as they infer the pains of death or forfeiture against those of his persuasion merely for their religion, and that the Papists have an ease and immunity from the execution of the other penalties civil or criminal contained in the laws, merely and alienarly for their religion and exercise of their worship in private houses. This seemeth to us, who are not Lawyers, to be equitable and reasonable to be done, con-

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considering that the execution of sanguinary law  
has fallen into an absolute desuetude for many  
years past, and since upon doing hereof his Ma-  
jesty is so gracious as not to intend or desire the  
repealing of any laws already made for the se-  
curity of the Protestant religion, but is willing  
further to establish and confirm the same by any  
other laws or acts of Parliament that can be  
made for that end. Nor do we see any danger  
or insecurity arising to our established Protes-  
tant religion by so doing, but rather an apparent  
benefit, by his Majesty's consenting to a more  
full and ample security thereof: And this is by  
our own private opinion, for we cannot unde-  
take to say that this would be the opinion of  
others. For as we are clearly determined by  
God's grace to continue firm and constant in  
the reformed Protestant religion to our lives end  
so also are we to serve our most gracious so-  
vereign, and to comply with his proposals and  
desires, as far as they do consist with the safety  
of our consciences and religion, upon which we  
assure ourselves his Majesty's grace and goodness  
will never impose.

This paper, tho' expressive of duty to, and con-  
fidence in the King, to a degree which even gave  
offence to many, yet did not altogether avert the  
impending storm. For on the 22d of May the  
King wrote a letter to the privy-council, ordering  
them to remove Bishop Bruce of Dunkeld from  
his diocese, which was put in execution accom-  
panyingly. Other two Bishops had been marked  
victims to the wrath of the court on this trying  
occasion, but by some means or other they had  
been overlooked, and the stroke lighted on Bishop  
Bruce, who it seems, had either been more active

in his opposition, or had fewer friends than his brethren. Nor did these violent proceedings stop here. For in a few months after, another of our Bishops, and he no less than the Archbishop of Glasgow, met with the same fate by a like stretch of the regal supremacy, the occasion of which was this. The King's inclinations to popery, and his early avowing of them in so strong a manner, with the countenance of the chancellor's friendship and protection, had set the Romish missionaries agog, and emboldened them to spread their distinguishing tenets with more openness and freedom than was thought consistent with either the standing laws or the public safety. This unwelcome appearance had alarmed the whole nation, and the alarm had been increased by an unexpected circumstance which had lately occurred, to the surprize of all Europe. The French King Louis XIV. our King's cousin-german, had last year by his absolute power revoked and annulled the famous edict of Nantz, which his grandfather Henry IV. had granted in favour of the Protestants, to allow them the free and undisturbed exercise of their religion, and which had been again and again solemnly ratified and confirmed, and even by this King himself among the first acts of his reign. This happening at the time of a Popish King's accession to the throne of Britain, looked like a designed combination between the two monarchs to distress, and even exterminate their Protestant subjects: and while the Romish Priests here were, under the support of so favourable a conjuncture, exerting themselves with all their might to propagate their doctrines and make profelytes, it was not to be thought, neither would it have been justifiable, that the established clergy could or would  
be

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**LETTER** be slack in defending the dignity and purity of  
**LII.** their religion, by every method which the law  
 allowed them, and their stations required of them. Among the many who stood forth in this important struggle, Dr. James Canaries minister of Se-  
 kirk in the diocese of Glasgow, being employed to preach on the 14th of February 1686, in the high church of Edinburgh, before a numerous auditory, where most of the privy council and many of the Bishops were present, made it his business to point out and argue against the various corruptions of popery, warning and exhorting his audience, as they tendered their eternal welfare, to beware of being perverted to a religion so contrary to the spirit, and so destructive of the great design of the gospel.

From Gal.  
 v. 6.

The Chancellor, on hearing of this flaming sermon, was so enraged at it, that having sent for the Doctor in a day or two, he abused him with threatening, and even scurrilous language; and not satisfied with venting his passion in words, he ordered the Archbishop of Glasgow, Dr. Cairncross, to punish him for his presumption; threatening, if he did not, to take another course with them both. The Archbishop, being on the other hand afraid of the Chancellor's resentment, and not willing to lose his popularity on the other side, prevailed with the Doctor to step out of the way a little, and go up to London, under pretence of making friends at court. While the Doctor was at London, he shewed his sermon to the Bishop of Ely, and some others, who highly approved it, and procured it to be printed, under the title "Rome's Additions to Christianity;" with a long letter, by way of vindication, prefixed to it. This inflamed the Chancellor and his party still more.

...against the Archbishop; so that, to save ap-  
pearances, he called the Doctor before the Synod of  
Peebles, and having in vain tampered with him  
to demit, for preventing worse consequences,  
put a kind of inhibition upon him, not to use his  
ministry for some time. However, the Chancellor  
was not pacified with this partial censure; and in  
short, the contention about the sermon, and the  
Doctor's errand to London, which the Chancellor  
reclaimed bitterly against, as injurious to him,  
was kept up after a strange manner for some  
months, till in end, the affair reaching the King's  
ears, orders came down, in December, to have  
the Archbishop and Canaries confronted together,  
and examined by the Chancellor, in presence of  
the Primate and other two Bishops.

At this meeting, the Archbishop was found  
highly blameable by all present, for having played  
the politician too much between the Chancellor  
and the Doctor; and though, to recover the  
ground which he now saw he had lost, he declared  
readiness to retract his former scruples, and to  
go all lengths with the King's desire of favour to  
the Papists, it availed nothing for favour to him-  
self: For in January next year, the King sent  
down his letters of deprivation against him; by  
virtue of which, the Privy Council did, on the  
10th of January 1687, 'Declare and enact, the  
said Alexander, late Archbishop of Glasgow, re-  
moved from that Metropolitcal See, and depriv-  
ed of any right, title, benefit, or privilege,  
which he had or enjoyed of the said Archbishop-  
ric any manner of way; and that, from the  
day and date of his Majesty's letter, recorded in  
their books; and appoint intimation of this act  
to be duly made to the said late Archbishop.'

Which

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LETTER Which was done accordingly. And the very day  
 LII. after this act of council, the King's letters were  
 presented, recommending Dr. John Paterfon  
 Bishop of Edinburgh, to be Archbishop of Glas-  
 gow, in the room of Dr. Alexander Cairncroft  
 now deprived. The See of Dunkeld, which had  
 been vacated in the same manner last year, had  
 been filled, on the 19th of October, with Dr.  
 John Hamilton, a descendant of Archbishop Ham-  
 milton, the last Popish Primate; and this year the  
 King, among the many party-coloured denomina-  
 tions of clergy, who, he was willing, should taste  
 of the merciful cup of his prerogative, grants dis-  
 pensation, of date August 15, 1687, 'to Dr.  
 Bruce, late Bishop of Dunkeld, for exercising  
 'the function of the ministry;' in prosecution of  
 which Royal rehabilitation, on the 4th of May  
 thereafter, he sends his Congé d'Elire to the Chap-  
 ter of Orkney, and nominates Andrew, late  
 Bishop of Dunkeld, to be by them elected Bishop  
 of that See, vacant since the death of Bishop  
 Mackenzie in February before.

It might be reckoned invidious to the memory  
 of an unfortunate Prince, to offer any commendation  
 upon these high exertions of a power, which  
 whether inherent in the Crown, or affixed to it by  
 Acts of Parliament, was so burdensome and detri-  
 mental to the church. Yet, whatever sentiments  
 this Popish King had entertained of the Episcopal  
 Church of Scotland, whose government and libe-  
 ties he had solemnly promised to defend and main-  
 tain, it was very strange that he should thus, to  
 his own pleasure, and in such an arbitrary manner  
 turn out, and do what he could to exauctorate  
 Bishops, for with-holding their approbation from  
 measures which appeared injurious to the interest

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that church, of which, by their office, they were governors. I would, therefore, put it as a question to be seriously pondered by the sincere admirers of the primitive plan of ecclesiastic constitution, Whether the external dignities, honours, and emoluments, annexed by the state to the church, be really a sufficient equivalent for these oppressive incumbrances, which yet are but natural and necessary consequences of that annexation; and how far any church, which pretends to copy after the original model, and has enjoyed the benefits of ecclesiastic freedom, under the outward advantages of political separation, can, in conformity to such professions and enjoyments, and purely as a Church, abstractedly from other considerations, wish for a legal re-establishment, clogged with these unpleasant, tho' unavoidable conditions?

The King having failed in his first attempt for the security of his Popish subjects, resolved to go another way to work, and try to effect by Prerogative, what he could not compass by Parliament. Accordingly, on the 12th of February 1687, he published a Proclamation, dispensing, by virtue of his absolute power, with all tests and penal laws of any kind; and allowing full liberty of conscience to every denomination of recusants, in that his ancient kingdom of Scotland. Such a toleration, from a King of James' principles, tho' expressed in terms of a general comprehension, was suspected to have a particular aspect, and to be mainly intended for the benefit of his own favourites, by classing them with what might be thought less obnoxious company. It was said too, that the dispensing power was of dangerous admission in the precedent; and, if it should be called



LETTER in question, would be but uncertain in the continuance. Yet, the Presbyterians readily hold of it, and began immediately to build meeting-houses and call preachers, without any suspicion of the design, or thought about the duration of it. And so happy were they, with this ambiguous infringement of law in their favour, that forgetting their professed aversion to Papists, both in person and principle, they sent up a formal address of thanks to the King, of which the following is a copy:

To the King's most excellent Majesty, this humble Address of the Presbyterian Ministers in his Majesty's kingdom of Scotland. May please your Majesty; We, your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the Ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion in your ancient kingdom of Scotland, from the deep sense we have of your Majesty's gracious and surprizing favour, in not only putting a stop to our long sad sufferings for Non-conformity, but granting us the liberty of the public and peaceable exercise of our ministerial function without any hazard, as we bless the great God, who hath put this in your royal heart, do withal find ourselves bound in duty to offer our most humble and hearty thanks to your sacred Majesty, the favour bestowed being to us and all the people of our persuasion, valuable above all our earthly comforts: Especially, since we have ground from your Majesty to believe that our loyalty is not to be questioned on account of our being Presbyterians, who, as we have, amidst all former temptations, endeavored, so are firmly resolved, still to preserve our entire loyalty in our doctrine and practice, (consonant to our known principles, which, according

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ing to the Holy Scriptures, are contained in the Confession of Faith generally owned by Presbyterians in all your Majesty's dominions), and, by the help of God, so to demean ourselves, as your Majesty may find cause rather to enlarge than to diminish your favours towards us: Thoroughly persuading ourselves, from your Majesty's justice and goodness, that if we shall, at any time, be otherwise represented, your Majesty will not give credit to such information, until you take due cognition thereof: And humbly beseeching, that those who promote any disloyal principles and practices, as we do disown them, may be looked upon as none of ours, whatever name they may assume to themselves. May it please your most excellent Majesty, graciously to accept this our humble Address, as proceeding from the plainness and simplicity of loyal and thankful hearts, much engaged, by this your royal favour, to continue our fervent prayers, to the King of Kings, for divine illumination and conduct, with all other blessings spiritual and temporal, ever to attend your Royal Person and Government; which is the greatest duty can be rendered to your Majesty, by your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most obedient subjects. At Edinburgh, July 21, 1687.

I shall make no observations on this temporizing strain of fallacious compliment, neither will I say that all the Presbyterians, either preachers or people, were in the secret of what was certainly going on in Holland against his Majesty at this time. No doubt, many of them were plain, simple men, and might be in a great measure strangers to the machinations of the dark cunning

politicians

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politicians among them, so might, in the simplicity of their hearts, and without looking forward to consequences, accept the King's indulgence and be honestly thankful to him for it. On the other hand, it is as little to be doubted that others of them, indeed all their eminent Preachers, many of whom had been in Holland, and now came over from it, had kept up a correspondence with the malecontent fugitives, Melvil, Polwart, Stain and the rest of them, and were, by that means intimately acquainted with the designs on foot which could not have been brought to such a complete accomplishment so soon after, without such a previous correspondence. Now what appellation belongs to these men, who could either frame or allow their consent, tacit or open, to such a deceitful address to a King, or indeed to any one whom they were at the time caballing to ruin may be referred to every conscientious Protestant who hates the infamous practice of Jesuitical equivocation, with the same zeal with which his christianity teaches him to condemn the doctrine of it.

But acceptable as this new and extensive indulgence was to the inferior people in the South and West, who hastily and thoughtlessly took hold of it, it was some time before those of higher quality and interest, even there, could be persuaded to trust to it. As for the other parts of the kingdom, in some shires, there were not above two meeting-houses, in some none at all, and in the vast extent of country, north of the Tay there never were above three or four, and these too neither much frequented, nor by people of great figure: all which is a kind of demonstration, how little fond the generality of the nation was then of that way, notwithstanding the might

handle that was afterwards made, of the in-  
 tinuations of the people being in favour of it.—  
 Yet, under all the encouragement now given to  
 Presbyterians by a Popish King, there was a party  
 still in the Western counties, of the meaner sort  
 indeed, who acted more consistently with their for-  
 mer principles and practice, and would in no shape  
 accept or own the present toleration, but did open-  
 ly in their sermons, and by their pens, declare  
 their dislike of it, and railed more bitterly against  
 their brethren who took the benefit of it, than  
 against the clergy established by law. Wherever  
 the preachers of this stamp came, as they were al-  
 ways wandering about without any fixed charge,  
 they carried great numbers of the Presbyterians  
 after them, and would preach neither in kirk nor  
 meeting-house, but in the open fields and on the  
 sides of hills, for which they were called Moun-  
 tain-men or Field-preachers. This bold and dis-  
 orderly practice was equally alarming to both the  
 other sides. The government published procla-  
 mations against these vagabond preachers, especi-  
 ally against the three capital ringleaders among  
 them, Rennie, Shiels and Houston, and gave com-  
 missions to the landholders of the Presbyterian  
 persuasion in those parts, to hold justice-courts  
 within their own districts, and upon seizing any  
 of these Hill-men, to punish them as the law or-  
 dained. The other Presbyterians too, who had  
 embraced the indulgence, were grievously offend-  
 ed at them, and expressed great keenness to have  
 them suppressed at any rate: To such a degree, in-  
 deed, of zeal, that, when Rennie was apprehend-  
 ed, they earnestly pressed the King's Advocate, Sir  
 John Dalrymple, their trusty friend, to hang the  
 man, "because he was likely to divide their  
 church."

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**LETTER** "church." Such were the effects of this indulgence, which after all did not answer the King's intentions in the mean time, and in end was made a great handle of outcry against him, by the very men who now took the advantage of it, and professed so much gratitude for it.

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All this while the established clergy, in a calm and quiet manner, did what they could, to guard their flocks against, and point out to them the danger of, schismatical practices and heretical doctrines of any kind. And it was repeatedly observed at the time, that while the church-men, who were the only sufferers by this indulgence, were in their station vigilant and zealous against the threatening increase of Popery, the Presbyterian tho' they knew this was the design at the bottom were generally silent upon that delicate point, not chusing to give offence to those, on whose account they had met with so much favour. Indeed the situation of the established clergy at the time, in the discharge of their function, was of the most ticklish and embarrassing nature. On the one hand, any particular appearance of zeal against the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome was considered as affronting the King, and exposed them to the severity of that legal power which had already chastised the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld. On the other hand, the Presbyterian taking hold of the comprehensive indulgence, gave the Parochial ministers all the disturbance they could, by trumping up accusations against them and fomenting malicious inquiries into their moral character.\* Such was the posture of our estab-

\* Two instances of this in the year 1688 among many others we have a particular account of, the one of Mr. David Robertson minister of Paisley, and the other of Mr. Andrew Darling minister of Glasgow.

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lished church, between the weight of Popish jealousy upon the office, and the insults of Presbyterian malevolence upon the reputation of her clergy, and all the support they had under these different attacks, which the laws could not screen them from, was the maintenance of a good cause, and the comfort of a good conscience.

Yet, under all these discouraging consequences of the indulgence, there was one circumstance lucky for our clergy, that they were not required, as their brethren in England were, to have an active hand in it, by publishing it through the kingdom. In England the King had on the 4th of April 1687 published a declaration, "allowing liberty of conscience, and suspending and dispensing with all tests and penal laws," which he reinforced by another to the same purpose on the 10th of April 1688. And within a few days after an order of council came out, 'commanding this last declaration to be publicly read in time of divine service, on such and such days, in all churches and chapels in the kingdom, and requiring the Bishops to cause copies of it be sent and distributed in their respective diocesses, to be read accordingly.' Against this oppressive and superfluous order, Archbishop Sancroft and six of his suffragans, who happened to be in town, signed a petition to his Majesty, begging him to dispense with their reading or distributing the said declaration. For this they were charged with seditious and presenting a libel, as it was called, and committed to the Tower on the 8th of June, but were acquitted in Westminster-hall on the

Stitchel, both harrassed on the score of alledged scandal by Presbyterian heritors, and blackened by the suborned testimony of Presbyterian witnesses in their respective parishes.

29th,

LETTER 29th, to the great joy of the whole city, and even  
 LII. of the army, which the King in person was re-  
 viewing on Hounslow-heath at the time.

This was the most fatal of all the unlucky steps that the King had been betrayed into; and the suspicions of his designs against the Protestant religion were greatly increased, by his dealing harshly, and in such an arbitrary way, with the Bishops, only for doing, with all modesty, what their duty as Bishops both required and entitled them to do. He began at last to see his error and attempted some rectifications: But it was now too late. The scheme which had been so long forming, and to which all the plots in the late reign, and complaints in this, were so many preparations, was now drawing towards a completion: For in October there came over, 'A Declaration from his Highness William Henry, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange, of the reasons inducing him to appear in arms in the kingdom of England, for preserving of the Protestant Religion, and for restoring the laws and liberties of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This Prince of Orange was the King's nephew and son-in-law, which gave him a presumptive title to the crown both by his mother and his wife, and afforded him a pretext for inquiring into the birth of the son, who had been born to the King on the 10th of June before. In this previous declaration all the faults and illegalities, as they are called of the administration under both his uncles, are enumerated with sufficient aggravations; and professions of love and regard to the interests of Britain are held forth, in terms of seemingly the most disinterested candour.

When the news of the intended invasion reached

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and Scotland, the kingdom was universally affected, but from different motives, and with different views. The Presbyterians, who had been long looking for it, were elevated with the near prospect of having their wishes gratified; and the Church-men thought it their duty to express their attachment to their Sovereign, at this alarming crisis. The University of St. Andrews drew up an address to the King, signed by the Archbishop, as Chancellor, and by all the Professors and Heads of Colleges, testifying, in strong language, and with abundance of argument, their stedfast adherence to the christian principles of loyalty and obedience, and concluding thus; 'And we dare, with the sincerest boldness of our honest hearts, assure your Majesty, that the just and never unfashionable notions of our duty, with the entire trust and confidence which we repose in your Majesty, shall ever preserve us from being diverted or frightened from our love and obedience, and shall excite our perpetual prayers for the happiness of your Majesty and your kingdoms.' And on the 10th of November, twelve of the Bishops signed and sent up a conjunct letter to the King, where, among other expressions of respect and fidelity, they say, 'We are amazed to hear of the danger of an invasion from Holland, which excites our prayers for an universal repentance to all orders of men, that God may yet spare his people, preserve your royal person, prevent the effusion of christian blood, and give such success to your Majesty's arms, that all who invade your just and undoubted rights, and disturb or interrupt the peace of your realms, may be disappointed and clothed with shame, so that on your royal head the crown may still flourish: And as, by

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LETTER ' the grace of God, we shall preserve, in ourselve  
 LII. ' a firm and unshaken loyalty, so we shall be caref  
 and zealous to promote, in all your subjects, a  
 intemerable and stedfast allegiance to your Ma  
 jesty, as an essential part of their religion, an  
 of the glory of our holy profession; not doub  
 ing but that God, in his great mercy, wh  
 hath so often preserved and delivered your Ma  
 jesty, will still preserve and deliver you, b  
 giving you the hearts of your subjects, and th  
 necks of your enemies.' This was all the  
 could, as christian Bishops, do; and I hope  
 may be said, without giving offence to pres  
 times, that, as matters yet stood, they were  
 least excusable for what they now did. It wou  
 seem, by their manner of expression, that the  
 looked upon this threatened invasion as carryin  
 on, and to be effected, entirely by foreign force  
 without any considerable junction or assistance  
 home; and it was no way inconsistent with the  
 Protestant character then, more than it would  
 now, to call any foreign Prince, howeve  
 nearly related to the crown, the King's ene  
 my, when he was preparing to invade his kin  
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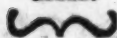
But before this dutiful letter could reach the  
 King, the alarming design which occasioned  
 was effectuated, after an accidental disappoint  
 ment of some weeks: For on the 5th of Novem  
 ber 1688, the Prince of Orange landed, with  
 powerful army, at Torbay in Devonshire, and  
 was soon joined by a great many of those  
 whom the King had placed the greatest con  
 fidence: Even his favourite daughter, the Prince  
 Anne, who had been lately married to Prince  
 George of Denmark, deserted her father, and  
 added

added her weight, which was, at that time, far **LETTER**  
 from being inconsiderable, to the support of her **LII.**  
 brother-in-law's pretensions. By this accession of  
 influence, and the continual flocking in of secret  
 friends to the Dutch standard, every thing went  
 so successfully with the Prince of Orange, that  
 on the 17th of December his forces took possession  
 of all the posts about Whitehall and St. James's,  
 and at midnight, he sent an order to the King to  
 remove; which mortifying order, from such a  
 quarter, and at such an unseasonable hour, the  
 now forsaken Monarch was obliged to submit to,  
 and was conveyed under a Dutch guard to Ro-  
 chester, where he took shipping for France, hav-  
 ing sent over his Queen and young Son some days  
 before. Such, and so sudden, was the fate of  
 King James VII. of whom I shall say no more  
 than what is universally acknowledged, that his  
 counsellors were his ruin; and that, whether he  
 deserved his fate or not, he certainly did not merit  
 such usage at the hands from which he received it.

I am, &c.

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## LETTER LIII.

*Revolution in Favour of the Prince of Orange—  
Dismal Effects of it in Scotland—The Conven-  
tion of Estates acknowledges K. William and  
Mary—Is turned into a Parliament, and abo-  
lishes Episcopacy—Persecution and Distresses  
the Episcopal Clergy.*

**A**S soon as the news of the Prince of Orange's success reached Scotland, the Cameronians or Hill-men, in the West, began such a course of barbarity and licentious violence as would scarce be credited, if many of the witnesses of, and sufferers under it, had not come down to the knowledge of some who are alive at this day. On receiving certain accounts of his son-in-law being landed, the King had called up all the standing force from Scotland, to assist in opposing that invasion. This left the nation entirely without defence, and gave all discontented people a fair opportunity of executing their resentments, as their passions and interests moved them: And none having fiercer

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passions, and more unchristian spite against the established Church and Clergy, than these Cameronians, they were not dilatory in seizing the wished for occasion, and prosecuting their resentment with all imaginable cruelty. Their first out-breaking was on Christmas Day, when a body of ninety armed men attacked the Minister of Cumnock first, and then the Minister of Auchinleck, and so proceeded thro' the other clergy of the shire of Ayr. On the same day, another band of them began in the Presbytery of Dunbarton, and went on in their desolating progress, with equal rage and fury. It is needless to be particular in describing all their barbarous exploits, in the various parts of that miserable country: Suffice it to say, that in a short time, the armed rabble had dispossessed all the clergy in the shires of Ayr, Renfrew, Clydsdale, Nithsdale, and most of Annandale and Galloway, to the number of two hundred: And

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\* Their method, in general, was to assemble in the night time in armed bodies here and there, and to force themselves into any man's house against whom they had any private quarrel, but particularly those of the clergy, which they plundered and abused as they pleased. They then carried the minister to the church-yard, or to some other public place of the town or village, and there, with all the personal abuse they could think of, exposed him as a condemned malefactor; giving him a strict charge, under the severest penalties, never to preach any more there, but to remove himself and family immediately. And, for a conclusion of their wanton malice, they never omitted to tear their gowns over their heads, and rend them in pieces, or throw them into the flames. When they had done with the poor men themselves, they locked the kirk doors and carried the keys with them. And when any minister was so hardy as expostulate with them, or ask them by what rule of either religion or morality they could justify such excesses, they answered, "By the rule and law of the Solemn League and Covenant, by which they were bound to extirpate Prelacy, and bring malignant to condign punishment."

having



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having done their business in these parts, they had the boldness, about the end of January, to make an attempt on the clergy of Edinburgh next, but were stopped for a while in their career, by the Members of the College of Justice, and some other gentlemen, who armed, and kept guard several days, for defence of themselves and their ministers.

Such was the broken state of the country on this sudden dissolution of the Government, and so quickly did the contrivers of it seize the opportunity of executing what they had been so long contriving and aiming at. The executive part of the administration, knew not how to act on the occasion. The privy council which, by the constitution of Scotland, had the sole management in the intervals of Parliament, was divided; and the discontented faction in it, raised the mob of Edinburgh against Perth the chancellor, and carried their rage to such a height, that on his endeavouring to escape to France, they sent him prisoner to the castle of Stirling, where he lay four years, and then was banished the British dominions. The Bishops too were at a loss how to proceed in their sphere, consistently with duty, and character. They had indeed, upon hearing that the Prince of Orange was actually landed, commissioned two of their number, Dr. Bruce Bishop of Orkney and Dr. Rose, lately promoted to the See of Edinburgh, to wait upon the King with a renewal of their fidelity, and to procure the advice and assistance of their English brethren at this critical juncture. But before Bishop Rose had reached London, having been detained some time by his colleague's indisposition, which in end prevented

anted his attendance altogether, the King was LETTER  
 one, and all was anarchy and confusion. LIII.

The Prince had taken up his lodgings at St. James's, and had summoned such members as had served in any of Charles the second's parliaments to meet him at Westminster, by whose advice he called a convention of the three estates of England to sit down on the 22d of January. At the same time such of the Scotch nobility as happened to be in London in the course of office, or had come upon design, had frequent conferences among themselves, about the present state of affairs, and what steps should be taken for the good of the nation. At one of these conferences, the Earl of Mar, eldest son to the Duke of Hamilton, who was likewise present, delivered his opinion plainly and honestly in these words; 'I have all the honour and deference imaginable for the Prince of Orange; I think him a brave Prince, and that we owe him great obligations for contributing so much to our deliverance from Popery: But while I pay these praises, I cannot violate my duty to my master. I must distinguish between his Popery and his person: I dislike the one, but have sworn and do owe allegiance to the other, which makes it impossible for me to sign away, that which I cannot forbear believing is the King my master's right; for his present absence from us in France can no more affect my duty, than his longer absence from us has done all this while: And therefore, as the Prince has desired our advice, mine is, That we should move his Majesty to return and call a free Parliament for securing our religion and property, which in my humble opinion will at last be found the best way to heal all our breaches.'

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This speech however had no effect: For on the 8th of January 1689 it was agreed among them that they should formally wait upon the Prince of Orange, and desire him to call a convention of the Estates of Scotland, to meet on the 14th of March next, and in the mean time to take upon him the administration of their government, to both which his Highness readily assented. Upon this prospect of a temporary administration of justice, Bishop Rose applied to the Bishop of London to use his interest with the Prince to put a stop to the lawless persecutions of the clergy in Scotland, which application his Lordship of London did not incline to have any thing to do with. He next addressed his countryman Dr. Burnet, who had been a great promoter of the Prince's expedition and was his particular favourite, wishing him to exert himself in behalf of his distressed brethren but was put off by the Doctor with this silly evasion, 'that he did not meddle in Scots affairs.' The suffering clergy themselves, when they saw the end of their miseries from that unruly rabble, drew up duly-attested accounts of what they had met with in their several presbyteries, and on the 22d of January delegated Dr. Scot, Dean of Glasgow, 'to go up to London, and represent to the Prince of Orange and to the Lords spiritual and temporal, the grievances, oppressions and injuries they were labouring under in Scotland, for their firm adherence to Episcopacy,' undertaking at the same time upon the greatest peril to prove the truth of their allegations, if they could but get a fair hearing.

This seems to have had some weight: For on the 6th of February the Prince gave out a proclamation for keeping the peace in Scotland, 'and

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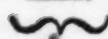
precisely prohibiting and discharging all disturbance and violence upon account of religion, or the exercise thereof, or any such like pretence, and that no interruption be made, or, if any hath been made, that it cease, in the free and peaceable exercise of religion, whether in churches or in public or private meetings, of those of a different persuasion, and requiring all men or numbers of men in arms by virtue of any order or authority, and under any title or designation whatever, immediately to separate, dismiss and disband themselves, and retire to their respective dwellings." Yet this proclamation, instead of quenching the flame, rather increased it. The gentlemen who had associated to defend themselves and the regular clergy, having been always taught to respect any appearance of authority, immediately disbanded, and laid down their arms as required: But the fanatic mobs became more furious and insolent than ever, and continued to abuse and eject all the clergy whom they could reach. Even in the city of Glasgow, and on the very Sunday after the proclamation had been read at the cross, the Hill-men from the country, assisted by the meeting-house-Presbyterians in the town, assaulted the Magistrates and congregation at worship in the high-kirk, and wounded a great many of them before they could get out of their hands. Complaint of this fresh insult was sent up to Dr. Hall, Principal of the college of Glasgow, then at London, who presented the account to the Prince of Orange, but was told that, as the dyet for the meeting of the estates was drawing near, it would be proper to refer all such complaints to the meeting for redress.

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The Prince of Orange however had by this time got a new addition both to his titles and authority. The English convention, which had fallen down on the 22d of January, had at last, after a good deal of altercation between the Lords and Commons, agreed, 'that King James, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath *abdicated* the government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant.' In consequence of this vote, on the 13th of February both Houses waited on the Prince and Princess of Orange, with a declaration asserting the rights and liberties of the subject, and resolving, 'That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be and be declared King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, to hold to them during their joint lives and the life of the survivor of them; Remainder to the heirs of the body of the Princess, remainder to the Princess Ann and the heirs of her body, remainder to the heirs of the body of the Prince of Orange.

This was this dark scene cleared up to the expectation of one party, and surprize of another. And now the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was still at London, was denied the freedom of making any farther application, in behalf of the afflicted clergy at home, as he was told, it would not be received, unless he addressed the new King by his new style, which he had no commission from his brethren, nor thought himself at liberty to do. Before he left England, he had a second communion with the Bishop of London, who pressed him much to come into the new King's measures, with this powerful argument, 'You see, my Lord, that the King having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a swimming with one hand.

' The

The Presbyterians have joined him closely, and offer to support him, and therefore he cannot cast them off, unless he could see how otherwise he can be served. And he bids me tell you, that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland: For while there, he was made to believe, that Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian, but now he sees, that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for Episcopacy, and it is the trading and inferior sort, that are for Presbytery: Wherefore he bids me tell you, that if you will undertake to serve him, to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians.' To this ensnaring proposal, Bishop Rose returned such an answer as was consistent and pertinent enough at the time, but gave no prospect of either his own or his brethren's willingness to comply with these terms, whatever should be the consequence. However the English Bishop commended his openness and ingenuity, and told him, he believed that was really the case. 'For,' said he, 'all this time you have been here, neither have you waited on the King, nor have any of your brethren the Scotch Bishops made any addresses to him: So he must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians.' What grounds Bishop Compton had for making such a proposal, or with what propriety of character a proposal of that kind, and under such an alternative, could come from a bishop, I shall not take upon me to say. But by this narrative from Bishop Rose's own pen, which none who ever heard of the narrator will doubt the truth of, we may see how matters had been concerted, and what

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See Keith's  
Cat.  
p. 43.

**LETTER** secret encouragement the rabblers had to depend  
**LIII.** upon in their early and illegal attacks upon the  
 Episcopal church.

At last the 14th of March came, and the convention of the estates of Scotland sat down. There were present the first day, seven of the Bishops who, according to custom, are named in the record before the nobility, Archbishop Paterfon of Glasgow, Bishop Hamilton of Dunkeld, Hay of Moray, Douglas of Dunblain, Ramsay of Ross, Graham of the Isles, and Bruce of Orkney, forty two of the Nobility, forty nine Barons, and five Burgeses. Duke Hamilton was chosen President by a majority of ten voices more than the Marquis of Athol had. Their first public transaction on the 16th was receiving and reading a letter from William King of England, expressing 'his sense of the kindness and concern that many of the nation have evidenced towards him, and his undertaking, and of the confidence they have in him, and recommending to them to enter, with all speed, upon such consultations, with regard to the public good, and to the general interest and inclinations of the people, as may settle them on sure and lasting foundations of peace.' The same day they emitted a declaration bearing, 'That For as much as there is a letter from King James VII. presented to the meeting of the estates, they before opening thereof declare and enact that, notwithstanding of any thing that may be contained in that letter for dissolving them, or impeding their procedure, yet they are a free and lawful meeting of the estates, and will continue undissolved, till they settle and secure the Protestant religion, and the government, laws and liberties of the Kingdom.' This preliminary declaration raised a stir among them, and the

old recourse of mobbing was applied to: For that every day the city-rabble began to affront Lord Dundee, who had always been an eyesore to the Presbyterians, and on the 18th a band of their good friends in the West, who had already done much good service in emptying so many kirks, appeared on the street of Edinburgh, in rank and file, to the number of between seven and eight hundred, and were by order of the meeting put under the command of the Earl of Leven, to form them into regular troops, for adding more weight to their deliberations.

These Cameronian zealots were of great use at this juncture: For they planted themselves in a tumultuous manner, about all the entries to the Parliament-house, and at every turn insulted the ancient nobility, and gentry, who generally adhered to the Episcopal cause, but especially threatened and abused such of the Bishops as claimed a seat in the convention: Which riotous and unparliamentary proceedings, meeting with no check, but rather countenanced and forwarded, kept many eminent members from coming near the house, and made the Bishops and sundry others, who had come at first, soon after desert it, and retire for the safety of their persons. At last, having by these means got the meeting formed to their minds, and having also procured a body of standing troops from England under General Mackay, the convention on the 28th of March dismissed this volunteer assembly of 'the well-affected to the Protestant religion,' as they call them, with a formal act of thanks for their seasonable assistance: and now, being mostly all of one mind, there was little or no dissent in their resolutions. So upon the 1st of April they drew up a list of complaints to the

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LETTER to the number of fourteen, against King James  
 LIII. for all which they ' find and declare King James  
 ' the 7th, being a profest Papist, did assume the  
 ' regal power, and acted as King without ever tak-  
 ' ing the oath required by law, and hath by the  
 ' advice of evil and wicked counsellors invaded the  
 ' fundamental constitution of the kingdom, and  
 ' altered it from a legal limited monarchy, to an ar-  
 ' bitrary despotick power, and hath exercised the  
 ' same, to the subversion of the Protestant reli-  
 ' gion, and violation of the laws and liberties of  
 ' the kingdom, and inverting all the ends of go-  
 ' vernment; whereby he hath *forfaulted* the right  
 ' to the Crown, and the Throne is become vacant.

Having thus passed sentence of condemnation upon their former King, they proceeded next to vindicate and assert their ancient rights and liberties, by their famous *Claim of Right*, enumerating no fewer than twenty four grievances, which they claim, insist upon, and demand to have redressed by whatever new settlement shall be made. In this invidious catalogue, the only article of ecclesiastical aspect is the twenty second, which runs thus, ' That Prelacy, and the superiority of an office in the church above Presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation, they having reformed from Popery by Presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished.' This bold assertion, which may well be called the fundamental Charter of the presbyterian Kirk, and which, upon examination, has been found to be neither true in fact, nor conclusive in argument, stands here in a most awkward and unconnected position, and differs from

the other grievances in the most odious feature of their complexion. The Convention had declared their other specifications to be "contrary to law;" which, if so, was a sufficient reason for their demanding redress: But in their objections to Prelacy, they could not offer such a charge, as they well knew it had been, and then was, a standing part of the legal constitution; and, therefore, they here change their tone, and fly to the inclinations of the people, which, one would think, if to be humoured in every thing, would soon unhinge the best and most regular government that ever existed. Yet, incoherent and inconclusive as this allegation was, the party got it foisted in among their other complaints, and made it the foundation, such as it was, of the ecclesiastical settlement which they had always had in their eye. And having thus digested their daring Claim of Right, to serve as an original contract between King and People, they come, in order, to the capital point they were driving at; and 'Having an entire confidence that his Majesty, the King of England, will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, laws, and liberties; the said Estates of the kingdom of Scotland do resolve, that William and Mary, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, be, and be declared King and Queen of Scotland, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdom of Scotland, &c.' as in the English form. 'And they do pray the said King and Queen of England to accept the same according-

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At

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At the passing of this decisive resolution, there were but five dissenting voices in all the house. For many, even of those members who had attended hitherto, would not be present when this strange and unprecedented business was to be agitation, tho' they afterwards took their seats and went along with the majority. The Duke of Queensberry, for one, absented himself, from a point of delicacy no doubt, but returned after it was over, and told the House, 'That tho' I was not fully convinced of their right to declare the Throne vacant, yet, since it was done, I acquiesced, and none deserved it so well as the Prince and Princess of Orange.' The same day they ordered the new King and Queen to be solemnly proclaimed at the Market-cross of Edinburgh, and then passed an act in confirmation of their own powers; declaring and enacting, 'That the Estates will continue in the government formerly, until their Majesties acceptance of the Crown, and taking the Coronation Oath, made known to them.' At their next sederunt on the 13th, they published a Proclamation Certifying all the lieges, that none presume to own or acknowledge the late King James V. for their King, nor obey, assist, or correspond with him any manner of way; nor by word, writing, or preaching, to disown the royal authority of William and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland, nor to misconstrue the proceedings of the Estates, or create jealousies and misapprehensions against the government, but that all ministers of the gospel within the kingdom, shall publicly pray for King William and Queen Mary as King and Queen of this realm: Requiring likewise, the ministers within the city of Edinburgh, but

burgh, under pain of being deprived, and losing their benefices, to read this proclamation publicly from their pulpits, upon Sunday next, the 24th instant, at the end of the forenoon sermon; and the ministers to the south of the Tay to read it on the 21st, and those to the north of Tay on the 28th, under the above pains: And prohibiting any injury to be offered, by any person whatever, to any minister of the gospel, either in kirks or meeting-houses, who are presently in possession and exercise of their ministry therein, they behaving themselves as becometh under the present government: And ordains this proclamation to be printed and published, that none may pretend ignorance.

On the 18th of April, they drew up a form of oath to be administered to the new King and Queen, at their acceptance of the Crown, by which they are required to swear, that 'We will serve the eternal God to the utmost of our power, according as he has commanded in his most holy word, revealed and contained in the Old and New Testaments; and, according to the same word, shall maintain the true Religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his holy word, and the due and right ministration of the sacraments, now received and preached within the realm of Scotland; and shall abolish and gainstand all false religion, contrary to the same, &c. And we shall be careful to root out all heretics, and enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convict by the true Kirk of God of the said crimes, out of our lands and empire of Scotland: And all this we faithfully affirm by our solemn oath.' With this oath, and a suitable letter, they deputed, on the 24th of April, the Earl of

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LETTER Argyle, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John  
 LIII. Dalrymple, properly instructed, to attend the  
 ~~~~~ Majesties with the offer of the Crown; which, upon  
 the 11th of May, they formally accepted, under
 all the conditions and limitations annexed to it
 and, on the 24th, by their now royal authority
 turned the present Convention into a Parliament
 to sit down as such on the 5th of June next, with
 Duke Hamilton to be High Commissioner.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, they met
 and after declaring themselves to be a free and law-
 ful Parliament, and recognizing their Majesty's
 royal authority, they rescinded all former oaths
 of allegiance and supremacy, declarations and test-
 imonies except the new oath, 'To be faithful, and bear
 true allegiance to their Majesties, King William
 and Queen Mary;' which they require to be
 sworn and subscribed by all persons presently in
 public trust, civil or military, or who shall
 hereafter be called to any public trust within the king-
 dom. Upon the 22d of July, they passed the
 following famous Act against the old standing
 Church. 'Whereas the Estates of this kingdom
 in their Claim of Right of the 11th of April last
 declared, that Prelacy is an insupportable grie-
 vance, &c. our Sovereign Lord and Lady with
 advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament
 do hereby abolish Prelacy, and all superiority
 of any office in the church of this kingdom above
 Presbyters; and hereby rescinds, casses, and
 annuls three Acts of Parliament under Charles
 II. and all other acts, statutes and constitutions
 in so far alienary, as they are inconsistent with
 this act, and establish Prelacy, or superiority
 of church officers above Presbyters: And their Ma-
 jesties do declare, that they, with advice and
 conse-

consent foresaid, will settle, by law, that church government in this kingdom, which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.'—

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LIIL.

They next rescinded the forfeiture of the late Earl of Argyle; and having appointed a select Committee to discuss business in the interval, this Convention-Parliament rose on the second of August, having in little more than four months new-moulded the state, and thrown the church out of her legal constitution; tho' it would seem, from the six weeks and more, between the 5th of June and end of July, spent in deliberation, it had cost no small struggle to bring this parliamentary attack upon the church to a final issue.

Let us now see what was a-doing among the once established clergy, under these important circumstances of various kinds, which they had not been looking for, and could not be guarded against. The poor men in the West, who had been early rabbled out of their livings, were miserably disappointed in any expectation they might have reasonably entertained of redress from the Convention of Estates, when they so soon saw that Convention patronizing their persecutors, and employing them in the public service. And their disappointment could not but be doubled, when they found, by the Proclamation of the 13th of April, that what little favour was meant towards the clergy, was only a distant promise of protection to such ministers as were in actual possession of their kirks at that date, which was an exclusion, and perhaps a designed one, of hundreds who had been by violence thrust, and by terror kept out, all the time. This was a silent blow to the first sufferers: But that hurried proclamation was an open and declared stroke upon them all. The

clergy

LETTER clergy of Edinburgh, in particular, were to be pitied, who, by their situation, could not have many hours to deliberate upon a matter of such importance, as transferring their sworn allegiance from one King, and preaching and praying it over to another. Nor were their brethren thro' the rest of the kingdom in a much better plight, even a fortnight, which was the utmost term allowed to the most remote, could not be thought to afford much time after notification, for properly pondering such a serious affair.

The ejecting Act of 1662, which the Presbyterians cry out against, allowed the possessors four months, from May to September, to advise whether they could or would comply with the terms enjoined for keeping their kirks: And that act of a fair Parliament shall be deemed cruel and arbitrary, what shall be said of this decree but a thin Convention, requiring, under pain of deprivation, as difficult a piece of obedience as the Parliament had proposed, and that too upon scarcely so many days warning as the Parliament had given months? This plea of want of time was urged with great propriety, especially by the Edinburghers, many of whom being at hand, were called in question, and turned out for their disobedience, before their Majesties of England had accepted the Scottish Crown; and consequently before it could have been any fault not to obey them, or pray for them in Scotland. Another material defence too, which all the clergy would not read the proclamation made use of, was that it was not transmitted to them by their respective Ordinaries, which had been the appointed form with all papers that were to be read from pulpits; and therefore, as the order of Bishops

was not then abolished, but still made a third LETTER
 Estate of Parliament, they pled, that they were LIII
 not obliged in law to take notice of any public pa-
 per, that came not to their hands in the accustom-
 ed legal manner. And in this argument, they had
 the concurrence of the Prince of Orange himself,
 in his prefatory Declaration for England, where,
 among the many miscarriages of King James'
 reign, he mentions the censuring the clergy who
 did not read the King's Indulgence as one, 'with-
 out considering,' he says, 'that the reading of
 it was not enjoined the clergy by the Bishops,
 who are their Ordinaries.' Yet, such was the
 partiality of these times, that this plea, however
 solid and parallel, was over-ruled, and the clergy
 who acted in the faith of its strength, were born
 down and spoiled of their livings, in defiance of
 all former law and justice.

This course of hasty severity was continued from
 the 13th of April to the first of August, upon all
 the clergy in the neighbourhood, whom the Court
 of Inquiry could reach in that space, and presents
 us with a second class of sufferers, who were eject-
 ed by the Convention of Estates. But when the
 Parliament adjourned, the examination became
 more extensive, and there was time to look to the
 more distant parts of the kingdom. The Privy
 Council, with the zealous Earl of Crawford at
 their head, being now vested with their usual
 powers, and having got the great grievance of
 Prelacy removed, gave out an order on the 6th,
 and repeated it on the 22d of August, 'Allowing
 and inviting the parishioners and hearers, of such
 ministers as have neglected and slighted the
 reading of the Proclamation, and have not pray-
 ed for King William and Queen Mary, to cite
 'such

LETTER ' such ministers before the Privy Council ; and
 LIII. ' grants warrant for citing and adducing witnesses
 ~~~~~ ' to prove the same, that such ministers as have  
 ' disobeyed may, by a legal sentence, be deprived  
 ' of their benefices : And ordains, that these pre-  
 ' sents be published at the Market-cross of Edin-  
 ' burgh, and other places needful, that none may  
 ' pretend ignorance.'

This was letting loose the rabble of enemies, in a sort of legal way, upon any who had the misfortune of even but one or two of these malicious people in the neighbourhood, and it answered the designed end. For one or two in a parish, and in many places the agents of the faction, borrowed mens names without their knowledge, to fill up their citations against the minister ; upon which a charge was given to him to appear at Edinburgh within so many days, before the Privy Council, which if he did not obey, he was summarily deprived for contumacy ; and if he appeared, and offered defences, it went no better with him, unless he could prove that he had complied with both parts of the proclamation, which few of them that were cited could do. So this drove out by way of third service, most of the parochial clergy in the Merse, Lothians, Fife, Stirling-shire and Perth-shire, besides some in Aberdeen, Moray and Ross, who had been particularly informed against.

But besides all this, another method was tried to strike at any of the episcopal clergy whom, they feared, the torture of the proclamation could not touch. The privy council on the 14th of August appointed a day of solemn fasting and humiliation to be kept on Sunday the 15th of September for the southern, and on the 22d for the northern

part

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LIII.

parts of the kingdom, and enforced their appointment with a canting proclamation, squinting at Episcopacy among the sins of the late times, and reflecting on it as the great hindrance of the gospel-work of reformation. This proclamation they ordered the ministers to read, by way of intimation of the fast, on the Sunday before, and on the Sunday of observance: And if any neglected to obey this injunction, as few who had any regard to Episcopacy, or understood the primitive design of the Lord's day, could with any good grace obey it, they were sure to be deprived, upon that score, without any other charge or accusation. This was arbitrary with a witness, and as exorbitant a stretch of Erastian supremacy, as ever had been exercised in times of highest complaint.— And there was no help. Episcopacy was to be rooted out at any rate, and whatever or whoever seemed to favour that way, was not to be tolerated in the least. Even these clergy who had gone all lengths, and complied with every state-dissimulation, were not much safer than their outstanding brethren. For when the council could not take hold of them, the useful rabble continued to do the work, and were as busy in ejecting as in preserving; for which insolence, and tho' when they were put in mind of King William's authority, they daringly replied, 'that they cared not, for King William nor his authority either,' they were never checked, nor so much as called in question.

Nor was this all the ill-nature that was shewn to the episcopal clergy at this time. For lest any of them who had been so barbarously thrust out of their houses and kirks should, upon application to the civil judicatories, have a chance of recovering their

LETTER their current stipends, or bygone arrears, which were most unjustly detained from them, to utter starving of many a poor family, the council, to shut this probable door of relief, gave out an act on the 29th of December 1689, finding that the case of the ministers who were not the actual exercise of their ministerial functions on the 13th of April last, being dependent before the Parliament, is not obvious to be considered upon, and decided by the inferior judges, but that the same should be left entire, to the decision of Parliament; therefore the Lords thought fit, to signify to all inferior courts and ministers of the law, that the matter above mentioned is depending before the Parliament, the effect they may regulate and govern themselves, in the judging of all processes to be presented before them, upon the said matter, in executing the sentences already pronounced thereupon, as they will be answerable. No man, I think, can doubt that this was a most cruel as well as unjust decree: Cruel to the wretched sufferers, who had been by law installed in their possessions, and against whom no process had been laid, nor so much as accusation intended. And unjust, in thus overawing the standing judicatories, which not many years ago would have been a flaming grievance, if it had been attempted.

But it had the designed effect. For the judges did not chuse to meddle after the passing of this act, when they saw how darkly and indistinctly it was worded, and could not but know how ready such a council would be to bring them to trouble, if they should give it an interpretation contrary to its original intention, however con-

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to the standing rules of both law and equity. So these poor clergy were in a most melancholy condition, not only deprived of the yearly stipends annexed to their office, but likewise this iniquitous interposition of the privy council, debarred from any possibility of recovering what arrears were due to them for former services, which their persecutors could pretend no title to, and which, after this authoritative stop, their patrons would not be much inclined to pay. And again let it be remembered how different the procedure in a like case was, at the restoration of episcopacy in 1662. The Parliament then, though they found that the Presbyterian ministers who had taken possession of kirks without presentation from the legal patrons, had no right nor title to the benefices, and therefore declared all such kirks *jure vacanti*, yet they declared at the same time, 'that this act shall not be prejudicial to any of these ministers in what they have possessed, or is due to them, since their admission,' which, whether we shall call it justice or not, was at least a singular instance of favour and indulgence.

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But in this inhibitory act of the now privy council, it was neither justice nor mercy, to deprive men of the wages which they had faithfully and legally laboured for, and thereby keep many indigent and numerous families in the most deplorable misery and want. Nor did it fare much better with the Bishops themselves, to whom the inferior clergy had been in use to look up for protection, as well as to depend upon them for direction and discipline. Their Prelacy had been already abolished, by an act which stripped them of power in the state, tho' it could not hurt their

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pre-eminence in the church, and now to reduce them as far as possible to the same level of poverty and contempt with their clergy, the privy council on the 19th of September following, published an order, signifying 'his Majesty's royal pleasure that warrant be given to Alexander Hamilton of Kinkell' (who by the bye had been taken in the rebellion at Bothwellbridge, but was pardoned by the clemency of the then government) 'to draw and uplift the tythes and other rents of the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews, and that persons be appointed for drawing and uplifting the tythes and rents of the other Bishopricks for this present crop and year of God 1689. Therefore the Lords of privy council having nominated and appointed fit persons for that purpose, do in their Majesties name and authority prohibit and discharge all and sundry persons who were liable in payment of any rent or duty to Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, or any other of superior order and dignity in the church above Presbyters, from paying or allowing to be paid any teinds, rental bolls, feu, blanch or tack-duties or other rents, casualties and emoluments formerly payable to the Bishops and others foresaid, except to such persons as shall be authorized by the privy council for the uplifting thereof, with certification if they do contrary hereof, they shall be liable therefor notwithstanding any pretended discharge that may be impetrated, or obtained from any other person or persons, for the said crop and year 1689.'

This was quick and summary work, and much more oppressive measure than was given at the reformation to the Popish Bishops, who were allowed

to hold and possess two thirds of their benefices LETTER  
 at their own calculation to their dying day. But LIII.  
 our Protestant Bishops were not to be so gently  
 dealt with, even by a Protestant administration,  
 which at one dash could thus sweep away the small  
 remainder of church-spoil into the exchequer,  
 without allowing the old titulars the smallest portion  
 of it for their necessary subsistence. In this strange  
 state of confusion and anarchy stood the external  
 constitution of a christian church in a christian  
 land all this while. The Bishops turned out of  
 their government, and most of the Presbyters out  
 of their ministry: Episcopacy itself, which had  
 been confirmed by so many acts of free and un-  
 questionable Parliaments, struck down at one blow,  
 and nothing as yet set up in its room: The Came-  
 ronians indeed, these true sons of the Covenant,  
 living up and down, in the gracious employment  
 of emptying kirks by strength of hand, and the  
 Popish King's indulged and addressing friends, the  
 staid but most numerous brood of that mother,  
 running here and there in quest of prey, and taking  
 hold, tho' but for a day, of the kirks and stipends  
 which their active brethren were every now and then  
 vacating for them: While the once legally settled  
 Episcopalians, whether outstanders or compliers,  
 whist, in such places as these rabblers had access  
 to, scarcely shew their heads, and had little or no-  
 thing, but the charity of friends, on which to  
 support themselves and their dependents.

I am, &c.

LETTER



LETTER  
LIV.

L E T T E R L V.

*Further Proceedings of the Revolution Parliament—  
It settles the Presbyterian Church Government—  
And passes sundry Acts in favour of it—Visi-  
tion of the Universities—A Meeting of Min-  
ters and Lay-Elders held at Edinburgh—Fi-  
General Assembly of the now established Kirk—  
Account of its various Transactions.*

**U**NDER all the appearances in their favour mentioned in my last letter, the Presbyterian party were for some time in no little suspense and uncertainty. The new Parliament had indeed abolished Prelacy, but had not agreed what form of Church Government to introduce in its stead. Several schemes had been thought and talked of, but none had pleased all parties, and their church continued in a mere chaos, without form, and void of government for near twelve months. A petition had been presented to the House, under the title of 'An humble Address from the Pres-

ter

arian Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland.' But Duke Hamilton, the Commissioner, finding some things in it, which he thought unreasonable, and not to be admitted, rejected it, and would not allow it to be tabled. This was a very ugly disappointment from that quarter, and they themselves threw in another soon after.

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LIV.

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When the act had passed for abolishing Prelacy, the Commissioner, by orders from court, presented to the House, a ' Draught of an Act for establishing the Church Government;' which, indeed, proposed to settle Presbytery in general, but had an invidious clause in the midst of it, to this purpose: ' In regard that much trouble hath ensued unto the State, and many sad Confusions and scandalous schisms have fallen out in the Church, by church-men meddling in matters of State; therefore, their Majesties, with advice and consent aforesaid, do hereby discharge all ministers of the gospel, within this kingdom, to meddle with any state affairs, either in their sermons or judicatories, publicly or privately, under the pain of being holden as disaffected to the government, and proceeded against accordingly: And declares, that the jurisdiction of the church stands only in the preaching of the true word of Jesus Christ, correction of manners by ecclesiastical censures, and administration of the holy sacraments, conform to the 69th act James VI. Parliament 6.: And it is declared, that their Majesties, if they shall think fit, may have always one present in all the Provincial and Presbyterial Assemblies, as they have in the General Assemblies, that in case any affair that concerns the state or civil matters, and that does not belong to the jurisdiction of the church, shall come  
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‘ in before the saids Assemblies, the said persons  
‘ appointed by their Majesties, shall inhibit and  
‘ discharge every such Assembly to proceed in any  
‘ such affair, till their Majesties, and the Privy  
‘ Council, be acquainted with the same, that they  
‘ may declare their pleasure thereanent.’ This  
disagreeable restriction, which the experience of  
former times made necessary, and which appeared  
to contain nothing in it inconsistent with pure  
ecclesiastical freedom; yet, being such a check  
on their pragmatcal humours, and so severe a  
blow from such hands upon their former Assemblies,  
especially their dear one of 1638, gave universal  
offence to the leaders of the party in the  
House, who had interest enough to get it thrown  
out, not without a good deal of indignation and  
contempt: And one of their Preachers, who then  
served as Chaplain to the Parliament, was so  
disgusted at it, that he publicly said, ‘ rather than  
‘ admit of such a mangled mongrel Presbyter  
‘ they would beg back the Bishops again.’

With these heats and divisions, the first Session  
of the Revolution Parliament rose, without fixing  
any new ecclesiastical model in room of the old  
one. And now, in this disjointed situation of  
things, people’s heads began to settle a little, after  
such a giddiness; and the sudden zeal, which  
many had lately taken up for Presbyterian Parity,  
cooled and relented a good deal of its first fervour.

They had time now, in this interval, to reflect  
and examine, whether Prelacy had really been  
such an insupportable grievance as the Convention  
of Estates had represented it; and when they compared  
their own experience of it, with their remembrance  
of the rampant days of the *Covenanters*, they could not in honesty agree to the representation

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In short, so far did these reasonings and reflections prevail, that 'the inclinations of the generality of the people' appeared in a different light from what the party expected, and there was little solicitude amongst them, lest they had mistaken their measures, and their darling Presbytery might chance not to be established as they would wish it. This set all hands to work, and the whole was busied, in their several spheres, to acquit themselves with suitable diligence and application, and have every thing ready against next Session of Parliament. The pulpits every where resounded the praises of Presbytery in strains of the highest and almost blasphemous panegyric, and the presses were not idle on the same subject, and in throwing out all the odium against Episcopacy that could be invented or thought of: While the Episcopal writers, who were equally able and willing to enter the lists on the other side, might have as soon attempted to pull a star out of the firmament, as to see one sheet published in defence of that cause, under the iniquitous pretext of reflecting on the civil government; which, indeed, in that infant and unsettled state of it, was not easily avoided. And as the Preachers were thus triumphantly employed, so the great leaders among the nobility, Crawford, Sutherland, Cardross, Ross, &c. were active and pressing, with the rhetoric of argument and weight of influence, to bias and secure what numbers they could, against the approaching trial.

But the luckiest circumstance of all in their favour, was the change of the High Commissioner. The Duke of Hamilton, whom, tho' to the surprise of many, he had gone all lengths with them in their designs upon the state, they suspected as not



LETTER not staunch enough to their Church Plan, was  
 LIV. laid aside from that office, and the Lord, now  
 created Earl, Melvil, who had been a Confessor  
 for the cause, if we dare not call him a rebellious  
 Conspirator, in the two last reigns, came down  
 Commissioner in his room. With this auspicious  
 prelude, the Parliament met, on the 15th of April  
 1690; and the first thing they did, was to 'a-  
 'rogate, rescind, and annul, the Assertory Act  
 '1669, as inconsistent with the establishment  
 'the church government *now desired*.' This was  
 one great point gained, tho' it lay open to two in-  
 looking reflections. It was thought not a little  
 preposterous to condemn an Act of Parliament  
 because inconsistent with an imaginary thing  
 which had no real being, and only existed in the  
 desires and wishes of a certain party: And thus  
 they got this one offensive law out of the way  
 there still stood unrepealed, many other acts asserting  
 the supremacy in terms equally injurious to  
 their bold claims, and which their zealous prede-  
 cessors, the Melvils, Blakes, &c. of James VI.  
 days, exclaimed against, and used to call, 'the  
 'bloody gullies of arbitrary power.'

But whatever incongruities were in this repeal  
 it gave the party the satisfaction of finding their  
 strength on the increasing hand, and encouraged  
 them to come briskly forward with the petition  
 which they had prepared and lost in the last  
 Session. This petition was in high language of  
 praise and compliment, and being entirely to the  
 Commissioner's taste, was received with open arms.  
 In consequence of which, the Parliament went a  
 step further, and on the 25th, passed the following  
 act: 'Forasmuch as many Ministers of the  
 'Presbyterian persuasion, since the first of January  
 '1669

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1661, have been deprived of their kirks, or banished, for not conforming to Prelacy, and not complying with the courses of the times; therefore, their Majesties, with advice and consent of Parliament, ordain and appoint, that all such Ministers have forthwith free access to their kirks, and that they may presently exercise their ministry in those parishes without any new call thereto, allowing the whole stipend for 1689, where the kirks are vacant, and where they are not vacant, the half year's stipend from Whitsunday to Michaelmas, and the half year's before that to the present incumbents; who are hereby ordered, upon intimation hereof, to desist from their ministry in such parishes, and to remove from the manses and glebes, betwixt and Whitsunday next, that the Presbyterian Ministers, formerly put out, may enter peaceably thereto: And appoints the Privy Council to see this act put in execution.' Which appointment, we need not doubt, such a well-affected Privy Council would fearfully undertake, and execute with all commendable severity: But with what shadow of justice will appear, when it is remembered, that these Ministers, before 1661, had possessed themselves against all law, and in violation of private property; for which illegal intrusion it was, and not the score of Non-conformity or Non-compliance, that they lost what they never had a just title to, so could not be restored to such possession, without homologating the injustice by which they first obtained them.

And now the way being thus paved, by two gracious preliminaries, for the grand question, a Committee of eighteen select persons was ordered to prepare a Bill for settling the Presbyterian

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Church Government; which, being properly digested by the help of the ablest and most zealous of the Ministers, was, on the 23d of May, presented to the House, and voted on the 28th, in this form:— ‘ Our Sovereign Lord and Lady-  
 ‘ Likeas, by an Act of the last Session of the  
 ‘ Parliament, Prelacy is abolished; therefore  
 ‘ they hereby revive, ratify, and perpetually confirm, all acts made against Popery and Papists  
 ‘ &c. Likeas they, by these presents, ratify and establish the Westminster Confession of Faith  
 ‘ now read in their presence, and voted, and approved by them, as the public and allowed Confession of this Church, containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the reformed churches  
 ‘ As also, they do establish, ratify, and confirm, the Presbyterian Church Government and Discipline  
 ‘ by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods and General Assemblies, ratified and established by an act of James VI. in 1592, which act they hereby revived and confirmed in the whole hereof, except in that part of it relating to  
 ‘ tronages: Rescinding, annulling, and making void, four acts of James VI. and five of Charles  
 ‘ with all other acts, laws, statutes, ordinances and proclamations, in as far as they are contrary or prejudicial to, inconsistent with, or derogatory from, the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Government now established: Allowed and declaring, that the church government  
 ‘ in the hands of, and exercised by, these Presbyterian Ministers who were ousted since the  
 ‘ of January 1661, and are now restored by the late act, and of such Ministers and Elders on  
 ‘ as they have admitted, or hereafter shall admit and appointing the first Meeting of the General  
 ‘ Assembly

Assembly of this Church, as above established, to be at Edinburgh, on the third Thursday of October, in this present year 1690? And because many conformed Ministers either have deserted, or were removed from preaching in their Kirks, preceding the 13th of April 1689, and others were deprived for not giving obedience to the Act of the Estates, in their Proclamation of that date; therefore declares, all the Kirks deserted, or removed and deprived from, as said is, to be vacant; and that the Presbyterian Ministers exercising their ministry within any of those parishes, or where the last incumbent is dead, by the desire and consent of the parish, shall continue their possession, and have right to the stipends, according to their entry in the year 1689: And, that the disorders which have happened in this church may be redressed, they allow the general meeting and representatives of the foresaid Presbyterian Ministers and Elders, either by themselves, or by visitors authorised by them, to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous Ministers, by due course of ecclesiastical process and censures: Ordaining, that whatever Minister, being summoned before these visitors, shall refuse to appear, or on appearing, shall be found guilty by them, every such Minister shall by their sentence be, *ipso facto*, suspended from or deprived of their Kirks, Stipends, and Benefices.

This important and complex act, thus framed, was twice read over in the House, and many articles in it long and strongly debated. The introductory petition had desired the establishment of the Westminster Directory and Catechisms, as well as the Confession: But the reading the Confession



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LIV. Hamilton objected to the reading any more such abstruse and tedious compositions; and the brethren finding, upon recollection, that the Directory recommended the stated use of the Lord's Prayer, and expressly ordered the regular reading of the scriptures in public every Lord's day as part of worship, both which they had begun to disuse as superstitious, the Duke's objection was sustained, and these two formulas left out. Another article much contended, was the putting the whole Church Government into the hands of those old Ministers, who were turned out in 1662, which had so much displeased Duke Hamilton, their petition last year. Against this clause, a petition was presented to the House, by the Laird of Stonywood, in name of the Episcopal Conformists, but was rejected with contempt; because, indeed, the petitioners called themselves Ministers of the Episcopal persuasion, compared themselves for abilities, with their Presbyterian enemies, whom they declined as their judges, craved a free conference with them, and undertook to defend the lawfulness of Episcopacy; all which the Commissioner, Melvil, deemed such a piece of presumption, as was not to be tolerated, much less indulged.

Another northern member next proposed an amendment, 'That at least these presbyterian ministers who had been deposed by their own predications, before the restitution of Episcopacy in 1662, might not be included in the number of those known sound Presbyterians, in whose hands the Government was to be established the first instance.' But this motion was slighted likewise, for a reason which we shall hear of afterwards.

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wards. Then Duke Hamilton got up, and argued strenuously against the glaring partiality of the clause, 'For what was this,' he said, 'but instead of fourteen prelatical Bishops, to give unlimited authority to fifty or sixty Presbyterian ones, from whom the Episcopal clergy could expect little justice, and less mercy?' But all was in vain: The article stood as we see it, and the Duke's fears were soon verified.

But the article which met with most opposition, and gave greatest offence to every man of probity within the house, was the hardship put upon those ministers, who had been expelled by the lawless rabble. Upon this head the Duke of Hamilton was particularly warm, and strongly enforced a moving supplication, which Sir Patrick Scot of Ancrum offered from these unhappy sufferers, for redress: 'It was wonderful,' the Duke said, 'to call these men *Deserters*, when it was notorious all the kingdom over, that they were driven away by the most barbarous violence, and it was no less wonderful to declare their kirks vacant, because of their being removed from them: For what could be the sense of the word *Removed* in this case, but just neither more nor less than *Rabbled*?' and what might the world think of the justice of the Parliament, if it should sustain that as sufficient ground for declaring their kirks vacant?' with a great deal more to the same purpose. But neither the Duke's eloquence, nor the equity of the request, nor any argument that could be used, availed in the least. The article was voted as it stands, and carried by a considerable majority: Upon which the Duke, not able to stifle his indignation, told the house plainly, 'That he was sorry he should ever have  
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‘ sat in a Scottish Parliament, where such naked  
‘ iniquity was to be established into a law: That  
‘ it was impossible Presbyterian government could  
‘ stand, being built upon such a foundation: And  
‘ it grieved him to the heart to consider, what a  
‘ reflexion this act would bring upon the govern-  
‘ ment and justice of the nation:’ And with this  
he left the house in great heat, and a good num-  
ber of members went out with him. When he  
was gone, it was immediately proposed to vote  
the whole act in the lump, which provoked the  
Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Linlithgow  
and Balcarras, and many of the gentry, to retire  
next. So none but those of the party remained  
except a few who stayed to vote against the act  
from two different motives; one part, that it might  
not be said, that Presbytery was established with-  
out any opposition; and another, because it was not  
established in its proper plenitude of power and  
independency.

Thus was this famous act prepared on the 28th  
of May for the Royal assent, which it received on  
the 7th of June, and so obtained that force and  
authority which it has retained ever since. On  
the 29th of May, the Earl of Linlithgow gave in  
to the house a draught of an act, ‘ for giving to  
‘ leration to those of the Episcopal persuasion to  
‘ worship God after their own manner, and par-  
‘ ticularly that whoso were inclined to use the  
‘ English Liturgy might do it safely.’ Which, by  
the bye, shews that tho’ our clergy at this time  
had no authorised form imposed on them, they had  
no aversion to set forms, but were acquainted  
with, and willing to make use of the English book  
which they found ready composed to their hand.  
This paper had the same fate that every other me-  
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of that kind had met with: For tho' they LETTER  
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could not in decency refuse it a reading, being  
presented by so respectable a member, it was no  
further taken notice of one way or other.

The next act relative to church-business which  
passed in this session, was the act of July 4th for vi-  
sitation of universities and schools, ordering, sta-  
tuting and enacting, ' that from this time forth,  
no Principals, Professors, Regents, Masters or  
others bearing office in any university, college or  
school within the kingdom, be either admitted  
or allowed to continue in the exercise of their  
said functions, but such as do acknowledge and  
profess, and shall subscribe to the confession of  
faith ratified and approven in this present Parli-  
ament, and shall swear and subscribe the oath of  
allegiance to their present Majesties, and shall be  
of a loyal and peaceable conversation, of suffici-  
ent literature, and submitting to the govern-  
ment of the church, now established by law:  
And appointing fifteen of the nobility, twenty  
eight of the gentry, and twenty ministers to be  
visitors, with full power and commission to them  
or a quorum of them, to meet, visit, take trial,  
purge out and remove according to the foresaid  
qualifications, and their first meeting for that  
purpose to be at Edinburgh on the 23d instant,  
with power afterwards to adjourn and meet as  
they shall see convenient, ay and while their Ma-  
jesties recall and discharge this commission.'  
On the 19th of July they discharged, annulled and  
made void the old power heretofore exercised by  
any patron, of presenting Ministers to any kirk  
now vacant, or that shall hereafter happen to vaik  
within this kingdom, with all exercise of the said  
power, statuting and declaring, ' that henceforth  
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in the vacancy of any particular church, and for supplying the same with a minister, the Protestant heritors and elders are to name and propose the person to the whole congregation, to be either approved or disapproved by them, and if they disapprove, they are to give in their reasons to the effect the affair may be cognosed upon by the Presbytery of the bounds, at whose judgment, and by whose determination the calling and entry of every particular minister is to be ordered and concluded, reserving to the Presbyteries the right of *jure devoluto*, and to royal burghs the calling of their ministers, as in use before the year 1660: In recompence of which right of presentation, the heritors of every parish are to pay the patron 600 merks, again at a certain time, and under certain proportions.

It is to be observed, that even this act says nothing of the popular call, or of that divine right which the simple people were made to believe they had of choosing their own ministers. The might disapprove indeed, as caprice or affection led them, and thereby throw the decision on the Presbytery, but had no more concern in the original nomination than ever they had. The heritors and elders were put in the place of the patron, a number of men more or fewer, as it might happen, instead of one, and the divine right of the people, that great idol of Presbyterian veneration, was bought and sold like any common bargain. The present murmurers against patronage, which were restored twenty years after this, and with which their kirk has been saddled ever since, have been taught to despise this defective act of King William, and to look back with a wishful fondness to the favourite decree of 1649, which gave

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gave them all the room for confusion and tumult in the election of ministers, that their hearts might desire, and which therefore they are always petitioning to have revived, and set a-going again: Not considering how indelicate it is to propose or expect that a regular administration of any kind should be ruled by the deed of a packed, puny convention, which every subsequent change of government seems to have abhorred, at least has not thought it worth the while to take notice of, either to abrogate or confirm it. Yet this act, tho' it gave little to the people, was pleasing enough to the kirk, as in the result it put the whole power into their hands more effectually than if the popular election had been sustained in its full extent.

But there was another act made the same day, which had a clause in it of a less palatable nature. After rescinding in general all former acts, and all parts and provisions in any act whatsoever, made since the year 1661 inclusive, against nonconformity, or for conformity to the church and government thereof, as then established under Archbishops and Bishops, they 'rescind, cass, and annul all acts for denouncing excommunicate persons, and anent sentences of excommunication, with all other sentences of the same import, and but in prejudice of this generality, all acts enjoining civil pains upon sentences of excommunication whatever.' This was taking out the sting of excommunication, which had been so terrible, and had produced such grievous effects, under every prevailing system of church discipline. Indeed it was much to be regretted, that any scheme of reformation, real or pretended, should have retained one of the most scandalous corruptions of

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Popery, introduced in one of the darkest ages and first put in practice by one of the most overbearing Popes, Gregory VII. to the manifest hurt of civil society, and to the total disregard of the original design of that spiritual power committed to the church, not for destruction, but for edification, by mortifying the soul, not by punishing the body, or seizing the goods of the offender. This abuse was luckily now removed, and the Episcopal clergy both then and since, amidst the hardships of subjection which this Parliament laid them under to the new establishment, are so far obliged to it for thus curtailing the dangerous extent of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by this salutary act, and thereby putting it out of the kirk's power to distress those of a different persuasion so much, as by their avowed principles and with their former privileges, they would in probability have done.

Of the same date were other two acts of ecclesiastical concern passed in this session: One vesting the superiorities and other casualties, which formerly belonged to the church, in the crown, to be henceforth holden of their Majesties and their successors: And another entitled, 'Act and constitution for plantation of kirks and valuation of teinds,' founded, as the act bears, upon diverse laws made by King Charles I. in 1633, which their Majesties call *a good work*, and are resolved to prosecute it, for the universal good of their subjects, and especially for the encouragement of the ministers of the gospel.' And thus having completed the new fabric both civil and ecclesiastical, which had been begun with the rise of the old one last year, the Parliament rose on the

and of July, and devolved the full power of execution on the privy council.

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The first public business now taken in hand was the Visitation of the Universities: For which necessary work, the Commissioners met, according to appointment, on the 23d of July, and subdivided themselves into four lesser Committees, one for each of the four Seminaries committed to their general inspection. The Visitation of St. Andrews was managed by the Earl of Crawford as President, who acted with remarkable harshness and severity, and was much blamed, even by his friends, for his rough, uncivil behaviour to the Masters; particularly the Reverend Dean, old Dr. Weems, Principal of St. Leonard's College, who had been a Regent forty five years, and had taught Crawford his philosophy: Yet, my Lord would not allow him the favour of a seat; and when the old man's infirmities obliged him to rest himself on the step of a stair, he sent an officer of court to raise him, and make him stand. So, under this imperious censor, the Masters of this University were all turned out, by the General Commission, on the 25th of September, and the place left without any face of education for a long time. At Edinburgh, the same austerity, both personal and official, went on, under the direction of the Provost, Sir John Hall, and of Mr Gilbert Rule, who had been designed a year before to fill the Principal's Chair, instead of Dr. Monro: And here all the Masters were deprived by one sentence, except a Mr Andrew Massie, who, to ingratiate himself with the prevailing powers, became an 'accuser of his brethren,' in the literal sense. The College of Glasgow fell into better hands, as Lord Carmichael, the President



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of that Committee, tho' a staunch Presbyterian was a man of temper and good breeding: Yet even there, the complex Test would not go down with the Principal, Dr. Fall, and three of the Masters, who were therefore removed, for refusing it as their late act had enjoined it, and the President, with all his good nature, would not dispense with it. As to the University of Aberdeen, to whatever cause it was owing, the Commissioners appointed for the inspection of it, seem not to have been so forward and peremptory as their brethren in the South: So that Northern Seminary was allowed for a while to continue in the hands of its former managers. But on the whole, there was desolation enough made of learning in so short a time; and the Visitors were neither dilatory nor sparing in executing their Commission to the full, tho' with different humours, yet all with the same views, and to the same effect.

While this inquisition was purging and shutting up the Schools and Colleges, another body was as busy about the Kirks, and in preparing matters against the time appointed for the sitting down of the long wished-for Assembly. To this purpose as soon as the Parliament was up, a Meeting of Ministers and Lay-Elders was held at Edinburgh to concert the proper methods for calling and constituting a General Assembly, of which they had now been long out of the use. By the establishing act, none had right to meddle in the government and affairs of the Kirk, but such Ministers as had been removed at the restoration of Episcopacy, and the several claims to the privileges of this act, were like to raise a bustle among them in the very beginning: For the two factions in Crom-

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well's time broke out now, with the same fire and fury as ever. The remnant of the old *Remonstrant*-party, who had been actually deposed by their own judicatories, and some of them for gross and scandalous irregularities, forced themselves into this Meeting, and took seats accordingly. But the more judicious of the other brethren, immediately saw the impropriety of admitting persons sitting under a sentence of deposition by their own Kirk; and therefore moved, that this nullifying restraint should be first taken off. Against this, it was pled, that the sentence was void and null in itself, having been passed, *claque errante*, by a factious multitude of opposite principles. This provoked the *Public-Resolutioners*, who instantly began to defend themselves; and one of them, Mr Alexander Pitcairn, protested against these proceedings, and threatened to print his protestation, and declare the Meeting unlawful, if these incapacitated members were allowed to sit in it. But these early heats appearing unseasonable, and of dangerous tendency, he was prevailed upon to take back his protest, and make no more noise. It was then thought fit, for adding to their number, to take into this Convention the younger brethren, who had come in among them since the Restoration, tho' they were not within the express terms of the act, but only by permission of the old survivors.

Matters being thus in so far adjusted, and a Mr Gabriel Cunningham, chosen Moderator of this *General Meeting*, as they called it; they then proceeded to appoint Ministers for the several corners of the country, divided them into presbyteries, prescribed rules for trying Episcopal Ministers; and ordained, that where the Presbytery consisted but of

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of three or fewer, the next one should be joined to it. Yet, in many places, even this made not a competent number, for such a weighty business as examining and censuring the doctrines and manners of Ministers; For in the two Presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar, where there are near thirty parishes, there were but two Presbyterian Ministers; and the same number in Dumfries and Chirnside, of the same extent. In the Presbytery of Auchterarder, there was but one; and when the next Presbytery was added to it, they made only three. At the same time, two of their Lay elders declared, in the face of the meeting, that for twenty miles west of Perth, there were but two or three Presbyterian Ministers to be met with. So little agreeable then, even after the liberties allowed them by King James, had their persons and principles been to the generality of the people, and that too, in those very places where they might have been thought to have had the greatest sway. However, having now an Act of Parliament on their side, they did the best they could with the scanty numbers they had, and laid out the method and proportion of representation in the ensuing Assembly. They likewise appointed a general Fast to be kept, on Sunday the 5th of October; which was observed to have been the third fast that had been ordered on Sunday, within the compass of a year, inconsistent with the nature of the day, and contrary to primitive practice. And to shew how ready they were, even in this embryo state, to be grasping at power which did not belong to them, they ordained the old treatise of Ruling Elders to be reprinted, 'the Heirs of Andrew Anderson, and by no other.' But the Privy Council, indulgent as

was to them, interfered; and to give a check in time to such encroachments, ordered the copies to be called in, and the licence to be torn away.

Soon after this, the Meeting broke up; and the brethren went home, and fell to work with all their might, according to the plan agreed on. It was thought, that they would have tried first to fill the Kirks made vacant by the rabble and the Council, which were more than could have been supplied by all the Preachers of their persuasion. But they were not so zealous to plant as to pluck up: And tho' more than a third of the Kirks in the kingdom wanted Ministers, this was overlooked; and all their care was laid out in emptying those Kirks, where any of the Episcopal Ministers continued to officiate. And when the strangeness of this procedure made people ask them, Why they were at such pains to cast out the Episcopal Clergy, when they were not able to fill their places? Their common answer was, That there was less danger to the church and people by the want of preaching altogether, than by hearing it from men of Episcopal principles: Like to what Mr Fraser of Brae, one of their leading orators, had said in a sermon before the Parliament;— "Better the temple of the Lord ly sometime unbuilt and unrepaired, than be repaired by Gibeonites and Samaritans."

Yet, unaccountable as this general conduct was, the particular management of their several Presbyteries, where they could hold any, was still more unreasonable and surprising. They sat every week, for the sake of dispatch, as they had but little time before the Assembly, and finished the processes that they called, in the utmost hurry, and with the most scandalous partiality. Every thing



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 ~~~~~ Clergy, and no defence they could make, was  
 allowed to operate in their favour.* One com-
 mon topic of charge, was the using the Doxology
 and recommending to their people such supersti-
 tious books as Dr. Scougal's Catechism, and
 "The whole Duty of Man." But the genera-
 ground of accusation against the Episcopal Clergy
 and which the indictment never omitted, was
 their having entered by presentation from a Pa-
 tron, and by Ordination, Collation, and Institu-
 tion from a Bishop; which, they boldly affirmed
 was 'contrary to the Word of God, to the Con-
 'stitution of this Kirk, to the Acts of Assemblies
 'and to the land's solemn engagements.' And
 when the leaders of the party were upbraided with
 making Episcopal Ordination the ground of
 libel, they excused themselves, and laid the blame

* Where any of them were found to have been particu-
 keen in the Episcopal cause, consistently with their character as
 profession, they were sure to meet neither with mercy nor ci-
 lity. The Minister of Ladykirk was libelled, for having said
 that the Covenant was no better than a band of rebellion; and
 Mr Heriot of Dalkeith, for calling Monmouth and Argy-
 traitors. Mr Wood at Dunbar was cited before them, for ha-
 ing said to one, who seemed to be afraid of the English Lin-
 gy's coming in among us, 'God send us no worse;' and be-
 cause he had never expressed his thanks to God, for the land
 being delivered from Popery and Prelacy. To the first he re-
 plied, he was sorry if such an expression had dropped from his
 being by far too mean for such a great and glorious Church
 that of England: To the other he said, 'He thanked God
 'heartily for any deliverance the land had had from Popery
 'but could not do so for the overthrow of Prelacy, unless
 'acted the hypocrite, or was convinced that Presbytery was
 'greater blessing, and the more ancient government of the
 'which he had never yet seen made out.'

up

upon the people, who gave in the complaint; tho' it was well known, that the Ministers themselves were the original framers of the libels, and put them into the people's hands, to lay before the several Presbyteries. LETTER
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In the management too of the processes, their manner was neither legal nor equitable. The accusers were admitted as witnesses, and often sat as judges. The libel was read, the witnesses examined, and the charge found proven, before the pannel was called in; and all he had to do when he appeared, was to see and hear himself deprived. It is well known, that by the civil and canon law, and by the practice of all nations, they who bear personal hatred or malice, or have discovered any signs of prejudice against the accused, cannot lawfully witness in judgment upon him. Yet here, this laudable custom was over-ruled, and the most open and inveterate enemies not only allowed, but even encouraged, to give judicial evidence.*

If one part of the deposition seemed to prove the libel, or any article of it, tho' another part tended to exculpate the Minister, or but to ex-
 tenuate the fault, the first was carefully marked, and the other left out. When, at any time, the witnesses were like to clear the pannel, and testify

* Thus when Mr. George Purvis at Glencorse appeared before the Presbytery of Dalkeith, he objected to some of the witnesses, as carrying heart-malice and ill-will towards him, and undertook to prove, that these very men had assaulted him in the pulpit with stones and staves, and taking him by the throat would have strangled him, if he had not got present relief: On which Mr Matthew Selkirk, one of the quorum upon the bench, rose and spoke to the moderator, that if these men had done so much of malice and personal prejudice, they ought not to be received as witnesses, * but if they had done it for the glory of God, he saw no reason why they should not be admitted."

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his innocence, which frequently happened, they were dismissed, as knowing nothing of the matter and others brought forward, that were more pliable to the service of the cause. And when the sentence of suspension or deposition against any minister was intimated from the pulpit of his kirk, the whole libel was gravely and formally read, altho some articles were no way censurable; and such as seemed so, were not proved. Under these iniquitous proceedings, what could the Episcopal Clergy do? Some of them disowned the authority of these upstart Presbyteries, and would not appear; the consequence of which was, a summary sentence of deprivation. Some appeared, and gave in defences; but this availed nothing. And not a few appealed from these petty partial courts to the ensuing General Assembly, hoping to meet with greater justice and moderation there; or that before that time, the civil power, which had promised them protection, would interpose, and put a stop to the present rigid and oppressive measures.

At last, after two or three months preparatory bustle, in the way we have seen, the Assembly convened, on the day appointed, the 16th of October. Lord Carmichael was named Commissioner, to the grievous mortification of the fiercer sort, who wished their good friend Crawford to have been clothed with that important trust, and to the great disappointment of Crawford himself, who both expected and needed the profits of it, and in that expectation had not taken care to provide himself a regular seat in the Assembly, till some weeks after their sitting down, that, rather than want such powerful assistance, they got a commission extorted from the burgh of St. Andrew for him. Mr. Hugh Kennedy was chosen Moderator.

erator, and a Mr. John Spalding, Clerk. There were in the Assembly about a hundred and eighty persons of clergy and laity, according to their own distinction, but no representatives of either class from Angus, Merns, Aberdeen, or any of the more northern parts, nor from any of the Universities, but Mr. Rule alone, the new Principal, for Edinburgh: So that this meeting can no more be held to be a General Assembly of the church of Scotland, than the council of Trent can be called a General Council of the catholic church, tho' indeed the same spirit of faction and tyranny ruled in both: And it shows how little consistent the declaration in the claim of right about the inclinations of the people in favour of Presbytery was with fact, when upon trial, their first General Assembly, countenanced by all the encouragement they could desire, could not draw one member from more than one half of the kingdom.

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The first thing done, after prayer and preaching, was reading King William's letter to them, in which, among other things of form, he told them, 'That he favoured their government, because he was made to understand it was agreeable to the inclinations of the people, and that he would have them to be very moderate in their proceedings, and not to do any thing that might displease their neighbour-church.' This hint did not go well down; as it seemed to make them in some measure accountable to a church, which in all their discourses they used to exclaim against as superstitious and idolatrous, and into which they were always wishing to introduce their own mode of reformation. Neither was the first part quite acceptable, which supposed

LETTER their church-fabrick to be built upon such a sandy

LIV. bottom, as the inclinations of the people. And therefore, in their answer, they asserted that their government was not only agreeable to the inclinations of the people, but likewise founded in the word of God: And this they designed to back with the authority of an act, declaring, 'the Presbyterian government to be of divine right, and also the true legal government of this church, which had never suffered any alteration except in times of usurpation, tyranny and great oppression.' But the Commissioner apprehending the consequences of such an act, and knowing how contradictory it was to former histories and late experience, would not let it pass without advice from court, where it did not meet with approbation, and so was no more heard of.

They then appointed committees for the various pieces of business that might come before them, which sat with their convenience, but did little or nothing considerable, owing partly to restrictions from court, and partly to the unskillfulness and forwardness of the many younger brethren who had never sat in any judicatory before. Besides, there were frequent differences among them about some one thing or other, which the moderator endeavoured to smother the best way he could, and then would thank God for their 'oneness,' as he phrased it, that was among them. This was a thing they always spoke of with great fondness, especially after the Cameronians joined them, tho' even then matters were only made up in a huddle between them; and if the moderator had not exerted all his dexterity, and a good deal of double-dealing, the breach had been wider than ever. The two who appeared for the Cameronians

...ants, a Mr. Shiels and a Mr. Linnen, gave in two LETTER
 papers, the one of overtures, and the other de- LIV.
 fending their own practices, as most consonant to
 the true Presbyterian doctrines, and upbraiding
 the other party with defection and apostacy, which
 they offered to make good in the face of the
 Assembly. The Moderator at first checked and
 rebuked them, as being rash young men: But
 finding they were not to be bullied into silence
 and submission, they were ordered out for a little,
 then called in again, taken by the hand, and de-
 sired to sit down with the rest, without entering
 on any debate, and with this flattering compli-
 ment from the chair, 'that he knew they meant
 well, that they had done services already, and
 more such was expected from them.' The Sun-
 day following, both the Cameronians about Edin-
 burgh and the Presbyterians in the town preached
 upon the union and agreement of the two parties:
 These last thanked God for it, and the former in
 their own justification declared, 'that thereby
 they neither condemned their own former con-
 duct, nor approved the corruptions that had
 been and still were among the other brethren,'
 which declaration, however just and galling, the
 Assembly was wise enough to take no notice of.
 Thus this threatening rupture between these two
 denominations of professed Presbyterians was art-
 fully pieced up at this time, and continued so for
 a while, not without private heart-burnings and
 murmurings now and then from the rigid side, till
 about forty seven years after, that, upon a new
 disgust about the revived exercise of patronage,
 and some other alledged corruptions in the public
 judicatories of the kirk, the flame broke out with
 great violence, and produced a formal 'Secession,'
 which

LETTER which in a short time spread amazingly thro' all
LIV. parts of the kingdom, and is at last, upon account
 of some fancied impropriety in the Burghers-oath,
 split into the two subdivisions of Burghers, and
 Anti-burghers, mutually irritated against one an-
 other, and both of them equally enemies to the
 established kirk, from which they are daily draw-
 ing off great numbers.

The next affair that came before the Assembly, was a petition from two of their friends in the town of Dundee, craving a supply of preachers by the Assembly's authority, and complaining, that tho' the general meeting had sent a minister to them, he could neither get an auditory nor access to a kirk within the town. To the same canting tune came another supplication from some of the lower class of people in Aberdeen, begging relief in their present desolate state, and lamenting that they had not had the gospel preached among them for thirty years past. Both these whining addresses, which by the bye discover how little the taste of both these places was then Presbyterian, the Assembly graciously received, and did what they could to humour the godly desires of these petitioners. But the grand work of this convention was to take cognizance of such appeals as the Episcopal clergy had made from the several Presbyteries. This business, however fond they were of it, embarrassed them not a little, between the fear of offending the court on the one hand, and their own inclinations to severity on the other; but they got over the difficulty in their own way. Some of these appeals they returned back to the respective Presbyteries, which was the same thing as confirming the sentences complained of.—Others they referred to be tried by the commission-court, which they were to appoint: And such

cause

confes as they thought proper to take the cogniz-
 ance of into their own hands, they summarily de-
 cided against the appellants. * LETTER,
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* As a specimen of their justice in these decisions, I shall mention but two of them from among a number of the like kind, which were loudly cried out against at the time, and by which we may judge of the rest. The first shall be the case of Mr. John Mackenzie at Kirkliston, in the Presbytery of Linlithgow, who had been canonically settled there, and continued to officiate till the wandering rabble shut the kirk-doors against him and kept him out. But having early complied with the new government, he made interest by his friends to maintain his title to the kirk, and when he saw that the Presbytery were against him, he appealed from them to the King, and the next lawfully called General Assembly. This being the tenor of his appeal, many of the Assembly spoke warmly against receiving it, alledging that it was to them he had appealed, his expression not being applicable to this Assembly. The Commissioner, perceiving what prejudice there was against him, desired the Moderator to delay the affair, and give the young man time to appear and defend himself. But the Moderator answered, 'It was best to proceed now, and it would be more for the young man's reputation; because if he were present, they would be obliged to take notice of some crimes and scandals, which now they would pass over without inquiring into them.' The Commissioner still urging that they should deal tenderly and gently with him, 'Indeed,' replied the Moderator, 'your Grace shall find that we will use great tenderness to the young man, and we shall be very discreet: for we shall only take his kirk from him.' Which without delay they immediately did, and declared the kirk vacant. The other instance is of a still more flaming nature, and cannot be vindicated even by the utmost stretch of law. The kirk of Turriff in the diocese of Aberdeen had been for many years lawfully possessed by the Episcopal minister Mr. Leask, but was claimed by a Mr. Arthur Mitchell, in virtue of the late act of Parliament. Mr. Leask first applied to the privy-council, and then brought his plea before the Assembly, where he proved that Mr. Mitchell was never legally settled minister at Turriff: that in 1655 he was actually deposed, and tho' he continued to preach there, by means of a prevailing faction of *Remonstrators* after the usurpation, he was never acknowledged as minister of that place: That in the year 1660 the synod of Aberdeen being

And

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And thus having, as far as they could, abundantly purged out the old corruption, they thought it time to set a-going their legislative power, and enact proper regulations for settling the practice of their newly constituted Kirk. Among the first attempts of this kind, was the famous act, which they passed on the 31st of October, that 'As, by the authority of the church in her former assemblies, the private use of the two sacraments hath been condemned; and as, by allowing the private use in pretended cases of necessity, the superstitious opinion is nourished, that they are necessary to salvation, not only as commanded duties, but as means without which salvation cannot be obtained; therefore, the Assembly hereby discharges the administration of the Lord's Supper to sick persons in their houses and all other use of the same, except in the public assemblies of the church: And also, do

freed from the force and restraint that had been put upon the ratified and confirmed the former sentence of deposition against him, under which he was lying to this day: That himself had been regularly settled according to the laws of the land, had been submitted to the present civil government, and had the benefit and people of the parish on his side, which Mitchel had not. That therefore the question was, Whether he was rightful and legal minister of Turriff, or not? After two days debate, was put to the vote, and without any regard to Mr. Leask's defenses and objections against his rival, the dispute was taken on a different footing, and the question stated, not as it ought have been, whether Leask or Mitchel should be minister of Turriff, but whether Mr. Mitchel was not rightful minister in 1660 and only turned out by the unjust courses of the times? This was, contrary to fact, and in contempt of their own judicatory, carried in the affirmative: And Mr. Leask being called in, was told, that the Assembly had deprived him, and declared Mr. Arthur Mitchel rightful minister of Turriff, which took place accordingly.

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discharge the administration of Baptism in private; that is, in any place, or at any time, when the congregation is not orderly called together, to wait upon the dispensing of the word: And appoints, that this be carefully observed, when and wherever the Lord giveth his people peace, liberty, and opportunity, for their public assemblies.* This affair raised some little stir among them. Mr Rule not only pled against private baptism as superstitious, but called it even necromancy and charming, and maintained it to be contrary to scripture and antiquity. Mr Kirkton took the Principal up briskly, and said, 'That point was disputable, and he could buckle him or any man upon it, but would not debate it now; and tho' there were a thousand acts against it, he would rather baptize a child in private, than suffer it to be carried to the curates.' The Moderator flew off to the trite distinction of the different states of the church, in excuse of their former practice; 'For,' said he, 'in times of persecution, I think an honest Minister, riding in the way, may go into a man's house, baptize a bairn, and come out and take his horse again, without any scruple.' Some highland ministers would not to be included in this act, because many children in their bounds could not be brought to the kirks; but there was no dispensing clause inserted.† Indeed, all of them were at times, in their private conversations, to inculcate the non-necessity of baptism, and to preach down the esteem and regard which they saw people had

† So rigid were the greater part of them at that time, that Mr John Hamilton, who was one of the few that did not refuse to administer baptism in private, was nicknamed John the Baptist, by the rest, by way of ridicule.

LETTER for it, as an idle relic of Popery, which ought to
 LIV. be abolished: Even Mr Kirkton himself, tho' he
 stood up so boldly against this prohibitory act of
 the Assembly, said once to the people who brought
 a child to him, 'You think it necessary to have
 ' your children baptized; but I tell you, I knew
 ' a good, godly Minister, who lived till he was
 ' fourscore, and was never baptized in all his
 ' life.' How far the present race of Presbyterians,
 who have no scruple against baptizing a sick child
 or indeed any child, sometimes in private, and yet
 continue so tenacious in refusing to administer the
 other sacrament to sick persons in their own
 houses, can reconcile this discrimination of prac-
 tice, either to itself, or to this express decree of
 their fundamental Assembly, is none of our con-
 cern to account for.

Another act, passed at this time, required all
 Schoolmasters, Chaplains, Preachers, and Stu-
 dents, to take and subscribe the Westminster Con-
 fession of Faith; which had been, indeed, en-
 joined by some of their Covenanting Assemblies
 but had never received any kind of authorized
 sanction till now. And because this Assembly
 could not sit so long as was necessary to determine
 all particulars, and complete the great work
 which they had begun, they appointed a Commit-
 tee to sit for a year, when and where they pleased
 with full and supreme power to act in all things
 that related to the Kirk. This Committee was
 divided into two bodies; one for the South, con-
 sisting of thirty Ministers and fifteen Lay-Elders,
 and another for the North, of twenty-eight Mini-
 sters and sixteen Elders: The quorum of each to
 be ten Ministers and five Elders, duly instructed
 and fortified, by their commission, to harass and
 beat

bear down the Episcopal Clergy from pretending to any share in the ecclesiastical government; or even, if possible, from keeping their livings in any shape.

LETTER
LIV.

Before they rose, they had two very important matters under deliberation; one of a public, and another of a more private concern, but both of them touching their character and reputation in a high degree. When the rabbles were in their full strength, abusing and ejecting the regular clergy in the West and South, attested accounts of these barbarities were drawn up by undoubted hands, and corroborated by unquestionable testimonies, not only to be presented to those in power, for obtaining redress, but likewise to go abroad thro' both the kingdoms, for exciting pity and compassion towards the poor sufferers. The Presbyterians thought themselves struck at by these relations, and saw it necessary, for their own vindication, that some kind of answer should be made to them, as the facts were too flagrant and recent to be positively denied. At the last general meeting this resolution was formed, and the task laid upon Mr. George Meldrum, who, for reasons best known to himself, declined it. Then it was recommended to Mr. Alexander Pitcairn: But he had too much honesty and good nature to undertake it, and plainly refused to have any thing to do with it. The Assembly therefore put it now upon Mr. Gilbert Rule, who courageously took the work in hand; and having laboured thro' it with bold denials, pitiful evasions, artful softening, and all the sophistical fetches that a man is reduced to, who knows he is combating truth, was pleased in end gravely to wipe his mouth, and tell the world, 'That the truth of matters of fact

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LIV.

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LIV. in this answer is not to be taken from him, but from his informers: That he pretends to personal knowledge of few of them: That therefore, not his veracity, but theirs, stands pledged for the truth of what he has published; and if they have deceived him, or been deceived themselves, he is not to answer for it.

Now, whatever exaggerations might have been in these original accounts, or solidity in Mr Rule's replies, the Assembly, if they would have acted honestly, might have kept themselves out of the scandalous scrape. It was the Cameronians who openly began, and chiefly carried on, the lawless business complained of; and though, the sober 'Presbyterians,' as their vindicator calls them, did not make it their constant theme to preach 'against these excesses,' and were not over-careful to prevent or stop them, this indifference might have passed as a piece of caution, and a prudent neutrality between two parties, with whom they once pretended to be equally unconnected. They had solemnly disclaimed kindred with the Cameronians, in their late address to King James, when they 'humbly besought his Majesty, that those who promote any disloyal principles and practices, as we do disown them, may be looked upon as none of ours, whatsoever name they may assume to themselves.' This might have screened the disclaimers from any share in the Cameronian imputation, if they had not been willing to take a share in the effects of it. But here lies the whole key of this mystery, which opens up to us the propriety of Mr Rule's vindication. There was a merit now about these Cameronians to be claimed in general, as well as a former guilt, to be then disowned, but now for-

gotten.

gotten. They had suffered, been persecuted and LETTER
 butchered, no matter, as to the present considera- DIV
 tion, whether justly or not, and all the cruelties
 of Charles II's reign, so much complained of by
 some to this day, belong to that tribe, to the
 Foulard-hills and Bothwell-bridge Covenanters;
 whom the other 'sober Presbyterians' made a
 boast then of standing aloof from. Let this sober
 party then, muster up all the articles of persecu-
 tion they met with, abstracted from these 'dis-
 loyal and disowned' malignants, and tell us
 what the sum total of that separate account will
 amount to. But now, that the two parties are
 united, and joined in one communion, by the
 Assembly's taking the Cameronians into legal
 partnership with them on their own terms, it was
 proper there should be a communion of goods and
 privileges between them: And as the Assembly
 had already assumed to themselves the merit of
 the Cameronians sufferings, and were daily reap-
 ing the benefit of what the Moderator called their
 'services,' it was but fair, that, if there lay any
 complaint against these services, either in the mat-
 ter or manner of them, the Assembly should, as
 elders and brethren, stand forth boldly and
 bravely, now that times are changed, in vindi-
 cation of them. How consistently or successfully,
 let the christian casuist, who is taught not to ap-
 prove of bad means in prosecution of even the best
 ends, determine; and under this reference I leave
 it to the Assembly.

The other weighty affair, which the Assembly
 had to go through before they parted, was also of
 a very ticklish nature, no less than cleaning their
 Moderator from the foul stain of kirk-censure, and
 formal

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formal deposition;† which, in 1660, had been pronounced against him by a Presbyterian Synod upon sundry points of accusation, especially for being a firebrand among his brethren, and for a book which he wrote, ‘Of the Causes of God’s Wrath upon Scotland.’ This sentence had never been taken off from him, and many others in the same condition. It had been proposed at the General Meeting, and rejected. But now the Moderator finding himself better set, made an overture of it to the Assembly, on the 13th of November, the last day of their meeting; and to carry his point the more easily, brought it in a way of surprise. ‘Brethren,’ said he, ‘you may remember, there were once some unhappy differences among us, which some carried so high, as to proceed to inflict the sentence of deposition upon some on that account: Now, I think it that before we part, this sentence be revoked, that as we are all one man’s bairns, we may all alike stated.’ Mr Rule said, he judged better to bury all these things in oblivion, as they could not pass a general act for reponing these men without examining their processes, which was no means fit, neither was there time for it; and perhaps they would not be found all alike; some might have been deposed for scandals, and other crimes, as well as for these unhappy differences. ‘Brother,’ said the Moderator, ‘there is no need of condescending on particulars, for I believe they will be found all alike, and all v

† This famous Preacher was a ringleader among the *Refractorys*, and had been with the army at Newcastle, when King was delivered up to the English; at which time, it is said Mr Kennedy, for his services on the occasion, got 6000*l*. of the purchase-money.

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honest men that are concerned: So he named Weir, Mitchel, and some others; and then said, There is a Mr Hugh Kennedy one of the number too, I warrant you all ken him well enough.' In short, after this droll introduction, the act passed as desired; the old sentence of deposition was taken off, and these men declared to be true, sound, and lawful Ministers. These two material points being thus settled, the Assembly began to think about separating, and entered on a debate about fixing the time of their next meeting, when the Commissioner, whose advice they were never taking, stood up, and, in King William's name, dissolved this Assembly; and, by the same authority, called and appointed another, to meet on the first of November next year. This was a stroke they were not looking for, but they did not chuse to call it in question: So they patiently submitted, and all was concluded with prayer and singing the 133d psalm. And here, before I take leave of this Assembly, which I have been the longer upon, not as belonging to, but because, as far as they could, destructive of the old Episcopal Constitution, let me express my surprise, that all this time, and indeed in all the preparatory steps towards the Presbyterian settlement, we have heard no public mention of that former idol of veneration among them, *The Covenant*; which their predecessors, about fifty years ago, had preferred to their creed, and even to their baptism. But now, except what private glances of remembrance some of their packed Presbyteries squinted towards it, when it was necessary to swell a libel against an Episcopal pannel, we meet with it in no petition of the Kirk, or deed of the State; no handle made of it, as once, for abolishing Prelacy;

LETTER lacy; no regard shewn in the least to the so much
LIV. magnified sacredness of its engagements, except
 among these faithful adherers to it, the Cam-
 ronians. It would seem; the statesmen had been
 either afraid or ashamed of it; and the ministers
 had not thought fit to disgust such friends by re-
 viving it. Let them account for this neglect
 whose business it is; and, like honest men, either
 avow or renounce their connection with the *Solemn
 League and Covenant* of their godly ancestors.

I am, &c.

LETTE

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L E T T E R LV.

Effect of the Revolution on the Church of England
 —Declining State of King James's Interest
 —Proceedings of the Commission of the Scotch
 Kirk—Means used to keep out the complying
 Episcopal Clergy—Laws against the Nonjurors
 —Account of the ejected Bishops—Unpopular
 Measures of King William's Reign—He autho-
 rizes the Oath of Abjuration, and dies.

HAVING, in the preceding letter, taken a sufficient view of the proceedings of the successful party, after the Revolution of 1688; before I return to the history of our ejected Bishops and clergy, it may be proper to give you some account of the situation of the church in the neighbouring kingdom, which we shall find affected, tho' not so totally, yet perhaps in as disagreeable a manner, as our own, by this strange and sudden revolution. It is not to be thought, that on such an extraordinary emergency, the English Bishops, in their mixed character of governours of the church, and members of the legislature, could

LETTER remain neuter, or be allowed to stand by, as unconcerned spectators of what was going on. We have seen what impression the King's orders for reading his indulgence made on them; and how seven of them were treated for their opposition to it. This ill-judged measure added fuel to the flame which the High-Commission's suspending the Bishop of London had already kindled.—When the Prince of Orange landed, this discontented Prelate soon declared for him, and being of a noble family, which gave him powerful connexions, by his example and influence drew numbers of all ranks along with him. On the King's first withdrawing and taking the great seal with him, in the beginning of December 1688, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the two Bishops of Ely and Peterborough, met with some of the Nobility at Guildhall, for preserving the public peace, and agreed upon an application to the Prince, then at Exeter, by way of declaration for a free Parliament, but without any offer of the supreme power, or the least invitation to the Prince to advance further, all which the King on his return to London acknowledged to be 'good and dutiful service.' But when within a day or two the King was finally driven away by the Dutch troops, and another set of Peers who had assembled at Westminster, desired the Prince of Orange to take upon him the administration of the Government, the Archbishop did not think proper to appear among them, tho' the King before his removal had sent his directions by two of the Bishops to the rest of their brethren, 'that such as served him well should not stand at a distance, but carry themselves decently to the Prince of Orange, that they might still be in a capacity

to go on with business, and act as occasion should
 serve, and might do what was just and right in
 the question about the Prince of Wales.

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In the convention of the 22d of January, where
 the grand point of disposing of the Crown was de-
 bated, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops
 of Ely, Chichester, Peterborough, Worcester,
 Bath and Wells, Gloucester, Chester and Nor-
 wich, stood out against the proposal of transfer-
 ring their allegiance, and giving away what they
 thought was not within their gift. The Bishops
 of Winchester and Durham, likewise shewed them-
 selves not altogether satisfied with what was done,
 however proper they might think it to acquiesce
 in the determination of the majority. Others of
 them pretended the permission which they said,
 King James had given them before his going
 away, to act as occasion offered, and not inca-
 pacitate themselves by a vain opposition from con-
 sulting the publick good. Soon after the Prince
 and Princess of Orange were by this convention
 declared King and Queen, Archbishop Sancroft,
 not caring to act publicly himself, was advised
 to grant a commission, revocable at pleasure, to
 the Bishops of London, Winchester, Landaff and S.
 Asaph, for consecrating Bishops and ordaining mi-
 nisters to any diocese or church within the province
 of Canterbury, who should be thereunto duly and
 legally nominated and elected, and by his Arch-
 bishopal authority confirmed: By virtue of which
 commission our countryman Dr. Burnet was con-
 secrated Bishop of Sarum on the 31st of March
 1689, as a reward for the services he had done, in
 bringing about this change. In October thereaf-
 ter, the Archbishop and his outstanding brethren
 were suspended *ab officio* for refusing the new

Oaths:

LETTER LV. Oaths: And persevering in their resolution, after many plans and proposals of accommodation, they were at last on the 1st of February 1691 totally deprived, viz. Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury, and the Bishops Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Kenn of Bath and Wells, and White of Peterborough: For the other three, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, and Cartwright of Chester had died the year before. Upon this sentence of deprivation, the See of Canterbury was filled on the 31st of May with Dr. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, who soon after provided the other Sees of the deprived Bishops in like manner. And Archbishop Sancroft, being an old infirm man, and willing to retire from the world, devolved by a solemn deed his Archiepiscopal powers, which he believed no secular hand could take from him, on his deprived brother Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, who lived and acted in that capacity eighteen years. Thus a rupture, if we cannot call it a schism, was begun in the church of England, and two separate Communion set up, under Dr. Sancroft at the head of the one, and Dr. Tillotson of the other: Which may be said to have continued ever since, till within these few years, that the regular line of Episcopal succession from the deprived Bishops failed in the person of our countryman the late Bishop Gordon.

From this short account of their matters it will appear what ground I had for hinting, that the case of the Church of England at this period of confusion, was fully as disagreeable, if not more so, as our own. In Scotland the established Episcopacy was struck down at one blow, and its rival Presbytery set up in its room, without offering the members

members of the old constitution any conditions, LETTER LV.
 or giving them time to deliberate what side of the political controversy to espouse. So that the Scottish Bishops being all involved in one general catastrophe, and not divided by any insnaring alternatives, had no difficulty to maintain the Episcopal cause, and to support the interest of the Church by purely Ecclesiastical argument, and upon her own original, and independent bottom. In England it was not so: The face of the old constitution was there preserved, and by the appointment of the new legislature, Episcopacy was made to fight against itself. This was an intricate and unwelcome combat; and the Bishops, who had the injured side to defend, being reduced to the necessity of supporting one form of protestant Episcopacy against another, were many times obliged to fly to foreign assistance, and to bring forward arguments which, however satisfactory they may be to private conscience, will be thought in a good measure extraneous to the main cause: while the Bishops in Scotland had nothing to do but combat their adversaries with the weapons which every Episcopal Church had taken out of the store-house of pure and uncorrupted antiquity, before political discussions had come to be blended with Church concerns. The truth of this observation will appear from all the controversial disputes of those days, where it is easy to see that many of the weightiest objections against the English separation do not affect the Episcopacy of Scotland; while on the other hand, every defence that the ejected succession in England could make for themselves, is applicable to the Scottish cause with equal propriety and force.

While all these new regulations were carrying on

LETTER on by the successful party in both kingdoms, the
LV. interest of the expelled King was declining every
 day. In Scotland, the Viscount of Dundee, on be-
 ing driven away from the Convention of the States,
 had retired to the North, and collecting a small
 body of Highlanders, made a push for his master's
 service, at Gillicranky in Athol, on the 16th of
 July 1689, where his troops indeed got the vic-
 tory; but the death of Dundee himself, who was
 killed in the action, was an irretrievable loss to
 the cause he was engaged in, and disheartened the
 few friends of it from making any farther attempt
 of that kind. The Duke of Gordon too, seeing
 no hopes of relief, had, about the same time, sur-
 rendered the Castle of Edinburgh to the prevailing
 powers, and submitted to their discretion. King
 James himself, having seen his Queen and Son
 properly lodged at St. Germain in France, return-
 ed, in March 1689, with fifteen hundred French
 troops, and landed in Ireland, where he held Par-
 liaments, coined money, and for some time exe-
 cuted every act of royalty; till, after several suc-
 cesses with various success on both sides, a deci-
 sive battle was fought between him and his son-in-
 law, on the banks of the Boyne, on the first of
 July 1690, where James was totally routed, and
 had great difficulty to escape to France from the
 pursuit of the victorious army. This blow dashed
 all further hopes, and rivetted the conqueror in the
 undisturbed possession of that sovereignty, of which
 he had hitherto kept but an uncertain hold. And
 thus, by the secret hand of an over-ruling Pro-
 vidence, which it does not become blind mortals to
 be too curious in inquiring into, were things di-
 rected towards this surprising Revolution; which
 we are told from good authority, James him-
 self

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his dying day, considered 'as a divine act of
judicature upon himself and family, for very
wise and gracious ends, and executed in great
mercy to him.' With which pious reflection
upon it, from the greatest and most injured suf-
ferer under it, I shall have done with it at this
time, and return to the affairs of the church.

When the General Assembly rose, the com-
mission which they had appointed fell to work with
each of the Episcopal Ministers as had complied
with the civil government, and been thereupon
allowed to keep possession of their Kirks. The
great object was, to keep such men out of their
predicaments; lest, by their difference of principles
and plurality of voices, they should incumber their
proceedings, and by degrees turn the channel of
affairs another way. And it is incredible what
persecutions and flagrant exertions, of both oppression
and artifice were used, to prevent such a dangerous
conjunction. Complaints of these unjustifiable
measures were sent to Court, which produced an
unpalatable letter from King William, directed
to the Reverend, and our well-beloved, the
Ministers and Elders, Commissioners of the Ge-
neral Assembly of the Church of that our ancient
Kingdom of Scotland, and dated at the Hague,
February 13, 1691; in which, after finding fault
with the vexations and hardships put upon the
Episcopal Ministers, he tells them, 'It is our plea-
sure, during our absence out of Britain, and till
we give further directions, that you proceed to
no more processes, or any other business, but
dispose yourselves entirely to find out the best
means for helping and reconciling differences,
and be ready to give impartial redress upon any
complaints that shall be offered to you, against
' sentences

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sentences already passed; that we be not obliged to give ourselves any further trouble thereanent. By his Majesty's command, James Dalrymple.

Yet, it does not appear that this letter had any great effect, or answered the end it was designed for. The Committees continued as rigid and severe as ever; and, under pretext of negligence, insufficiency, or scandal, gave the complying clergy of the Episcopal persuasion all the disturbance they could. In many parts of the North

† It was at this time, that King William and his Dutch friends joined with the Imperial, Spanish, and Italian plenipotentiaries in a Declaration, wherein 'They solemnly protested before God, never to give peace to Lewis XIV. till he made reparation to the Holy See for what he has acted against it, and till he annul and make void all his infamous proceedings against the Holy Father Innocent XI.' We are told, Lewis had contended with this Pope about the right of disposing of vacant benefices, which he claimed as inherent in his crown, and Innocent peremptorily condemned by a Papal Brief in 1681. But the Parliament of Paris stood up for the King's prerogative, and in 1682 an assembly of the French clergy, consisting of Archbishops, thirty two Bishops, and a number of Delegates determined for the King, and boldly asserted their privilege against the Pope, by a formal decree in four famous articles which have been called 'The Liberties of the Gallican Church.' This contention between Lewis and the Pope, and Lewis' attachment to King James, who seems to have been but a French Papist, has made it be believed, that the Pope was the bottom of dethroning James, as the weaker of his two opponents; and William's so early declaring himself in support of the Pope's pretensions, has perhaps given ground for a suspicion that he had been pitched upon by the Court of Rome as the proper instrument for that purpose. It certainly has a strange look, to see a Prince pretending to defend the Protestant cause in such a hostile manner, against the nearest relation he had on earth, and at the same time leaguering thus with the most bigoted enemies of the Protestant name, in support of that Popish interest in France, which he had gone such violent lengths in professing to destroy in Britain.

however

however, the attachment to Episcopacy was so strong, that little regard was paid to the Presbyterian courts; and the Ministers who kept their kirks, being protected by the gentry, and beloved by the people, seldom or never appeared before these new tribunals: And in some parishes, where the old patrons were the only or principal proprietors, and thereby had influence over the parishioners, the vacant kirks were filled with ministers who had received episcopal ordination, either from the Bishop of the diocese, if in the neighbourhood, or from any other who was most contiguous to them. These liberties were, no doubt, particularly galling to the leaders of the Establishment, not only as thwarting their designs, and preventing the full completion of their favourite model, but especially as they were such a glaring and actual contradiction to the fundamental declaration in the late Claim of Right, about 'the inclinations of the people.'

But what they could not altogether help, they took care to guard against the consequences of, by all the methods they could devise: For they had interest enough to get an act of Parliament passed, in June 1693, for settling the quiet and peace of the church, statuting and ordaining, among other things, 'That uniformity of worship, and of the administration of all public ordinances within this church, be observed by all Ministers and Preachers, as the same are at present performed and allowed therein, or shall hereafter be declared by authority of the same; and that no Minister or Preacher be admitted or continued hereafter, unless that he subscribe to observe, and actually do observe, the said uniformity: And withal declaring, that if any of the saids

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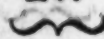
Ministers, who have not been hitherto received into the government of the church, shall offer to qualify themselves, and apply in manner foresaid, they shall have their Majesties full protection ay and while they be so admitted: Providing always, that this act, and the benefit thereof, shall no-ways be extended to such of the said Ministers as are scandalous, erroneous, negligent, or insufficient, and against whom the same shall be verified within the space of thirty days after the said application.' This, it was thought, would be a bar in so far to the promiscuous entry of malignants, which they so much dreaded, as it left the never-failing plea of scandal and insufficiency open to keep out, or thrust out, as they pleased.

But still there was a fear remaining, lest, after all, some of those hated and suspected compliers against whom none of these exceptions could be verified, might, if not looked after, creep into their presbyteries and synods, and perhaps even into their general assemblies, which might prove if not hurtful, yet in some measure trouble some to their constitution. The Parliament therefore gratified them with another act in July 1695 declaring that all such as shall come in and duly qualify themselves as said is, and shall behave themselves worthily in doctrine, life and conversation, as becometh ministers of the gospel shall have and enjoy his Majesty's protection as to their respective kirks and stipends, they always containing themselves within the limits of their pastoral charge in their said parishes, without offering to exerce any power, either of licensing or ordaining ministers, or any part of government in General Assemblies, Synods, or Presbyteries

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* unless they be first duly *assumed* by a competent church judicatory : Providing nevertheless, that, as the said ministers who shall qualify themselves as said is, are left free to apply or not to the fore-
said church-judicatories, so the said judicatories are hereby also declared free to assume, or not assume, the foresaid ministers tho' qualified, as they shall see cause.' By this unrestricted freedom their great point was fully gained, and sufficient provision made against an unwelcome intrusion into any of their stated and authorized courts, by putting it entirely in their own power to admit none, but those with whom they were thoroughly satisfied.

However, with all these arts, and after all the mighty boasts of their numbers, and of the general affection of the people toward them, it would seem they had still found it a difficult matter to get all their kirks filled, owing either to the paucity of their preachers, or to the inclinations of the people running still in the old channel : For we find an act of Parliament, in July 1695, narrating, ' That there are many churches vacant on the north-side of the water of Forth, which cannot be soon legally planted, nor in the mean time otherwise supplied than by the Presbyteries, in whose bounds they ly, employing preachers, who are not settled in churches, to preach in such vacant churches for some time ; therefore, and for the pious use of entertaining such preachers so employed, his Majesty, with advice and consent of Parliament, doth hereby destinate, appoint, and allow, out of the first end of the vacant stipend of the respective churches at which they shall preach, by invitation or appointment of the proper Presbyteries, to every one of the said preachers, Twenty Merks Scots for their preaching every Lord's day, forenoon and afternoon, in

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LETTER ' the said vacant churches ; and that, whether
 LV. ' the said preachers be employed to preach at one
 church, or at several churches within the bounds.'

These itinerant preachers were, among the vulgar, called the '*Twenty Merk Men*,' and made a tolerable living by that random method of supplying vacancies, in which either their own insufficiency, or the disaffection of the parishioners, kept them from being formally settled. Neither was the number of these itinerants found sufficient to answer all exigencies of this kind : For, from another act at the same time, it appears, that even settled Ministers were obliged many times to be employed in that business, with the benefit of the former act extended to them, as well as to the itinerants, who were considerable sufferers by the extension.

In this fourth session too, for their further security, they got an act made against intruders into churches, statuting and ordaining, ' That who-
 ' ever shall intrude into any church, or possess
 ' manse or benefice, or exerce any part of the mi-
 ' nisterial function within any parish, without an
 ' orderly call from the heritors and eldership, and
 ' legal admission from the Presbytery, shall, by
 ' letters of horning and caption, in common form,
 ' be removed from such intrusion, possession, and
 ' ministration; and be declared incapable of en-
 ' joying any kirk or benefice for seven years after
 ' their removal.' Yet all these repeated stretches of legal precaution, could not entirely prevent the ecclesiastical disorders which were perpetually breaking out : For, whether owing to the incessant janglings between the two contending rivals, or to the tumultuous mode of elections, which was now substituted in place of the ancient method of patronage, the spirit of licentiousness and
 opposition

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opposition was become so common and prevalent upon these occasions, that in 1698, the Parliament law it necessary to make a law, ' Strictly prohibiting and discharging, all persons whatsoever, to make any opposition, by rabbling, tumult, or any other manner of violence, to any Minister lawfully authorised and sent to preach at any vacant church within the kingdom, either for supplying the vacancy, or to be fixed Minister within the parish; and that under the penalty of 100l. Scots upon every heritor or liferenter, and 50 merks upon every unlanded person, for every fault; and that such delinquents as are not able to pay, shall be punished in their persons, as the Privy Council shall see fit: And further, statuting and ordaining, that where and whenever, after requisition made to the beadle, or havers of the keys of vacant churches, to deliver them up to the Presbyteries, or any having their orders, the same are refused and not given up, then the next magistrate, when required, shall repair to the said kirk, and there make open and patent the doors, and put new locks on them, and deliver the keys to the Presbytery, or their order, for their free use-making of the same: Certifying, every such magistrate who shall refuse, when called, that he shall be liable in a fine of 100l. Scots, by and attour the Presbytery's expences.' Such were the confusions consequent on this late erection of Presbytery, and so frequently was the parliament called on to interfere, with renewed injunctions and threatenings, before the establishment of it could be perfected to satisfaction. And, when we take a general view of these confusions, we cannot but be struck with the strange sight of a Protestant National

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tional Church, which, in strict propriety of speech could neither be called Presbyterian nor Episcopal but a heterogeneous compound of two jarring denominations, both of them publicly acknowledged to be ministers of the gospel, invested with the pastoral charge, and formally confirmed by the then legal authority, but neither of them in full terms of communion, nor agreeing in many material parts of worship with the other.

But there was another body, and these too the greatest and most considerable number of the old clergy, who took no share in the strugglings of the awkward conjunction, but continued to stand as much and as quietly as they could upon their own bottom, and to adhere to that ecclesiastical independence, which, under all their other losses, they had now regained. Most of the rabbled clergy, and all of them who had been afterwards deprived by the Privy Council, submitted so far to their hard sentences, as not to exercise their ministry in their own parish-kirks, but had ventured to officiate in the old way in some kirks in the neighbourhood. And for their taking this liberty they pleaded, that they were only prohibited the exercise of their ministry at such a particular place. That the Council, tho' it had ejected them from that place, had not taken away their spiritual power from them, so that it was still lawful for them, as well as a duty upon them, to preach the gospel where there was occasion: That they thought there was but too much occasion for them so doing, considering how many vacancies were made, and how few kirks planted, so very few indeed, that in some parts of the country there were five, six or seven kirks all empty together: That they did not meddle with political controversies, but preached the solid and substantial doctrines of

Christ

Christianity, and made it their business to persuade people to a sober, righteous, and godly life. That therefore they were doing nothing but what charity required them, and their calling entitled them to do.

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However all this plea, just and modest as it was, stood them in no stead. The Presbyterian party in the government were exceedingly irritated, and on the 22d of July 1690, got this inhibitory act passed in Parliament against them, 'prohibiting and discharging all and every one of these deprived ministers to preach or exercise any part of the ministerial function, either in churches or elsewhere, upon any pretext whatever, until first they present themselves before the privy council, and there take, swear and subscribe the oath of allegiance, and also engage themselves under their hands, to pray for K. William and Q. Mary, as King and Queen of this realm: certifying such ministers as shall do in the contrary, that they shall be proceeded against, as persons disaffected and enemies to their majesties government, with all rigour: and ordaining the Privy Council to proceed therein, or empower the sheriffs and magistrates of burghs to do the same in their respective bounds, as they shall see cause.' Nor was this thought enough to curb these obstinate outlanders: For at the same time another act was made against the trite distinction of *de jure et de facto*, and appointing a new declaration, called the Assurance, to be taken by all in any public employment, and among the rest by the deprived Ministers, in these words, 'I do, in the sincerity of my heart, assent, acknowledge, and declare that their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary are the only lawful and undoubted sovereigns, King and Queen of Scotland, as well *de jure* as *de facto*, and

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‘ and in the exercise of the government : And therefore I do sincerely and faithfully promise, and engage, that I will with heart and hand, life and goods, maintain and defend their Majesties title and government against the late King James his adherents, and all other enemies who either by open or secret attempts shall disturb or disquiet their Majesties in the exercise thereof.’

Now it was not to be thought that these Nonjurors, as we shall henceforth call them, who hitherto refused the simple oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns, would be very ready to digest this more complex addition, and swallow the larger dose, when they had boggled so long at the less. They chose therefore, under the first impression of this shock, to take the other side of the alternative, and for a while forbore the exercise of their ministry any where. But finding this not eligible, upon many accounts, they at last ventured to have divine worship in their own hired houses, by praying and singing psalms, and giving their own families a practical sermon, but left all their doors open, that whoever inclined might hear them and join with them. The consequence of which was that a list of these intolerable offenders was given in to the Privy Council, and sentence passed against two of the hardiest and most conspicuous of the number, Dr. Richard Waddel, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, and Dr. John Nicholson, Parson of Errol, banishing them both from their respective dwellings.

Yet, all these severities did not fully answer the proposed end. The ejected clergy went on calmly and courageously in performing the sacred offices of religion, to the many of all ranks who still adhered to them, and desired these offices from the hands

hands. For putting a stop, therefore, if possible, LETTER
 to such divisive courses, the Parliament, in July LV.
 1695, gave out the following act: ' Our Sovereign Lord considering, that the baptizing of
 children, and solemnizing of marriage, by the
 laws and customs of this kingdom, and by the
 constitution of this church, have always been
 done by ministers of the gospel authorized by
 law and the established church of this nation;
 and that, notwithstanding thereof, several mini-
 sters now out of their churches do presume to
 baptize children, and to solemnize marriage,
 without proclamation of banns or consent of pa-
 rents, and sometimes within the forbidden de-
 grees: Therefore, strictly prohibits and dis-
 charges any outed minister to baptize any chil-
 dren, or solemnize marriage betwixt any parties
 in all time coming, under pain of imprisonment,
 day and while he find caution to go out of the
 kingdom, and never to return thereto: And
 remits the execution of this act to the ministers
 of the law, as accords.'

This was the heaviest blow which the Nonjur-
 ists had hitherto met with. The former laws
 against them had left them to an arbitrary punish-
 ment, which might be softened by the interposi-
 tion of friends, or clemency of the judge: But
 here the punishment, and a grievous one too, is
 determined, and no mitigation to be expected.
 It was likewise thought particularly cruel, what-
 ever interference might have been used about the
 solemnizing of marriage, that any legal bar should
 be put to the administration of a sacrament, which
 indeed the now established church laid no great
 stress upon, but which the bulk of the people still
 retained a value for, and wished to have perform-

LETTER ed by proper administrators. However, these out-
LV. ed ministers, as they are called, tho' thus restrain-
 ed, and even much terrified, were not altogether
 silenced; but still continued their ministerial func-
 tions when and where called, in the safest and
 most prudent manner they could, so as neither to
 lose sight of their sacred character on the one hand
 nor wantonly to provoke their implacable enemies
 on the other, but in patience possessing their souls
 and depending entirely on their great Head, in
 whose cause they were both serving and suffering.

In this patient and peaceable course, besides the
 example of the primitive Presbyters, which they
 justly looked upon as a pattern worthy of imita-
 tion, they were warranted by the countenance and
 authority of their own Bishops, who were not
 their fellow sufferers, and who, after being stripped
 of their temporal honours, and disseized of the
 once legal revenues, were no longer distinguished
 by any particular notice, but were struck at in gen-
 eral, under the degrading comprehension of 'out-
 ' ministers.' These deprived Fathers, for Fathers
 they once were, and were so called, still retained
 their spiritual power and superiority inherent
 in their commission; and under all their depression, had
 the happiness to possess the respect and esteem, not
 only of their ejected sons, but likewise of most
 the compliers, and even of many of the gro-
 ones among the laity, who had been active in
 the late change. They had quietly retired from
 their Episcopal houses, on the first promulgation
 of the dispossessing act, and provided themselves
 lodgings where they best could: Such of them
 had any little paternal inheritance of their own
 withdrew to it: Others took shelter with their
 friends and relations, or were sustained by the
 minister

ministerial labours in particular congregations which adhered to them.

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He who made the greatest figure, and had the largest and longest share in the management of ecclesiastical business, was Bishop Alexander Rose of Edinburgh, who survived all his deprived brethren, and of whom we shall soon hear more; as we are now come to a particularly remarkable æra of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, which we must henceforth survey as resting on the old in-

* The Primate Rose, being an old man, lived very privately, and died in 1704. The other Archbishop, Paterfon, of Glasgow, was of a more active turn, and appeared frequently upon the public stage in matters that concerned the church: he seems to have had a good deal of influence, even with some who were at the helm of affairs, and died at Edinburgh in 1708. Bishop Halyburton of Aberdeen lived in his own house of Denhead in the parish of Cupar of Angus 26 years, and died in 1715. Bishop Hay of Moray died at his son-in-law's house of Castlehill near Inverness in 1707. Bishop Drummond of Brechin, being a near relation of the family of Perth, was entertained by the Earl of Errol who had married the Chancellor's sister, and died at Slains in 1695. Bishop Douglas of Dunblain, a second cousin to the Marquis of Douglas and to Duke Hamilton, lived after his deprivation mostly at Dundee, and died in 1716, at the uncommon age of 92, having been 66 years in the ministry. Bishop Hamilton of Dunkeld officiated as a clergyman in Edinburgh some years, as did also Bishop Ramsay of Ross, who died in 1696, in very low circumstances. Bishop Wood of Caithness, a nephew by his mother to honest Bishop Gathry of Moray, died at Dunbar in 1695. Bishop Bruce of Orkney, died in 1700. Bishop John Gordon of Galloway followed King James first to Ireland, and then to France, and residing with the court at St. Germain's, read the English liturgy to such protestants as resorted unto him, in which station, it would appear, he had died; for we hear no more of him. Bishop Graham of the Isles lived many years about Edinburgh, but when he died we are not told. The see of Argyle was vacant, the Revolution having prevented the execution of the conge d'elire, which the learned Dr. Monro, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, had got to it in October before.

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stituted foundation, and in which we shall see our Bishops, tho' detached from the ties of secular connexion, with which every established form of a church has always been more or less fettered, yet entangled between the indispensable obligations of high trust on the one hand, and the necessary maxims of Christian prudence on the other, and often at a loss how to act consistently with both.

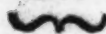
They were not indeed, as I have already observed, entirely in the same intricate situation with their deprived brethren in England; and yet their circumstances, all things considered, were sufficiently embarrassing. Many of the great men, who wished well to Episcopacy, had been surprised, and even offended, at their standing out against the change in the state, and had used pressing arguments with them, as Duke Hamilton in particular had early done with the Primate and Bishop Rose, to persuade them, for their own sakes, and for the preservation of the church, into a compliance. On the other side, their avowed adversaries, the Presbyterians, exclaimed every where against their stiffness, and cunningly represented their non-compliance as proceeding from nothing but personal disaffection, and a latent inclination to Popery. And some went even so far, as to make a handle of their silence and meek deportment under their sufferings, to upbraid them with cowardice and inconsistency, in not thundering out boldly and intrepidly against the convulsions and usurpations which they complained of in secret. Under these complicated attacks from without, and various struggles, no doubt, from within, they will appear, it is hoped, to the eye of christian charity and unprejudiced candour, to have been objects rather of compassion than of censure. The change

by which they were suffering, was unprecedented in the Scottish annals, which had never recorded a King expelled by a daughter and her husband. The late instance of the first Charles, which they had all seen, was not similar to this in every particular: It had been opposed, at least in appearance, by the Parliament of Scotland, and matters then had in a few years returned to the old form. Such of their clergy too, as had yielded to the present requisitions, were but roughly handled, and had not met with such fair or favourable usage, as might encourage others to lay aside their scruples, and comply.

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Indeed, the very beginning of this Revolution could not but alarm our Bishops with a disheartening prospect: A foreign Prince coming over upon Presbyterian invitation, and accepting the Crown in terms of the *Claim of Right*, which had declared Prelacy a grievance, was not the man from whom much good-will to Episcopacy was to be expected: And the event justified their apprehensions. In a short time too, the new administration began not to be so generally acceptable as the friends of it had hoped, and William neither gave nor got the satisfaction which had been mutually looked for. The horrid tragedy of Glenco, on the 12th of February 1693, which in the manner of execution, and allowing for the proportion of numbers, was as much a massacre by Protestants as had ever been acted in France or Ireland by Papists; and which the inefficacy of the Parliamentary inquiry into it, two years after, had raised a suspicion of its having originated from a source which was not proper to be laid open, spread an universal and well-founded disgust thro' the whole kingdom: And this disgust was heightened by the affair

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affair of the Scotch Colony, set up in 1699 on the royal faith, at Darien in America, where it was visible the Scots were most treacherously baffled, to the utter ruin of many individuals, and to the risk of exasperating the two Parliaments against one another. No wonder that a reign, begun in such a strange way, and chequered with such disagreeable measures, had not the effect of removing scruples out of some people's minds, and giving them that conviction and clearness upon trial, which so many had attained to, at the commencement of it.

But this scene of murmuring and discontent did not long continue. For on the 8th of March 1702, King William died, in the 52d year of his age; after having in his last moments, and when he was so weak that he could not write, stamped his name on a commission for passing an act, which was afterwards extended to Scotland, enjoining the taking the 'Oath of Abjuration,' in these words: 'I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe in my conscience, that the person pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James; and, since his decease, pretending to be, and taking upon himself the stile and title of King of England, by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eighth, or the stile and title of King of Great Britain, hath not any right or title whatsoever to the Crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereto belonging: And I do renounce, refuse, and abjure, any allegiance or obedience to him, &c.' An oath of such a dubious contexture, and so hard to be digested in all its parts, that even the Presbyterians boggled at it; and fourteen years after this, the Com-

mission

mission of the Kirk drew up an address, praying to have ' the Oath of Abjuration so qualified, that tender consciences might take it, some of their very Ministers having refused it.' LETTER LVI.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R LVI.

Accession of Q. Ann.—Supposed to be favourable to the Scots Episcopalians.—She is addressed by some of the Clergy.—Consecrations performed by the ejected Bishops.—The English Liturgy introduced into Scotland.—Act of Toleration, and Consequences of it.—Sudden Death of Q. Ann.

ON the death of K. William, the Princess Ann, youngest daughter of the late K. James by his first wife, was proclaimed in both kingdoms: And this accession was supposed to open a more favourable prospect to the ejected and oppressed clergy in Scotland. High notions had been conceived of her shining virtues in private life, especially

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 LVI. Church of England, and indeed to Episcopacy in
 general. Many too, who had thought themselves
 bound to K. James while he lived began now on
 his death, which had happened on the 6th of
 September last year, to recede a little from their
 former attachment, and to consider their allegiance
 as easily transferred from one branch to another
 of the royal family. In this opinion they believed
 themselves supported by the conduct of the primi-
 tive church under the Roman Empire, where they
 found obedience paid by the Christians to the Em-
 peror while alive, and to any one of his family that
 got hold of the sceptre after his death, without con-
 vassing the right of succession, about which at that
 time there was no dispute.

These flattering appearances and plausible ar-
 guings induced some of the Episcopal clergy to ad-
 dress the new Queen, hoping to meet with more
 lenity from one of her disposition and principles,
 than they had experienced from her predecessor.
 But the greatest number of them, with all the sur-
 viving Bishops, still laboured under their old diffi-
 culties on this intricate subject; and while they
 gave all due praise to the Queen's personal cha-
 racter, could not bring themselves to a sufficient
 degree of conviction about her public capacity,
 notwithstanding of the comparison drawn from the
 Roman government, where, they said, the consti-
 tution was different, and where such thorny con-
 cessions were not required. However, an address
 was framed, and presented in March 1703, shew-
 ing, ' That the petitioners had been violently and
 ' unjustly turned out of their benefices at the Re-
 ' volution, and intreating her Majesty to com-
 ' passionate them and their numerous families

' who

who were reduced to a starving condition, for their adhering to the true, primitive, and apostolic church, of which her Majesty was a member.' To which address answer was given, 'Assuring them of her protection, and exhorting them to live peaceably with the Presbyterian clergy.' Tho' this came not up to all that was requested, and tho' the Parliament soon after rejected the Bill of Toleration which had been proposed to them, owing to the violent clamourings of the Presbyterians against it; yet the answer itself, being of a softer nature than any speech which the Episcopal clergy had for some time been accustomed to hear from the throne, encouraged the whole of them to form higher hopes, and to concert such probable schemes for enlarging their subsistence, as they thought might now be carried on with safety, under such a mild administration. They had been hitherto assisted in a private way, by charitable donations from some few benefactors in England and Ireland, and a fund had been settled for that purpose at Edinburgh, under the principal direction of the two Archbishops, and of the Bishops of Edinburgh and the Isles, who resided mostly in or about the metropolis. A Commission, therefore, was now renewed from these Prelates, as managers of this fund, to Mr Arthur Millar, who had been Minister at Inveresk, but ejected at the Revolution, empowering him 'to collect money among the well-disposed in Ireland, for the relief of the suffering clergy in Scotland.'

In execution of this Commission, Mr Millar went over again to Ireland; and in December this year obtained a brief from the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, which was of great use to him. He was likewise much assisted in this pious

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LETTER work, by the then Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. LVI. King;† and in the course of a few years, he collected in Ireland upwards of nine hundred pounds sterl. which, with other liberalities from time to time at home and from England, was of great service to both Bishops and Clergy in their then trying situation. The Bishop of Edinburgh too, whose amiable qualities endeared him to all ranks, but whose worldly circumstances were not so affluent as his merit deserved, or his character required, was at this time, by the interest of powerful friends, favoured with a pension out of the Bishop's rents, and had it paid him, tho' not very punctually, for some years, till on a new accession it was taken from him, in 1716, for his continued refusal of the state-oaths.

And now the surviving Bishops, taking hold of the favourable opportunity in the beginning of this reign, and seriously pondering the weak condition which the church was now in, by the death of so many of their order, and the decaying state of the few who yet remained, came to an unanimous resolution of continuing the Apostolic Succession, and committing the sacred Deposit which they were entrusted with, to 'other good and faithful men, apt to teach and govern;' who might, in like manner, convey it forward, and thereby preserve the Church of Scotland from the necessity, which she had been reduced to within their own memory, of applying to foreign assistance for a regular and valid Episcopacy. In consequence of this resolu-

† This Prelate is well known in the learned world, by his curious book 'Of the Origin of Evil;' and there are letters preserved from him to Mr Millar, expressing the most cordial good will to himself and his cause, and signed, 'Your affectionate humble servant and brother, Will. Dublin.'

tion, Mr John Sage, formerly one of the Ministers of Glasgow, (a man deservedly esteemed for his many valuable writings; but whom, to the great loss of this church, death took away within six years, in the 59th year of his age) and Mr John Fullarton, who had been Minister at Paisley, were the first pitched upon for this high office; and accordingly, on the 25th of January 1705, they were duly and canonically consecrated, at Edinburgh, by Archbishop Paterfon of Glasgow, Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, and Bishop Douglas of Dunblain.

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At the same time, for preventing any confusions that might possibly arise from future contingencies, and for other prudential reasons, it was provided on the one side, and agreed to by the other, that during the life of any of the old Bishops, the government of the church should remain entirely in their hands; and that in all that time, none of the new consecration should be vested with Diocesan powers, or have the inspection of any particular district, but that they were designed only to assist in keeping up the order, and to give their counsel and concurrence when called for. Thus a plan of Episcopacy was introduced into this church, which, it must be owned, was not altogether so conformable to primitive practice as could have been wished, but which the sagacity of these prudent and experienced governors saw expedient for these times, tho' it cannot be thought they proposed it to be perpetual, as was afterwards pretended, or to take place any longer than it should appear proper and necessary to return to the old model. However, these worthy Prelates rested satisfied with this method of performing what they were convinced was their duty; and having made this

salutary

LETTER salutary step towards the preservation of the
 LVI. church, as far as lay to their hands, they could
 now, with faith and resignation, wait the good
 providence of their gracious Master, to dispose
 matters as to his infinite wisdom should seem best.

But this calm glimpse of sunshine, which was
 just breaking in upon our distressed church, was
 soon overcast with a transient cloud, and that too
 upon an occasion in which, as she now stood, she
 could not be much interested. The project of an
 incorporating Union of the two kingdoms, which
 had been oft started by the English, and as oft re-
 jected by the Scots, was now again revived; and
 being, from whatever views, a favourite point
 with England, was pushed with great ardour from
 that side: And to make sure of the Parliament of
 Scotland, where the Presbyterians had so much to
 say, the Court found it expedient to lay the rod a
 little more smartly upon the Episcopal clergy, as
 being thought the most effectual way to remove
 the jealousy of the Presbyterians, and reconcile
 them to the intended scheme. Accordingly,
 orders were issued to shut up all the Episcopal
 Meeting-houses without distinction; and these
 orders were executed with more or less rigour, ac-
 cording as the opposite humour prevailed, or the
 several turns of politics required. Mean time the
 Union-project went briskly on; and notwithstand-
 ing tumults in many towns, and addresses from
 several counties against it, on the 16th of Janua-
 ry 1707 it was finally ratified in the Parliament of
 Scotland. On the sixth of March it passed in the
 English Parliament, at which time, we are told,
 one of the English peers, Lord North-and-Grey,
 offered a rider to the bill, "That nothing in it
 " may be construed an approbation or acknow-
 " ledge

"ledgement of the truth of the Presbyterian way LETTER
 "of worship, or allowing the religion of the Kirk LVI.
 "of Scotland to be, what it is styled, The True
 "Protestant Religion." But the motion was re-
 jected, as unseasonable and superfluous.

Scarce had this threatening storm begun to sub-
 side a little, when a new opportunity offered to
 raise another. An invasion from France was at-
 tempted, and a fleet sent out of Dunkirk under
 Admiral Fourbin, which hovered a while upon
 our coasts, but was on the 13th of March 1708
 dispersed and driven off by the English navy, with-
 out any resistance, and with no great loss. This
 alarm, sudden and short as it was, created trouble
 to such of the nobility as had appeared most averse
 to the Union, who were taken up on suspicion, but
 in a short time had their innocence cleared, and
 were dismissed. But the Nonjuring clergy were
 the chief sufferers by it, as it was alledged to be a
 plot of them and their party to bring over the son
 of the late King James, who was now styled the
 Pretender, to whose interest they were believed
 to be devoted, because they had hitherto refused
 the oaths to his sister. Yet under all this load of
 popular clamour and legal severity, there was still
 the face of a church kept up, and amidst the many
 restraints and distresses which they struggled with,
 the clergy were so diligent, and by their diligence
 so successful in their labours, that in many places
 they got their people prevailed with to admit the
 exercise of liturgical worship in their religious
 assemblies, as more decent, more intelligible, and
 better calculated for public devotion, than the
 Presbyterian method, which they had been accu-
 stomed to hear, but could not be said to join in.

The use of the English Book began now to
 spread thro' various corners of the kingdom: It
 had

LETTER had been approved of by many of the clergy long ago, and some of them had even used it openly in the kirks. For we are told in 'the Life of Dr Burnet, Bishop of Sarum,' that soon after the Restoration he read the English liturgy in the parish-kirk of Salton, which was his first cure. And in Dumfries too we have this notable testimony of its being used, that the Cameronian plunderers broke into the church there, while the minister was reading it, tore it out of his hands and made a public bonfire of it, which was the common mark of disgrace they put upon all the prayer-books which they found among the ministers, in these heathenish excursions. After the Revolution, when so many of the clergy and most of the Bishops took shelter about Edinburgh, and found themselves more at freedom to model the public worship after the commendable pattern of Catholic Antiquity, the English service became more frequent in and about Edinburgh, tho' for some years in the remote parts of the country, the old ministers mostly kept to their former way either from choice or necessity. But in the beginning of this reign, which appeared more favourable to Episcopacy and a Liturgy, by the liberality of well-disposed people in England, a large supply of Prayer Books was sent down to Scotland; and by this means, under the particular recommendation, and by the careful provision of the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was the chief mover in our ecclesiastical affairs, the English service was, in 1707, set up in St. Andrews, in Aberdeen, and at many places in Angus and Moray, in both which shires the old constitution still had a number of friends. This was not only a great improvement in itself, but likewise a wonderful change from

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from the cross humours of former times : And is LETTER
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 a clear demonstration, how much more easily and peaceably people will be reconciled to decency of practice, in religious concerns, by the winning arguments of persuasive instruction, than by the peremptory compulsion of authority, however regular and competent.

The Bishops too, now that the cloud was in some measure over for a while, continued their watchful care of the succession ; and finding their number more and more on the decrease, by death and decay of nature, they thought proper to add new strength to their order, in terms of the late regulation, by the promotion of other two worthy old ministers, Mr John Falconar at Carnbee in Fife, and Mr Henry Christie at Kinross, who were consecrated at Dundee on the 28th of April 1709, by the two old Bishops of Edinburgh and Dunblain, and the new Bishop Sage ; the only other survivor, Haliburton of Aberdeen, being now so weak in his intellectuals, beyond what his more aged brother of Dunblain was, that tho' he was still capable to perform the office of Ordination for such vacancies in his diocese as applied to him, it was not judged convenient, as it was not necessary, to employ him in any business of importance that required a certain degree of secrecy and caution.* After these two, Mr Archibald Camp-

* The first of these two new Bishops, Mr Falconar, was an intimate acquaintance and great favourite of good Bishop Rose, who pressed him most warmly, for the good of the church, to take the burden of the Episcopate upon him in these times of trial and difficulty. And indeed, no man could have been better for it in any condition of the church, as from the many talents that remain of him, he appears to have been not only a man of great piety and prudence, but likewise a consummate divine, and deeply versed in the doctrines and rites of the primitive church.

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 LVI, Scottish church, and was consecrated at Dundee
 on the 25th of August 1711, by the Bishops of
 Edinburgh and Dunblain, and Bishop Falconar.
 The next year after his promotion, Mr James
 Gadderar, who had been rabbled out of his mini-
 stry at Kilmaurs in the shire of Ayr, (and of whom
 I need say nothing, as he has left such a precious
 memory behind him in our church, especially in
 the Diocese of Aberdeen, of which he long had
 the inspection), was consecrated on the 24th of
 February, at London, by Bishop Hickey, (the

tive church, which, both by example and argument, he studied
 to revive and bring again into practice, in the softest and most
 inoffensive manner possible.

† This gentleman was a near descendant of the family of
 Argyle, and tho' long in priest's orders, had never had a fixed
 charge, but was highly recommendable for his learning and other
 valuable accomplishments, which his curious writings, tho' out of
 the common line in some things, abundantly testify. His affairs
 led him to reside mostly at London, where he long acted
 as a Scotch Bishop, and in that character was of great service
 to our church, having been among the first projectors, and by
 his activity and connexions a constant promoter of that charitable
 fund, which was a great support to the poorer clergy in the
 straitened circumstances. He had got into his hands the original
 registers of the General Assemblies produced by Wariston in
 the rebellious Assembly of Glasgow in 1638, which he gene-
 rously communicated to such of his brethren as had any use to
 make of them, and at last in 1737, made a gift of them to St. John's
 college for preservation. In his later days he carried his singu-
 larities to such a length, as to form a separate Nonjuring com-
 munion in England, distinct from the Sancroftian line, and
 even ventured, in contradiction to the opinion and advice of his
 brethren in Scotland, upon the extraordinary step of a single con-
 secration by himself without any assistant, for keeping up the
 separation, which, thro' Mr Laurence, Mr Deacon and some
 others, subsists in some of the Western parts of England to this
 day.

well known Dean of Worcester, and soon after the Revolution, made a Bishop in the deprived succession) and the two Scottish Bishops Falconar and Campbell.†

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By these consecrations our church was once more supplied with a sufficient number of Bishops, both to preserve the succession, and perform other episcopal offices to those of her communion. And about this time, the British Parliament manifested something of a favourable disposition towards those of the episcopal persuasion in Scotland. For on the third of March 1712, an act was passed, to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal communion, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the liturgy of the Church of England, and for repealing the act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, intitled, act against irregular baptisms and marriages; declaring it to be free and lawful for all of the Episcopal communion in Scotland to meet and assemble for divine worship in any town or place except in parish churches, to be performed after their own manner by Pastors ordained by a Protestant Bishop, and to use the liturgy of the church

† It needs be no surprise, to find a consecration for Scotland performed at London, and in a part, by English hands. Mr Campbell had his ordinary residence in London; where Mr Gadderar also lived for some years: And Bishop Falconar's being at London may well enough be accounted for from the exigencies of the church, which not only called for a brotherly correspondence, but even many times required personal interviews, and led up of our Bishops and clergy now and then to London to assist in the common cause. However, this consecration of Bishop Gadderar, tho' seemingly out of the usual course, yet having been not only with Bishop Rose's consent, but likewise at his express desire, was approved of by all his Scottish brethren.

LETTER of England, if they think fit, and that it shall be
 LVI. free and lawful for such Episcopal ministers, not
 only to pray and preach in their congregations,
 but likewise to administer the sacraments and
 marry, without incurring any pains or penalties
 whatsoever, any law or statute to the contrary
 notwithstanding: And strictly enjoining all sher-
 riffs and other magistrates, to give all manner of
 protection, aid, and assistance to such Episcopal
 ministers and their congregations, and not to
 hinder or disturb them, under the penalty of 100l.
 sterling *toties quoties*: But requiring every such
 Episcopal minister, before he shall enjoy the be-
 nefit of this act, to produce his letters of orders
 before the justices of the peace, at their general or
 quarter sessions, to be entered on record by the
 clerk, and to take and subscribe the oaths of Al-
 legiance, Assurance, and Abjuration; and that,
 every time that he officiates in his place of worship
 so protected, he shall pray in express words for
 her most sacred Majesty Queen Anne, and the
 most excellent Princess Sophia, Dutchess Dowager
 of Hanover, and all the royal family, under the
 penalty of 20l. sterling for the first offence; and
 for the second, of forfeiting the benefit of this act,
 and being declared incapable of officiating as
 pastor of any Episcopal congregation during the
 space of three years; " Provided always, that no
 " minister offending herein shall suffer such penal-
 " ties, or either of them, unless he be prosecuted
 " for the same within two months after the
 " offence is committed."

This is the substance of that famous Act of To-
 leration of the 10th of Queen Anne, which was
 more than had been granted for twenty years, and
 for that reason was by some vehemently cried out
 against.

against. It is true, the Nonjurors, who were by LETTER
 far the greatest body of the Episcopal communion, LVI.
 and had all the Bishops both old and new at their
 head, had not, and could not in law claim, the
 full benefit of it. But yet, as it discovered the
 favourable inclinations of government towards the
 Scottish Episcopacy in general, the Presbyterians
 were thereby kept back from harassing the Non-
 jurors too much, lest they should be driven to take
 the advantage of this toleration, and so put it out
 of the power of their enemies to hurt them. Ano-
 ther act too that passed in this session, and has con-
 tinued in force ever since, was particularly grating
 to the Presbyterians at that time, and to many of
 them is so still, and that was the act rescinding the
 act of 1690 against Patronages, and "Restoring
 the Patrons to their ancient rights of presenting
 ministers to the churches vacant in that part of
 Great Britain called Scotland." Besides the
 matter of this act, the very title of it could not but
 be highly offensive, as it asserts the claims of the
 patrons to be both rightful and ancient, which the
 zealots of the Kirk still continue to brand as a
 sacrilegious usurpation of a modern date. At the
 same time, another act of King William, which
 has a strong taste of the fanatical leaven in it,
 "discharging the Yule vacance, notwithstanding
 of any bygone custom of observing it," was re-
 pealed, and the ancient practice, which had pre-
 vailed in all ages, and among all nations where
 christianity was duly regarded, was again set upon
 the old footing.

These proceedings, tho' not quite pleasing to
 some at the helm of affairs, were perfectly agree-
 able to the Queen herself, who had a sincere re-
 spect for Episcopacy, and for every thing that was

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orderly and decent in the externals of religion. And under covert of the late toleration, even the Clergy of the Nonjuring Church began to enjoy a little freedom, and to entertain hopes of more extensive indulgence than they had experienced for some years. The repeal of the rigorous act against their baptisms was a great relief to their minds, as it freed them from the daily risk of imprisonment or banishment, in the execution of a part of their office which they could not dispense with, and only exposed them to a pecuniary mulct when added to their other delinquencies. Yet tho' thus, by the good nature of the Queen, and the mildness of administration, which generally follows the inclinations of the Sovereign, they were in some measure relieved from the outward pressures of the former reign, they were still exposed to many difficulties in the course of their internal management, which required all the prudence they were masters of, to enable them to act both a conscientious and inoffensive part.

The late confusions had occasioned a number of disorders and defects, which called loudly for remedy, but which it was not an easy matter to remedy so soon, and so regularly, as they could have wished. Among the many complaints of this kind, the long disuse of the sacred and apostolical rite of Confirmation, which, tho' once introduced into our reformed church by competent authority, had been wofully and almost inevitably neglected, gave our Bishops many uneasy thoughts and set them upon endeavouring to have it universally restored; in which pious endeavour, the new Bishop Falconar was particularly zealous and active. But here a fresh difficulty occurred in the way of duly administering this ordinance, arising from

from the many disputable baptisms, which the LETTER
prevalency of what our Bishops, consistently with LVL
principle, could not but reckon a schism, and the
terror of King William's law, operating on the
fears of the more timorous of our clergy, had
been productive of. This put good Bishop Fal-
conar to a great nonplus, and made him consult
the Bishop of Edinburgh, who was as much strait-
ened on the subject as he was; but, to answer his
request, wrote him the following letter, which I
shall set down from the original now before me,
leaving the merits of it to the impartial judgment
of every serious reader.

It is of date July 30th, 1713, and is in these
words, "Reverend brother, the desire of the
person you wrote of seems to me to have great
reason on its side, and I wish that case had been
taken under consideration, and decided either by
our own or any other rightly constituted protest-
ant church, which so far as I know has not yet
been done; nay, the practice and sense of our
neighbour church looks to be against it, upon
what warrantable principle, or how agreeable to
some other both of their principles and practices,
I am yet to learn. But as for the thing itself,
it wants not perplexing difficulties on both sides;
and though I have often thought upon it, yet I
must own that I am scarce able to resolve myself
clearly as to what may be fit to be done in cases
of that nature. I am loth to annul all such bap-
tisms, and to impeach both our own church and
others that seem to allow them, in so far that
they allow those persons, who have no other,
all Christian privileges. On the other hand, I do
not know how to own the validity of what is
done without a commission. For my own part,
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I make a difference between those who are satisfied or have no scruples about their baptism, and those who have. As to the first, I reckon their baptisms, tho' invalid in matter of right, yet not so in matter of fact, and *that* thro' the divine indulgence, from the churches in which they live, their admission and acceptance of them, and the insuperable difficulties the far greater part of people are under to know otherwise. For the church's admitting of such baptisms, tho' no farther than not to pass a censure upon them, seems to me to put these persons in *bona fide* to rely upon such baptisms, and I hope that they shall sustain no prejudice in that case; but how the governors of the church shall account for affording that ground of confidence, I do not know. But for the others, who, upon maturity of judgment, after diligent enquiry and weighty consideration, scruple the validity of their baptism, their case seems to be very different from that of the others, and I think it hard to reject them, when they crave to have the defects of their former baptism supplied; but this I think fit to be done in the way and manner you wrote of, and that upon many obvious and weighty considerations. God Almighty direct you, give us all fuller and clearer light, and establish all things among us upon the true ancient foundations.

By this letter, we see the moderation and modesty of this sensible Prelate, and with what diffidence he expresses himself on a question which had never been authoritatively determined; and which, however plain it might appear to a superficial view, both he and his judicious brother Falconar saw difficulties about, which they could not get over to a full degree of satisfaction. Nor was this

this the only embarrassing business that Bishop Rose had to give his opinion in. When the change of men and measures, by the defeat of the Marlborough party, was begun at court in 1710, he had a message sent him from Oxford, desiring to know, Whether he and the rest of the Scottish Bishops were in communion, as matters now stand, with the established Church of England, and her Bishops? To which he gave this short but wary return; "I know there has been a division among the members of the Church of England upon that head: The controversy is great and material, and our circumstances among ourselves not affording such difficulties, the most of us perchance have not so carefully examined that matter, and want the needful helps to be fully instructed in it: And for myself, it cannot be expected of me, that without a previous conference with my brethren, and considering that subject thoroughly and maturely with them, I should give my sense of it." Yet, in matters of civil concern, he corresponded with the Archbishop of York, and Bishop of London, who were his old acquaintances, and still retained an esteem for him; while he himself, by his wise and peaceable deportment, and with all the dignity of character that belonged to a primitive Bishop, prudently and unblameably governed the poor remains of our church, by virtue of these spiritual powers which, after the death of the two Archbishops, were acknowledged to have devolved upon him.

But this outward serenity, which he and his brethren were beginning to enjoy, upon the removal of the Whig Ministry, as they were called, was not of so long continuance as by the course of nature

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ture might have been expected. For on the 29th of July the Queen suddenly sickened, and died on the 1st of August 1714, in the 50th year of her age, to the surprize of all her friends, and to the great joy of the malecontents, who were longing, and perhaps looking, for that event. It has been said, and from different sides, but upon what grounds does not appear, that after the peace of Utrecht she had begun to harbour some thoughts of sympathy and affection towards her exiled brother, and even was concerting measures for doing him a signal piece of service: And if it had been so, it needed neither have been matter of wonder nor blame, that a sister, even upon a throne, should have retained so much of the compassion inherent in human nature, especially in the softer sex, as to feel for a suffering brother, and an only one too, who she knew was born to the prospect of wearing that crown, which the failings of their common father had excluded the brother from, and given the sister the possession of. But whether it would have been right in her to have had such favourable intentions to a brother; and how far her behaviour to a father, and him too an indulgent father to her, in the very article that was his overthrow the article of Religion, may be reconcileable to the strict letter of the "first commandment with promise," however excusable by the plea of political necessity, are too intricate points for me to meddle with, and shall be left to the "great Judge of all the earth" to determine.

I am, &c.

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L E T T E R LVH.

*Accession of the House of Hanover—Consequences
of it—A new Act against the Scotch Nonjurors
—Correspondence with the English about the
Usages—Various opinions of the Scotch Bishops
—An Agreement effected—Correspondence
about an Union with the Eastern Church.*

THE same day that Q. Anne died, the Elector
of Hanover, a great-grandson of James VI.
who had been brought into the late settlement, as the
nearest Protestant heir, was proclaimed with the usu-
al solemnities, and on the 18th of September, made
a magnificent entry into London. And now a total
change in every public station commenced. All
the late Queen's ministers and favourite officers,
were either dismissed by express orders, or being
treated with contempt, resigned their places and
withdrew. The Marlborough party were taken

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into favour, and placed in all the offices about the court. A proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against all Papists, Nonjurors, and disaffected persons. The two chief Secretaries of State for England, Oxford and Bolingbroke, were impeached of high treason. The Earl of Mar, Secretary for Scotland, was removed. In a word, the public affairs thro' the whole kingdom put on a new face under this foreign accession; and the new courtiers drove with such a high hand, as if their design had been, what was shrewdly suspected, to force on the commotions which soon happened.

The Earl of Mar retired to his own country, where he was joined by a number of the nobility and others, and on the 6th of September 1715 set up his standard in name of the exiled prince. At the same time there was a rising in the North of England in the same cause, and from the same disaffection. But they were both soon crushed. For on the 13th of November, the Duke of Argyle at the head of a regular army came up with the Earl of Mar's militia at a place called the Sheriff-muir, not far from Dunblain, where there was an obstinate engagement, with equal claim of victory on both sides; And the same day the English insurgents were totally routed by General Wills at Preston in Lancashire, and a great number taken prisoners. The Scots indeed made shift to keep together for some weeks, but upon Argyle's being strengthened with a fresh recruit of troops, they saw it adviseable to disperse, and on the 4th of January the Earl of Mar and some others with the exiled Prince himself, who had landed at Peterhead some days before, embarked at Morroose, and got safe to France. Thus this early an

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hasty insurrection was quashed in a short time, and the whole of the year 1716 was taken up in executions and forfeitures, which are the common consequences of all such unsuccessful attempts, and the effects of which are felt by many to this day.

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It was not to be expected that our Episcopal church, under the suspicions which had been long entertained against her, would altogether escape the public notice on this trying and provoking occasion. The oaths were every where put to the clergy in the strictest manner, and were generally refused, notwithstanding the severe penalties they were exposed to by the refusal. Even many of the old ministers, particularly in the North, who had kept their kirks by a compliance under the two last reigns, had scruples about the oaths to the present successor, and were inhibited from performing ministerial offices within their respective parishes. They who had still been Nonjurors, and such of the younger clergy as had kept up Episcopacy, and introduced a liturgy in those parishes of that persuasion where the old compliers had died out, were harassed without mercy, and forced to abscond for their lives. In a word, Episcopacy in general lay under the odium of disaffection to the present government, and upon that account was coldly looked upon, not only in Scotland, where the tide of malice had been long running against it, but even in England, where it still had the standing laws on its side. For the Convocation there, having according to immemorial privilege, met at the same time with the Parliament, and the lower house having in May 1717 drawn up a representation against some positions contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, which Hoadly Bishop of Bangor had published in his ill-natured

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natured: "Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors;" the Court was so offended at this representation, that before it could be in form presented to the Upper House, the Convocation was by a special order prorogued to November, and has never been allowed to enter upon business since. The next year, the Parliament repealed the Occasional Conformity-Act, which had been passed in 1711 for the security of the Church of England, in the debating of which repealing bill, it was proposed, that persons who came to qualify themselves for any office, should acknowledge the holy scriptures to be of divine inspiration, and profess their faith in the Holy Trinity: But such was the strange spirit of infidelity that now prevailed, the proposal was rejected, "as too great a restraint upon free-born English-men." It was not to be thought therefore, when the established Episcopacy in England was treated in this disrespectful manner, that the poor shattered remains of it in Scotland would meet with much lenity or forbearance. Accordingly in April 1719, an act passed in Parliament, "For making more effectual the laws appointing the oaths for the security of the government to be taken by ministers of churches and meeting-houses within Scotland," by which every Episcopal minister performing divine service in any meeting-house within Scotland, without having taken the oaths in terms of Queen Anne's Toleration, and praying for King George and the royal family by name, is to suffer six months imprisonment, and have his meeting-house shut up for six months; and every house where nine or more persons, besides the family, are present at divine service, is declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of this act. This was no doubt severe enough upon

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upon the Episcopal clergy: But the description of LETTER
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what was to be deemed a meeting-house liable to the penalty, allowed them a certain degree of legal freedom, and even encouraged them to depend upon further connivance, from those to whom the execution of the law was committed.

All this time our Bishops, for their part, were doing what more immediately belonged to their office, with that primitive courage which became their character, and with such christian caution as the circumstances of the times required. The two old Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblain were now dead, and of the new consecration Bishop Sage had died in 1711, and Bishop Christie, his dear friend, in the beginning of 1718. So that Bishop Rose, having lost all his deprived brethren, and finding himself by age and infirmities on the verge of following them, saw it again necessary to have the succession further strengthened, by another augmentation of the order: And accordingly, on the 22d of October 1718, Mr Arthur Millar, who had been so usefully active in the business of the fund, and Mr William Irvine, formerly Minister of Kirkmichael in the shire of Ayr, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by the three only Bishops that were residing in Scotland at the time, Bishop Rose and his two assumed brethren Fullarton and Falconar. Not long after this promotion, the worthy Bishop Rose, having commendably supported the dignity of a more weighty than lucrative office, thro' a calamitous course of thirty three years, and for a long time struggled with a grievous indisposition of body, was at last, in great mercy to himself, but to the heavy grief of his acquaintances, relieved from all his labours, on the 20th of March 1720, in the 74th year of his age: a man, of whom it was acknowledged by all who knew

LETTER knew him, that “ for all the virtues which adorn
 LVII “ the gentleman or the scholar, the Christian or
 “ the Bishop, he was scarcely equalled, and could
 “ not be excelled.” What a valuable pilot he
 was, while he steered the helm of our tossed vessel,
 was but too sensibly known, by some unhappy di-
 visions which followed soon after his death: And
 which need not afford any matter of triumph to our
 Presbyterian neighbours, when they look to the
 great breach among themselves, which was be-
 ginning about this time, and is still widening, in-
 stead of being closed, as ours at last was, and con-
 tinues to be.

To account for these divisions, we must now
 go back a little, and shall find the source of them
 in England, whence it reached Scotland, some
 years before Bishop Rose's death, but was kept
 under all his time, by the respect and deference
 universally paid to his authority. We have seen
 how the first Communion-office of Edward VI.
 was altered, and how, with these alterations, con-
 firmed by parliamentary sanction, it has been in
 use in the Church of England ever since. Not-
 withstanding this legal decision, many eminent
 divines of that church, both before and after the
 Revolution, still thought well of the first Book,
 and of our Scotch Office, which was composed on
 that plan, as being in some material articles more
 conformable to all the Eucharistical Offices that
 are extant, than the present Book of England;
 which these very divines acknowledge to be de-
 fective in expression, however much their church
 may be, as they plead, orthodox and sound in the
 intention.

When the Revolution had broke the English
 Church into two communions, many of the elect

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ad clergy, and among the rest the celebrated Dr. Hickes, thinking themselves no longer tied down by parliamentary decrees in their sacerdotal administrations, wished to revive these ancient usages, which they saw the English Reformation had begun with, in the eucharistic service, of 1. Mixing water with the wine. 2. Commemorating the faithful departed at the altar. 3. Consecrating the elements by an express invocation: and 4. Using the oblationary prayer before distribution, as in our present Scottish form. Others of them were for adhering to the office as it stood established by law, and authorised by long practice, which the intended revival, they said, seemed to condemn. This difference of sentiment in so important a point, produced conferences and writings from both sides, without any effect, but with no great heat on either side, as long as Bishop Hickes lived, whom, for his piety and judgment, they all equally revered. But upon his death, on the 15th of December 1715, Bishop Jeremy Collier, the laborious Church-historian, being now the senior Bishop in that succession, and a man of much warmth of temper, as well as extent of learning, appeared keenly at the head of the Usagers, as we shall now call them, and being supported by an able party, among whom was the well-known Dr. Brett, pressed the reception of the four primitive points with great vigour and strength of argument. At the head of the other party, was Bishop Nathaniel Spincks, formerly one of the Prebendaries of Sarum, and Rector of St. Martin's in that diocese, who, with his followers, chiefly rested their opposition on the necessity of keeping close to the second Book, which had received both a civil and ecclesiastical sanction,

For

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For terminating, if possible, these differences, it was agreed on both sides to consult the Scottish Bishops, and refer the matter wholly to their decision. To this purpose, a Mr Peck came down from the Usagers in 1718, and made application to both Bishop Rose and Bishop Falconar for a synodical determination, which they prudently declined; but were willing to act as mediators and friends to both sides, recommending peace and forbearance of authority, till people's minds be cleared and properly disposed for a reception of these primitive practices. Bishop Spincks too, from the other side, wrote to these two Bishops, to engage them in his favour, but met with the same return. Yet, to testify their readiness to do what they could for preventing a rupture among friends, they employed Dr. Rattray of Craighall in Perthshire, a man of singular knowledge in ecclesiastical literature, and who afterwards came to be a bright ornament to our church in a higher sphere, to draw up proposals of accommodation for reconciling these differences: Which at their request he did, with great candour and moderation, without entering critically, as he well could, into the merits of the cause, but only wishing both parties to condescend so far for peace-sake, as to communicate occasionally with one another in holy offices, according to the respective forms of them whose privilege it was to officiate at the time. This paper, tho' approved by Bishop Rose as being "written with much judgment, full of christian temper, and making much for peace;" yet, as the Bishop feared, had the common fate of all such reconciling schemes, not to give the satis-

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tion intended by it, at the same time that neither party could find fault with it.*

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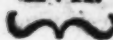
Thus matters stood, as to the usages in Scotland, when Bishop Rose died; at which time there were six Bishops of the new promotion alive, Fullarton, Falconar, Campbell, Gadderar, Millar, and Irvine. Of these the two who were at London, Campbell and Gadderar, having been intimates with Bishop Hickes, and still so with Bishop Collier, and being men of great penetration and acquaintance with antiquity themselves, had espoused the usage-side of the question; Mr Gadderar, indeed, with that calmness and moderation which he was remarkable for, but Mr Campbell with more warmth and keenness. Of the Bishops who resided in Scotland, Mr Falconar leaned, or rather more than leaned that way, as is evident from many of his letters at this time;† in which he de-

* What Bishop Rose's sentiments on this controversy were, we may gather from what he says in a letter to Bishop Falconar of May 22, 1718. * As for my own part, seeing so much stress is laid upon these usages, I am very desirous of farther information, being resolved, God willing, if I find them strictly necessary, to embrace them with all the disadvantages that may attend them; If only lawful, someway useful or desirable, prudence in such case, and in such cases only, ought to be consulted.

† In one of May 15, 1718, to Bishop Rose, on Mr Peck's coming down, he says, * I have reason to believe that these primitive usages, the restoring of which is so much laboured by these pious and learned persons, were indeed apostolical, they being delivered to us by men who contended for the faith once delivered to the saints, some of whom sealed that faith with their blood; who lived near the fountain-head; who, under God, were the conveyancers of the holy scriptures to posterity; and who themselves also were endued with *Charismata*. These qualifications state them most veracious and unexceptionable witnesses, and to think otherwise, is, in my

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clares, " That he himself had administered with the *mixture*, and by the Scotch Prayer Book, many years backward; long before any dispute had commenced at London, and that he had apprised the late Bishop of Edinburgh of his way of doing, against which no remonstrance was made: That both he and his brethren approved and used the *invocation*, according to the example of Bishop Rose, which was an innovation with respect to the English Liturgy: That there were different liturgies of old and before the Reformation, and all without any injury to unity: That an exact uniformity is hardly practicable, we ourselves being obliged to tolerate some clergy and their congregations, who use no other worship but such as was customary in this nation before the Revolution, and would find ourselves under a necessity to connive at that way of doing, for some time at least, tho' Providence should favour the church so far as to turn the laws on her side." And here, from this good Bishop's account of his own practice, it might be asked, Why the Scotch Prayer Book was not introduced at first, when it was found that liturgical worship of any kind would be acceptable? Indeed, this was what many at the time wished for, but could not easily accomplish. The covenanted opposition, in the time of Charles I.

opinion, to sap the foundations, even to shake the credibility of the blissful scriptures themselves, and of the church, the ground and pillar of truth. Hence it will follow, that the restoration of them is most desirable; the rather, that Catholic Unity, (which to preserve when subsisting, and to restore when broken, is the indispensable duty of every christian, chiefly of the governors of the church), cannot be established but on this primitive footing.

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had made the first copies of the book very scarce; and our clergy, not being able to have a new edition cast off in sufficient quantities, were willing to make use of the English Book, of which they continued to get a liberal supply of copies from England. So that it was only the necessity of circumstances that first introduced the use of the English form in Scotland, while it was acknowledged that our clergy were not strictly tied down to it, but were at liberty to use the Scotch Office, which was once duly authorised, or any other orthodox form, which our Bishops, with the assistance of their clergy, might compose.

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Of the other three Bishops who were in Scotland, Fullarton, Millar, and Irvine, the first two seemed inclined for a while neither to favour nor forbid the usages.† But Bishop Irvine was an open and even a violent stickler against them. His

† Mr Fullarton appears rather to have been once upon the favourable side: For in a letter to Bishop Campbell, wherein he desires much to see Craighall's Paper, of which he heard a great character, tho' he was a stranger to the gentleman's person, he thus writes, July 10, 1721; 'Since I am not sufficiently seen in the matter you write of, and that I know not wherein the stress of the point in dispute lies, I can give no opinion or advice anent it; But if you please to state the matter to me, and lay the whole *cardo controversie* before me, I will give you my opinion very freely of it, tho' my thoughts are not much to be regarded: Besides, I have small encouragement, from the hopes of doing any good, to dip in an affair wherein you and Mr Gadderar have travelled so much to so little purpose, to whose superior genius I humbly submit: And the greatest discouragement of all, seems to arise from the unaccountable temper and humour of the persons with whom you have to do, since nothing will please them, but the practising such administrations as themselves acknowledge to be faulty, and that you must throw up all your demands, tho' they own them to be *desideranda*: Which to me is most surprising.'

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occasions had carried him up to London in 1715, where having contracted a friendship with Bishop Spincks, to please him, he undertook to secure the Scotch clergy from abetting these controverted points; and accordingly, on his return, he laboured most strenuously with Bishop Rose to declare against them, and join Bishop Spincks: And tho' he failed in his attempts upon that wise and judicious Prelate, yet his assiduity and arguments among the other clergy, laid the foundation of all the disturbance that appeared about the usages after Bishop Rose died.

On that melancholy event, the clergy of Edinburgh met to deliberate about their affairs, and advise among themselves, whether it was proper now to make any advance towards the choice of a successor; which having been the primitive mode, they concluded was their privilege, now that the connexion of the church with the state, which had brought in another method, was dissolved. This was carried in the affirmative, after the old ejected Presbyters had yielded, tho' with some reluctance, that the younger brethren, who had been ordained since the Revolution, should have a share in the election. Upon the 28th of April they had another meeting, when the instruments of consecration of the several Bishops were laid before them by Bishop Falconar, who, in the name of his brethren, said, "That tho' they were Bishops of this church, intended for preserving the Episcopal succession in it, yet they did not pretend to have jurisdiction over any particular place or district;" and therefore, advised them to pitch upon a proper person to take the management of their affairs. So, the next day, they convened a third time, and with all the formality possible and

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proper for such a business, elected Bishop John Fullarton to be Bishop of Edinburgh, which was immediately accepted by him, and ratified by his three brethren; with this limitation, that he should not, as Bishop of Edinburgh, succeed to the vicarious metropolitical powers which Bishop Rose had exercised, but should only have a privilege to convocate his brethren when the exigencies of the church required it, and preside in such meetings.

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These proceedings were notified, on the 3d of May, to Bishops Campbell and Gadderar at London, for their approbation, by Bishop Falconar: Who, on his return from the meeting, had a letter sent him from a great body of clergy in Angus and Mearns, in which they request him to take upon him the spiritual government and inspection of them, and of the people committed to their charge; "Promising hereby, to acknowledge him as their proper Bishop, and to pay all due and canonical obedience to him as such." He had oft travelled amongst them in Bishop Rose's time, and at his desire, with great success, and now with pleasure accepted this affectionate call; as he did a like one, at the same time, from the clergy in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, where he had all along had his residence; in both which districts, with the consent of his brethren, he ever after acted as local Bishop as long as he lived.*

* This appears from a letter which Bishop Fullarton wrote to the two Bishops at London, on the 15th of September 1720, and which he signs JOHN, BISHOP OF EDINBURGH, where he says, "I freely own that the project of dividing the kingdom into districts, and having a Bishop to superintend in every district, is a most desirable thing, if the practice were as easy as the theory. But alas! There is none of us able to maintain

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LETTER This laudable example of the clergy of Edinburgh and Angus, in successfully exerting the common privilege of having a particular Bishop of their own, animated the clergy in other parts of the church to put in their claim to the same benefit. The clergy of Aberdeen made application to the Bishops for their licence to proceed to an election, and having obtained it, on the 10th of May 1721, they elected Bishop Archibald Campbell at London to be their Bishop, which they notified on the 2d of August to the other Bishops for their consent. This election of a man of Bishop Campbell's known principles in the present controversy, shews how his electors stood affected to the usages, and upon that account, was not so very agreeable to the other Bishops, who gave but a conditional and limited approbation to it. For which reason, and to avoid giving any unnecessary cause of offence to his brethren, Bishop Campbell yielded his right in favour of Bishop Gadderar, who had been proposed a candidate along with himself, and whom, on his coming down, the clergy of Aberdeen gladly received, with professions of canonical obedience, and entire satisfaction in all that they knew of his principles and practices.

Upon this, the College of Bishops, (for so the opposers of the usages now called themselves) being lately strengthened by an accession of new

‘ ourselves in these districts, and the people will give little or nothing to subside them; nay, the very Presbyters that officiate among them are in great straits. Dr. Falconar will be very acceptable to the most part of our clergy and laity too, of our communion, on the north side of Forth; and perhaps there may be a way fallen on to settle him in some part of that country: But we have no view of getting any to settle elsewhere, unless you two would come down and take two districts, &c.’

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members, which shall be accounted for afterwards, met at Edinburgh, on the 12th of February 1723, and, at the instigation of Bishop Irvine, drew up and published a remonstrance and injunction, in name of the plurality of the College of Bishops, to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as well clergy as laity, "Exhorting and obtesting them all to shun these fatal rocks, whereon others have been shipwrecked before; and requiring the clergy in particular, to forbear the *mixture* and other obsolete usages, and avoid the being accessory to the breaking the peace of the church, and the incurring our just and necessary censure." This proceeding gave great uneasiness to Bishop Falconar's quiet spirit, who, foreseeing what was in agitation, was not present at the meeting; and tho' willing to concur with his brethren in every thing that made for peace, consistently with truth, yet could not help expressing, with great modesty, his sentiments of, and sorrow for, the disagreeable measures which he saw them now pursuing.* But, to the great regret of all

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* In a letter of March 6, 1723, to Mr Robert Keith, then one of the Presbyters of Edinburgh, and afterwards a Bishop, he thus writes among other things, "As long as governors hold to that golden rule, *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, and in case of exorbitant innovations, endeavour with a spirit of meekness to deliver their flocks from these wrong thoughts, which have impressed them and taken hold of their passions, they act their duty: But if they do otherwise, their account is great, and temporizing in favour of popular humour will not bear at the day, when it will be examined whether they have pleased men or God. I know that some reckon nothing an imposition but affirmatives: But negatives, for ought I know, are also impositions, witness prohibiting the cup to the laity, forbidding the public worship in the vernacular tongue, &c. I heartily wish my brethren had not grounded their manifesto on the reason of these usages being obsolete and who

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1723.

who knew him, this good man died on the 6th of July this year, and Bishop Campbell, in his exhortatory letter to Bishop Irvine, takes the opportunity of lamenting such a loss, to give that Bishop and his surviving brethren the following caution: "I hope this stroke will make those that remain, strive to cultivate peace more industriously than ever, rather than take occasion, from the death of so good a man, to be more severe upon tender consciences."

It would seem that this salutary admonition had produced the designed effect; for next year Bishop Fullarton wrote, in name of his brethren, to Bishop Gadderar, inviting him to 'a close, free, and amicable conference, for bringing things to that happy crisis, as we may harmoniously concur together in advancing what doth most tend to the interest of true religion.' This invitation

'antiquated, seeing this will stand in bar to all reformation of principles and practices that are inveterate and have long obtained. Geneva, and the numerous ecclesiastical foreign bodies, may full as reasonably plead this against Episcopacy, Liturgy, &c. It may be pled also, by the majority of the Scottish nation now, against many things which are helped to the better since the Revolution, and might have been boggled at as obsolete and antiquated by our people, who should be gently led into a due regard to their superiors, and not prescribe rules to them, which seems to be the cause of that great zeal which the Bishops shew against the ancient usages.' And in the conclusion, having mentioned some other primitive things which he wished were introduced, but which, he says, 'the invidious names of Innovation and Popery always knock in the head, and put a stop to,' he has this notable observation, 'The clearest view we can have of these things is in the pure primitive church: And I am apt to think, that God has laid his rod on the back of this church to bring about such a blissful reform; and I despair of the removal of his rod till this be brought about, if not to ripeness, yet at least in wish and endeavour.'

Bishop

Bishop Gadderar complied with; and on the 9th of July 1724; there was a general meeting of them all at Edinburgh, where, after much communing and reasoning about the Usages, the following stipulations were agreed to: ' Bishop James Gad-
 ' derar for his part, whatever may be his senti-
 ' ments concerning the mixture, yet being most
 ' desirous to have the bond of peace and cement
 ' of unity with his brethren firmly established,
 ' makes the following concession and declaration:
 ' That he is willing, whenever any occasion offers
 ' of communicating with his brethren, to receive
 ' the unmixed cup at their hands: That he will
 ' not, in his ministrations in any congregation,
 ' mix publicly; and will use his best endeavours
 ' that all under his inspection shall walk by the
 ' same rule: And forasmuch as the Primus and
 ' the other Bishops have permitted the use of the
 ' Scotch Liturgy to such of the clergy as shall
 ' think fit to use it, therefore, the said Bishop
 ' Gadderar declares and promises, that he will
 ' not insist upon introducing any of the other
 ' ancient Usages, which have not been authorised
 ' and generally received in this church; and that,
 ' to prevent division, he will discharge the intro-
 ' ducing them within his district, unless the Pri-
 ' mus and the rest of his brethren, in a lawful
 ' convocation, shall see sufficient reason to order
 ' matters otherwise: On the other hand, the Pri-
 ' mus and the other Bishops do grant their authori-
 ' ty and commission to Bishop Gadderar, to offi-
 ' ciate as Bishop of the district of Aberdeen for
 ' the future; with this express condition, that he
 ' do not ascribe his officiating there to any dele-
 ' gation or substitution from any person whatso-
 ' ever, but allenarly to the election of the Pres-

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byters, and authority of the Bishops of this church.' This paper was called a Concordate, and is signed by Bishops Fullarton, Gadderar, Millar, and Irvine, and the two lately promoted, Cant and Freebairn.

At this period, it may be proper to step a little out of our line, and take a view of an ecclesiastical affair which was now carrying on, no less indeed than the proposal of an Union between the Greek Church in the Eastern parts of the world, and the Nonjuring Church in the two parts of Britain. This project had been broached as far back as the year 1716, at which time one of the Bishops of the Eastern Church, Arsenius, Metropolitan of Thebais in Egypt, was in London, soliciting assistance from the English Church to the suffering christians in that country. Bishop Campbell falling into acquaintance with this foreigner, and having a scheming turn for every thing which he thought of general usefulness to the church, took occasion, in conversation with Arsenius, to hint something of this kind; and finding him not averse to the experiment, he next mentioned it to his English brethren, at a meeting they had in July that year. At first they all agreed to it, and drew up proposals, which Bishop Spincks translated into Greek, to be presented to Arsenius, and by him laid before the Eastern Church. But soon after, on the commencement of the dispute about the Usages, Bishop Spincks, with his two associates Hawes and Gandy, declined the business, and Bishops Collier, Brett, and Griffin of the English, with the two Scotch Bishops, Campbell and Gadderar, continued the management of it.

These proposals were in number twelve, to which was added a declaration, expressing where-
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in they agree, and wherein they disagree, with the Oriental Church. The articles of agreement are such as no Protestant would refuse to join in: But in these five points the English openly declared their dissent. 1. They do not allow the same authority to the canons of general councils, which is due to the sacred scriptures. 2. They cannot pay any kind of worship to the blessed Virgin. 3. Nor pray to saints nor angels. 4. Nor give any religious veneration to images. 5. Nor worship the host in the eucharistic sacrifice. This

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paper Arsenius, on his return, carried along with him, and taking Muscovy in his way, had zeal and interest enough to engage the Czar Peter in the cause, who not only approved the design, but likewise, by one of his clergy of the order of Archimandrites, gave the English Bishops assurance of his readiness, by all the means in his power, to promote so good a work. To this encouraging promise, from so high a hand, they returned a polite letter of thanks in October 1717. And here the affair necessarily rested for some time.

In the year 1721, Arsenius, who had transmitted the proposals to the Eastern Patriarchs, but remained still in Muscovy himself for managing the business, having got the answer of the Patriarchs, sent it over to England, with a most affectionate letter from himself, apologising for the delay. It is entitled, 'The Answers of the Orthodox in the East to the Proposals sent from Britain, for an Union and Agreement with the Oriental Church;' and is said, in the conclusion, to have been drawn up 'by a Synodical Judgment and Determination of the Eastern Church, after the most mature deliberation of the Lord Jeremias, the most holy Oecumenical Patriarch of

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Constantinople the new Rome, and the most holy and most blessed Patriarchs the Lord Samuel of Alexandria, and the Lord Chrysanthus of Jerusalem, with the holy Metropolitans, and the holy Clergy of the great Church of Christ in Constantinople, in Council assembled, April 12, 1718.' It is a long paper in Greek, accepting the twelve proposals, and the articles of agreement, under certain explanations and modifications of their own; but keenly, and even with some acrimony of expression, vindicating the Eastern practice in the five capital points of difference, and insisting on a full conformity to it, without the least abatement. Along with this decision from themselves, they sent likewise other two declarations of their church, prior to this: The one of date January 10, 1672, in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and subscribed by Dionysius the then Patriarch, and thirty six other Bishops and Metropolitans: And the other, 'An Extract from the sacred Archives of the great Church of Christ in Constantinople,' and signed, in 1691, by the Patriarch Callinicus, at the head of his clergy.

On the receipt of all these papers from the East, the Nonjuring Bishops at London, in May 1722, made out a reply in Greek, Latin, and English; in which, after supporting their former positions by proper arguments from Scripture and the Fathers, they conclude with suggesting the following proposal by way of compromise: 'If our liberty therefore is left us in the instances abovementioned: If the Oriental Patriarchs and Bishops will authentically declare us not obliged to the invocation of saints and angels, the worship of images, and adoration of the host: If they please, publicly and authoritatively, by an instrument

‘strument under their hands, to pronounce us
‘perfectly disengaged in these particulars, both
‘at home and abroad in their churches, and in
‘our own: These relaxing concessions allowed,
‘we hope, may answer the overtures on both
‘sides, and conciliate an union.’ This reply,
thus finished, they sent off by James, Proto-syn-
cellus of the Church of Alexandria, to Arsenius at
Moscow, and at the same time wrote to the grand
Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs at Petersburg,
and to the great Chancellor Golotkin, recommend-
ing the furthering of this undertaking to their care
and assistance.

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In the beginning of next year, a return came
from Arsenius, and from Theodosius, Archbishop
of Novogorod, as President of the Ecclesiastical
Council, signifying to them his Imperial Majesty’s
desire, that two clergymen should be deputed
from the English side, to confer amicably with two
of the Russian clergy on the points in dispute, and
endeavour to bring matters to an accommodation.
While preparations were making for carrying this
proposal into execution, a final answer came
from the Eastern Church, telling their correspon-
dents, they had nothing to say to the last reply
sent them, further than what they had formerly
laid down, in their exposition of the doctrines
and sentiments of the Oriental Church: And
then, instead of acceding in the least to the compro-
mise desired of them, they thus give out their ulti-
mate resolution: ‘These doctrines have been long
‘since examined, and rightly and religiously de-
‘fined and settled by the holy and oecumenical
‘synods, so that it is neither lawful to add any
‘thing to them, nor to take any thing from them:
‘Therefore, they who are disposed to agree with

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us in the divine doctrines of the orthodox faith, must necessarily follow and submit to what has been defined and determined by the ancient fathers, and by holy and oecumenical synods, from the time of the Apostles and their holy successors, the Fathers of our Church, to this time : We say, they must submit to them with sincerity and obedience, and without any dispute or scruple : And this is a sufficient answer to what you have written. Done at Constantinople, in the month of September 1723, and signed by Jeremias, by the mercy of God, Archbishop of Constantinople the new Rome, and Oecumenical Patriarch ; Athanasius, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of the great city of God Antioch ; Chrysanthus, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of the holy city Jerusalem ; Callinicus, Metropolitan of Heraclea ; Auxentius of Cyzicum ; Paisius of Nicomedia ; Gerasimus of Nice ; Parthenius of Chalcedon ; Ignatius of Thessalonica ; Arsenius of Prusa ; Theoctistus of Polypolis ; and Callinicus of Varna. They sent at this time too, for the further corroboration of their doctrine, a confession of faith, by a Synod held at Jerusalem in 1672, commonly called Synodus Bethlemitica, consisting of eighteen chapters, and giving particular answers to four questions, all to the same tune, but not much adapted to the present purpose.

Soon after this correspondence reached London, accounts were brought of Czar Peter's death, which happened on the 8th of February 1725, and was fatal to this conciliating project : For the Bishop Collier and his friends wrote to the Chancellor, and to the Grand Council, heartily lamenting this melancholy event, and soliciting their interest

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interest with the new Czarina, we hear nothing more about it from this time. And thus was quashed all at once an enterprize of a most arduous nature, which indeed discovered a laudable zeal in the first proposers, but which, besides some improprieties of a political complexion attending it, had no great probability of succeeding, or even, in case of its success, of answering any good end. Yet ineffectual as it turned out, one advantage was gained by it, that it gave us a genuine view of the doctrines and rules of the present Eastern Church, which in all the religious disputes here in the West has been so often appealed to, but which neither party can claim full kindred with. For from their own papers on this occasion, the originals of which, we are told, were carried to Lambeth, and perhaps are there still, we find them differing from the Papists in the articles of Purgatory by fire, Communion in both kinds, and the Pope's Universal Supremacy, in all which they appear on the protestant side; But then, in the points of praying to Saints and Angels, and worshipping of Images, by the new and insipid distinction of *Dulia* and *Latria*, and in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, with its consequent Adoration of the host, all of which the Protestants disclaim, these Greeks are as highflown and obstinate, as the most violent Papist in the whole Church of Rome: Besides sundry other peculiarities of less importance, in which they stand single and unrelated to any European denomination whatever. And in this state of self-confident separation, unfit to mediate between, and unwilling to join with, any of the contending parties among us, I shall leave them

LETTER them, and return, in my next letter, to our own
 LVIII. more immediate concerns. Mean time,

I am, &c.

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Political Differences among the Episcopal Clergy—

The Scheme of a College of Bishops generally disapproved—Diocesan Episcopacy revived by a second Concordate—Peaceable Accession of George II.—Divisions among the established Ministers.

THE Concordate mentioned in the preceding letter, which the Scotch Bishops agreed to at their last meeting, put them on a footing of mutual good understanding, at least with respect to the controverted usages. But it soon appeared, that these usages were only the ostensible cause of difference, and that there was a more secret source

source of discord which could not then be so well avowed, nor so openly discussed. Some of the ejected clergy had brought along with them as much of the old secular attachment, as to retain the fond notion, that the church could not subsist without acknowledging the same dependence, and paying the same respects and submissions which, in times of legal settlement, she had been accustomed to. In all the promotions hitherto since the Revolution, there had been no such thing thought of. The principle by which the Bishops then acted, was, that adventitious donations from the state, and grateful concessions from the church, were reciprocal; and that consequently, as Bishop Falconar expresses it, in one of his letters, 'when the church is under destitution of secular encouragement, whether voluntary or involuntary, she may and should be- take herself to her own intrinsic powers.' But soon after Bishop Rose's death, it was advised by friends of a certain denomination, that the long dormant privilege should be revived, and ecclesiastical prerogative interposed, not indeed in express terms of the old form, but simply by way of recommendation, which it was thought, would be less offensive, and equally effectual.

Upon this plan, a recommendation appeared in July 1720, in favour of Mr David Freebairn, who had been sometime Minister at Dunning, in Perthshire; and another in February next year for Mr Andrew Cant, who had been one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, both of them before the Revolution. These nominations were not pleasing to the two senior Bishops, Fullarton and Falconar, who saw no necessity for such interposition, and expected no benefit by it. However at last, by the

LETTER LVIII. force of repeated importunity, the *Primus* was induced to yield, and on the 17th of October 1722, Cant and Freebairn were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishops Fullarton, Millar, and Irvine; Bishop Falconar either not inclining, or not being called, to assist. Thus was this point carried, and a precedent fixed, as Bishop Fullarton had foreseen: For tho' it was promised at this time, that, if concessions were granted in what was now desired, there should be no more interpositions in matters of that nature, yet in less than eighteen months, there were no fewer than four new candidates proposed in the same way, Mr Alexander Duncan, formerly Minister at Kilpatrick, easter, Mr Robert Norie at Dundee, Mr James Rose at Moniméal, and Mr John Ouchterlonie at Aberlemno. Of these the two first, Duncan and Norie were consecrated sometime in 1724, by Bishops Fullarton, Millar, and Irvine: But the other two were put off for some time, and the *Primus* expressly forbade the consecration of Mr Ouchterlonie, till his character should be cleared up. The next to him in rank, Bishop Gadderar, objected to the promotion of a person so notoriously *Secular* as Mr Ouchterlonie was known to be, and we may easily gather from Mr Gadderar's principles, what he meant by the appellation of *Secular*. Bishop Millar too, not only declared against it himself, but likewise cautioned Bishop Cant to have no hand in it, as having been brought on surreptitiously and by misinformation. Yet in end it was made out, and he and Rose were consecrated at Edinburgh November 29, 1726, by Bishops Freebairn, Duncan, and Cant, the only three who could be prevailed on to do it. Bishop Irvine had died the year before: The *Primus* and Bishop Millar, peremptorily

emptorily refused to concur in it, and Bishop Cant, contrary to his engagements to Bishop Millar, had been wheedled into it by the solicitations of a lay-friend, for which he wrote a most penitential letter to Bishop Millar the very next day, and could never be prevailed with to sign the instruments of consecration.

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These proceedings, so superfluously useless in the matter, and so dangerously imprudent in the manner of them, were particularly grating to the better and more numerous part of the clergy: And the Presbyters of Edinburgh drew up a petition, signed by eighteen of them, against these promotions from such extraneous recommendations, and resolutely asserting "The intrinsic powers of the church against secular invasion" and lay-encroachment, as being the catholic principle, upon which the Bishops have governed ever since the Revolution." Many of the clergy too, in the several parts of the kingdom, began to weary of this vague uncertain kind of government under Bishops at large, and to wish for a particular Bishop to have the inspection of them, and administer Episcopal offices to them. The clergy of Edinburgh had always been happy under such inspection. They of Angus and Fife had followed the example. So had they of Aberdeen, and both of them had got proper Diocesans, upon the primitive footing. The College in general were sensible of the utility and propriety of that old and universal model of Episcopal government, and began to humour the prevailing tendency which they saw every where towards it.

In the beginning of May next year, the Primus Fullarton died, and on the 5th of that month the clergy of Edinburgh met for electing one to suc-

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1727.

LETTER LVIII. ceed him, and chose Bishop Millar, who was willing to concur with the other local Bishop, Gad-
 derar of Aberdeen, in endeavouring to have things rectified, and brought back to some degree of primitive order. And Bishop Cant, to make amends as much as he could for his late mistake, came cordially into these wise measures, which Gadderar and Millar, in conjunction with Campbell, the oldest Bishop now in the succession, were proposing. At this time too, a fair opportunity offered for accomplishing the diocesan scheme, which Bishop Gadderar so much favoured, and which his two old brethren, Fullarton and Falconar, had both approved and practised. The clergy of Angus, and part of Perthshire, taking into consideration the advantages of having a particular Bishop over them, to whom they might apply for direction, and being fully satisfied of the distinguished learning, and other qualifications of Mr Thomas Rattray of Craighall, one of their number, did therefore, almost unanimously, elect him to be their Bishop, and applied to Bishop Millar, as *Primus*, to have their election confirmed. In terms of this application, Mr Rattray was consecrated at Edinburgh, June 4, 1727, by Bishops Millar, Gadderar, and Cant; Bishop Campbell at London, who had a just value for him, and had long corresponded with him, consenting to it with great cheerfulness.

As the same time, the other four College Bishops, Freebairn, Duncan, Rose, and Ouchterlonie, thought proper to increase their strength by the consecration of Mr David Rankin and Mr John Gillan, which had been proposed the year before, on the revived footing of lay-nomination, but for that reason had been hitherto declined. However,

However, those on the diocesan side were now ^{LETTER} determined to carry on their plan, independent of ^{LVIII.} any foreign or secular influence, and therefore received into their number, Mr William Dunbar, sometime Minister at Cruden, whom the clergy of Moray had lately elected, and Mr Robert Keith, designed to be Co-adjutor to Bishop Millar, who were both consecrated at Edinburgh, on the 18th of June 1727, by Bishops Millar, Gadderat and Rattray. Thus the contention between the College, as they called themselves, and those who favoured the reiteration of the old regular system, came to be managed, if not by equal arguments, yet by equal numbers. Bishop Millar, the Primus, against whom those of the opposition chiefly levelled their attacks, was well supported in the struggle by his comprovincial brethren, and letters came from the clergy of Angus, Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross; to the Presbyters of Edinburgh, congratulating them on their choice, and encouraging them to adhere to their proper Diocesan, Bishop Millar. However, the old man did not live to see an end of these unhappy divisions: For he died on the 9th of October this year; and on his death the clergy of Edinburgh, in continuance of the privilege which they had hitherto exercised, chose Mr Andrew Lumden, formerly Minister at Duddingston, to be their Bishop, who was consecrated accordingly, at Edinburgh, on the 2d of November 1727, by Bishops Cant, Rattray, and Keith.

This was a fresh disappointment to those who favoured the College scheme, who, seeing now that all their efforts were not sufficient to get their system adopted, even with the weight of that influence of which they so much boasted, were willing to come to some kind of an agreement with the

LETTER the other side, which was gaining ground every
 LVIII. day. To this purpose, conferences were held between the two junior Bishops of the two sides, Keith and Gillan; and the issue was, that a meeting was held in the end of December 1731, and a second Concordate drawn up, in the following terms: Articles of Agreement amongst the Bishops of the Church of Scotland; 1. That we shall only make use of the Scottish or English Liturgy in the public divine service, nor shall we disturb the peace of the church, by introducing into the public worship any of the ancient usages, concerning which there has been lately a difference amongst us: And that we shall censure any of our clergy who shall act otherwise.— 2. That hereafter, no man shall be consecrated a Bishop of this church, without the consent and approbation of the majority of the other Bishops. 3. That upon the demise or removal elsewhere of a Bishop of any district, the Presbyters thereof shall neither elect, nor submit to another Bishop, without a mandate from the Primus, by consent of the other Bishops.— 4. That the Bishops of this church shall, by a majority of voices, chuse their Primus, for convoking and presiding only; and that no Bishop shall claim jurisdiction without the bounds of his own district. 5. We, the Bishops of the Church of Scotland, have chosen and appointed Bishop Freebairn to be our *Primus*, for convoking and presiding only, according to the foregoing article. 6. We have agreed that the Diocess of Glasgow shall be under the inspection of Bishop Duncan, excepting only Annandale, Nithsdale, and Tweedale, which shall be under the inspection of Bishop Freebairn, together with

with the Diocess of Galloway, by way of district: LETTER
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 That the Diocess of Dunblain, by way of district, shall be under the inspection of Bishop Gillan: That the shires of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan, shall be under the inspection of Bishop Rose: That the Diocess of Dunkeld, together with the whole Presbyteries of Meigle and Forfar, the town of Perth and parish of Methven, shall be under the inspection of Bishop Rattray: That the Diocess of Brechin, together with the Castle of Gowry, the Presbyteries of Dundee, Arbroath, and Mearns, shall be under the inspection of Bishop Ouchterlonie: That the Diocess of Aberdeen, by way of district, shall be under the inspection of Bishop Gadderar: That the Diocesses of Moray and Ross shall, by way of district, be under the inspection of Bishop Dunbar: That the Diocess of Edinburgh shall, by way of district only, be under the inspection of Bishop Lumsden: That Orkney, Caithness, and the Isles, shall be under the inspection of Bishop Keith: By the foresaid division of districts, we do not pretend to claim any legal title to diocesses.* These articles were signed by Bishops Freebairn, Ouchterlonie, Rattray, Gillan, and Keith present; by Duncan, Rose, and Dunbar, in absence, without any date, and by Gadderar at Old Aberdeen, May 13, 1732.*

* In the first of these articles, we find a permission of the Scottish Liturgy, and a prohibition of the ancient usages; a distinction which at first sight may appear a little inconsistent. But it is to be remembered, that besides the points in difference between the Scotch Communion-Office and the present English Book, which are the points now called the usages, there were some other rites of ancient observance, such as Immersion in Baptism, Chrism in Confirmation, and for Anointing the Sick, and a few more of that kind, which Bishop Collier and his

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LETTER LVIH. This last agreement put an end to the College contest : And I have been the more particular in relating the circumstances of it, on purpose, by a plain historical deduction of well attested facts, to vindicate the character of Bishops Rattray, Dunbar, and Keith, from whom our present Bishops derive their succession, and whose consecration some even of our Episcopal adversaries have been at pains to represent in false colours. From this time the Collegiate system fell to pieces every day, and the primitive Diocesan Episcopacy revived, tho' not to the former legal extent, yet as far as the circumstances of the church required or allowed. Upon Bishop Lumsden's death, who did not live long after the Concordate, Bishop Freebairn got the inspection of Edinburgh, with the title of *Primus*, which the Concordate had given him.† This gentleman still retaining a tincture of the old political leaven, and attachment to established forms; and having, by means of his son, who was in great favour abroad, got hold of some papers which he was fond of, he called a meeting of all the Bishops in 1734. But they suspecting the design, and not chusing to be longer entangled with any thing of that nature, declined the meeting, and would not so much as look at his papers, when young Freebairn offered a private

friends in England wished to have restored; and these are the usages meant in this article, and in every article of agreement where we find the Scottish Liturgy allowed, and certain antiquated usages prohibited.

† In February 1733, Bishop Gadderar died, and in June the clergy of Aberdeen chose Bishop Dunbar, who accepted and some time after resigned Moray, upon which the clergy there elected Mr George Hay: But he died before consecration, and that district remained vacant some years,

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light of them. In the beginning of next year 1735, Bishop Gillan died, and on the 18th of March the clergy of Dunblain, who had submitted to him since the Concordate, addressed the Bishops for Mr Robert White, Presbyter at Cupar of Fife, whom they had elected, to be their Bishop. Upon this application, Bishops Rattray, Dunbar, and Keith, who was now chosen Bishop of Fife on Bishop Rose's death, desired the Primus to call a meeting for consecrating the Elect of Dunblain. But being apprized, by undoubted information, that, tho' he consented to call the meeting, he had no intention to forward the consecration, but only to lay before them his son's foreign papers, which they were still determined not to meddle with, they wisely resolved not to meet with him at Edinburgh, except for the sole purpose of the proposed consecration: And being now the majority, who, by the late agreement, and by Bishop Freebairn's own repeated acknowledgments, had the administration in their hands, they called Mr White to attend them at Carsebank, near Forfar, and consecrated him there, on the 14th of June 1735. This produced a warm remonstrance from Bishop Freebairn, which was properly answered from the other side: And some other little differences ensued, at the instigation of Bishop Ouchterlonie, who still sought to keep up the division. But they were not of long duration, for Freebairn died in 1739, and Ouchterlonie in 1742: And with them ended the collegiate scheme of church government, which had originated in unnecessary connexion, had subsisted a while by uncharacteristic methods, and at last, by a prudent revival of ancient principles, gave place to the old regular plan of Episcopacy, and was no more heard of.

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During the transactions of the Scottish Episcopal Church for the last twenty years, we have heard of little or no outward disturbance either from the civil government, or from the established kirk, which had not been the case in former times. But the administration under the Hanoverian succession had been early involved in continental engagements, which chiefly employed their thoughts; and the accession of that family, being fortified by laws, partly made to their hands, partly occasioned by the unsuccessful attempt at their entry, the checking of any intestine disaffection was left to the execution of these laws by the proper magistrates, who slackened or straitened the reins as prudence or humour led them. The first George, who had the character of a judicious prince and consummate politician, had died at Hanover in June 1727, and his son, the second of the name, succeeded quietly, and without any appearance of opposition or claim from the old quarter. So that, no new provocation being given, there was no necessity for new severity against a few suspected men, whom they already had under the hatches, and could restrain, or even destroy when they pleased.

The Kirk too, being now fully secured in possession beyond any fear of such a competition as they had dreaded for some years after the Revolution, was become more easy and pacific, and the infatuated generation of 1688, being mostly gone, their successors began to adopt more liberal sentiments, and to depart in a great measure from those violent proceedings against the poor Episcopalians, which had been thought so necessary to procure their own settlement at first. Besides, they had now business enough of their own upon their hands, to draw off their attention from our mat-

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ters, had they been inclined, or thought it worth their while to take notice of them. For about the time that the differences among our clergy were on the verge of dying away, the flame, I spoke of, broke out among the Presbyterians, from a beginning indeed which seemed to have no great connexion in itself with ecclesiastic concerns, but which taking hold of other secret grumbings, quickly increased and swelled to the present size.

In the year 1737 one Porteous, a captain of the city guard of Edinburgh, a bloody and brutal fellow, had been capitally condemned in the Justiciary Court for having of his own head given orders to his men to fire at the public execution of a smuggler, by which a number of innocent people were killed. From this sentence, the inhuman criminal had interest enough to obtain a reprieve, which so incensed the populace, that one night they broke into the prison, and haling him to the Grass-market, hanged him dead in the very place where the barbarous action had been committed. This was resented by the court as an unpardonable insult: And among many other rigorous edicts, a proclamation came out for discovering the rioters, which the established ministers thro' all the kingdom were enjoined to read publicly from their pulpits on the first Sunday of every month for a whole year. It is scarcely credible what a ferment this raised among them. All in one voice cried out against it, as a most flagrant encroachment on the liberties of the church. But, tho' they were all of one mind in condemning this injunction, they differed in their practice about it. Some for fear read the proclamation as required, tho' with great reluctance, and not without much scruple: Some shift-

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ed the reading of it from themselves, and put it upon their precentors: And a great number of them paid no regard to it at all, and would neither read it from their pulpits, nor allow it to be read in their kirks in any shape. Thus a division began, whether upon just grounds or not, and was carried so far that the refusers, who for the most part were men of figure and following among the people, upbraided the readers with basely deserting their fundamental principles, and under that specious pretext, gave up holding communion with them: And this humour, falling in with the complaints of oppression by patronage, and other corruptions in judicatories, added a vast strength to the *Secession*, which was then forming under the too famous brothers Ralph and Ebenezer Erskines, and many more of that stamp, and which all their General Assemblies have never been capable, either to reconcile by prudence, or crush by authority to this day.

I am, &c.

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L E T T E R L I X.

Regular State of the Scottish Episcopal Church—

Canons for the Regulation of her Discipline—Interruption of her Peace by the Insurrection of 1745

—Fatal Effects of that Enterprize—Various Penal Laws against the Nonjurors—Account of the Writings of John Hutcheson—And different Opinions about them.

HAVING, in my last letter, concluded the short period of disorder naturally arising from the disjointed state in which the death of Bishop Rose of Edinburgh left the remains of the Scottish Church, I have only now to take notice of the pious and orderly methods by which our Bishops went on in the prosecution of the design which they had struggled so successfully to accomplish. On an application from the clergy of Caithness and Orkney, they got their number increased, by the addition of Mr William Falconar, Presbyter

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ter at Forres, who was consecrated at Alloa, September 10, 1741, by Bishops Rattray, Keith and White, and in November next year was chosen Bishop of Moray. And on Bishop Ouchterlonie's death, the clergy of Brechin elected Mr James Rait, Presbyter in Dundee, who was accordingly invested with the Episcopal character, by Bishops Rattray, Keith and White, at Edinburgh, on the 4th of October 1742. Thus we had a church once more regularly organized, under six Bishops, who, after the primitive mode, had each of them a *Portio gregis*, a certain part of the flock under their particular care, and were thereby entitled to a share of the government, *in solidum*, in whole, as S. Cyprian describes the standing model in his day: And every Presbyter now knew his own Bishop whom he was to apply to and obey, which had not been the case during the short reign, or rather anarchy of the *College*.

But the satisfaction felt by the clergy on this occasion was dashed almost in the beginning of it, with a most bitter ingredient, by the loss of their excellent *Primus* Bishop Rattray, who died on the 12th of May, being Ascension-day 1743, a man whom the Episcopal Church of Scotland will long look back to with a mixture of pleasure and regret; with pleasure in the grateful remembrance of having had such a Bishop, and with a deep regret for having been so soon deprived of him. To supply this vacancy, the clergy of Dunkeld having desired and obtained a mandate for that purpose, made choice of Mr John Alexander, Presbyter at Alloa, who was consecrated at Edinburgh August 9, 1743, by Bishops Keith, White, Falconar and Rait. On occasion of this consecration there being five Bishops now assembled, they agreed, at
Bishop

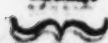
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Bishop Dunbar's motion, and with his concurrence, to constitute themselves a regular synod, with Bishop Keith unanimously chosen *Primus*, and the new Bishop Alexander, Clerk: And taking into consideration some canons which Bishop Rattray had left a draught of, for answering the exigencies of the church in her present particular state, they judged it proper to ratify them by a synodical sanction, with the addition of six others, proposed at this meeting: All which, being the last of the kind, and consequently the standing regulations of the discipline of our church, I have therefore set down from the original minutes, as follows.

' The Bishops of the Church of Scotland being now, by the good providence of God, perfectly united in one and the same mind, and the Concordates, that were formed while some unhappy differences subsisted amongst them, thereby vacated, they have unanimously agreed to establish the following canons for the future regulation of the government of this church.

I. That no person shall be consecrated a Bishop without the consent and approbation of the majority of the Bishops, and that if any three or more Bishops, not being a majority, shall take upon them without such consent to consecrate any person to that office, such consecration shall be null and void, and both the consecrators and consecrated shall be holden as schismatics.

II. That the Bishops shall, without respect either to seniority of consecration, or precedency of district, chuse a *Primus* by majority of voices, who shall have no other privilege amongst the Bishops, but of convoking and presiding only, and that likewise under the following restrictions; That he shall always be obliged to notify

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‘ notify to the other Bishops the reasons of his
 ‘ calling a meeting, as well as the time and place;
 ‘ and if the majority shall dissent, as judging either
 ‘ the reasons insufficient, or the time and place im-
 ‘ proper, that meeting shall be either wholly set aside,
 ‘ or the time and place altered as shall seem to
 ‘ them most expedient. 2. That if the *Primus* shall
 ‘ at any time refuse to call a meeting, when de-
 ‘ sired by a majority of the other Bishops, they
 ‘ shall in that case have power to meet and act
 ‘ synodically without him, and 3. This *Primus* thus
 ‘ chosen by the majority is to continue in that
 ‘ office only during their pleasure.’

III. ‘ That if either the present or any subse-
 ‘ quent *Primus* shall, in the present situation of the
 ‘ church, lay claim to any metropolitcal or vi-
 ‘ carial power, or to any farther power of any
 ‘ kind than what is granted to the *Primus* by these
 ‘ present canons, the *Primus* or Bishop so claiming
 ‘ shall be suspended from all Episcopal jurisdiction;
 ‘ even within his own district, until he give in to
 ‘ the Bishops a subscribed renunciation of any
 ‘ such claim, as being what may prove of most
 ‘ dangerous consequence to the church in her
 ‘ present circumstances.’

IV. ‘ That upon the demise or translation of
 ‘ any Bishop, the Presbyters of the district thereby
 ‘ become vacant, shall not be at freedom either
 ‘ to elect, or submit themselves to, another Bishop,
 ‘ without a mandate from the *Primus*, with the
 ‘ majority of the Bishops: But if the *Primus* shall
 ‘ refuse to grant a mandate, the majority may do
 ‘ it without him.’

V. ‘ That if the Presbyters of any district shall
 ‘ happen to elect a person already vested with the
 ‘ Episcopal character, the Bishop so elected shall
 ‘ have

have no jurisdiction over that district, until his election be confirmed by the majority of the Bishops: And if they shall elect a Presbyter, of whose fitness for that office the Bishops shall declare they have sufficient reasons not to be satisfied, in that case, the Presbyters shall be required by the Bishops to proceed to a new election.

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VI. That every Bishop shall appoint one of his Presbyters to officiate under him as his Dean, and that this Dean shall be obliged to advertise the *Primus* upon the death of his Bishop, that the Bishops may provide for the supply of the vacancy with their conveniency: And the Dean shall apply for a mandate to elect a successor, in the space of four months at farthest after the vacancy.

VII. That during the vacancy of any district, the Presbyters thereof shall apply to the Bishop who shall have his place of residence nearest to them, for the performance of Episcopal offices amongst them; and no other Bishop shall take upon him to perform any such offices within that district, without the consent of the neighbouring Bishop: And if any case relating to discipline shall happen, for which the Presbyters had no rule left them by their former Bishop for their direction, they shall have recourse to the *Primus*, who, with the advice and consent of his colleagues, shall determine the same.

VIII. That no Presbyter shall take upon him the charge of any congregation, until he be appointed thereto by the Bishop to whose district that congregation belongs: Nor shall any Presbyter or Deacon remove from his own district, without dimissory letters from the Bishop thereof: And none shall be ordained a Presbyter,

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without a designation to a particular charge.—
IX. ' That seeing, in the present distressed state
of this church, it may happen, that a Bishop
may have his dwelling and place for public wor-
ship within the district of another Bishop; in that
case, those who belong to this his congregation,
together with the Presbyters or Deacons joined
with him as his assistants in officiating therein, shall
be as much under his jurisdiction as if they were
within the bounds of his own district, and shall
be exempt from the jurisdiction of that Bishop,
within the bounds of whose district they are:
And the Bishop in whose district they are shall,
by a subscribed deed, agree to this regulation.'

X. ' That every Bishop shall be careful to re-
commend to his clergy, and to such also as may
be candidates for holy orders, to apply them-
selves diligently to the study of the holy scrip-
tures, and of the fathers of the apostolical and
two next succeeding ages, and to take all proper
opportunities, in their sermons and otherwise,
to instruct their people in the truly catholic prin-
ciples of that pure and primitive church.'

XI. ' The Dean of every district, as represent-
ing the Presbyters, shall be allowed to sit in all
synodical meetings, to propose and reason in all
matters of discipline and grievances of Presbyters,
but not to give any decisive voice: The clergy
of vacant districts shall be required to chuse a
Dean out of their own number; and the said
Dean, so chosen, shall not be allowed to name
a proxy, but must attend in person, and bring
with him his credentials.'

XII. ' That the church may suffer as little
damage as possible by the death of the temporary
Primus, the senior Bishop shall instantly succeed

to

to his powers until the next Synod: And he shall be obliged to call a Synod, so as it may be holden within the space of four months at farthest, after the death of the former *Primus*, unless the majority of the Bishops shall think fit to delay it for a longer space.

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XIII. ' That when any of the Bishops are disabled from being personally present at a Synod, thro' infirmity or pressing inconvenience, to be notified to the *Primus*, and by him to the other Bishops, the absent Bishop or Bishops may send their judgment to the *Primus*, signed with their own hand, concerning those matters on account of which the Synod was precisely called to meet, and this shall be holden for their canonical vote: The absent Bishops may likewise propose to the Synod in writing, any thing they shall judge expedient for the good of the church; and as to other matters that may incidentally come before the Synod, the absent Bishop or Bishops must be concluded by the majority of those that are present: But no Synod shall be holden, unless there be more Bishops present than absent.'

XIV. ' That in all questions or cases, where the Bishops shall happen to be equally divided in their opinions, in Synod or out of Synod, that side of the question shall carry upon which the *Primus* gives his vote.'

XV. ' That if any Presbyter or Deacon, who shall have the misfortune to be deposed by his Bishop, do presume to perform any part of the sacred office, or to gather a separate or schismatical congregation, he shall be excommunicated: And if any clergyman shall take upon him to countenance such Presbyter or Deacon in their schismatical separation, he shall be suspended

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from the exercise of his holy function, for such space as his Bishop shall think fit: And such of the laity as shall adventure to adhere to the deposed Presbyter or Deacon, either in worship or other sacred administration, shall not be allowed to partake of any church ordinances, until they are reconciled again, and received by the Bishop of the district.

XVI. That if any clergyman shall take upon him to join persons together in matrimony, who belong to the congregation of another clergyman, without a certificate or recommendation from their former Pastor, he shall, for the first fault, be suspended from his office for the space of three months, six months for the second fault, and for the third fault he shall be suspended *sine die*.

When these canons were intimated to the inferior clergy, a few in the metropolis, who had one of their own number in view for the Episcopate, tho' they knew he would not be acceptable to the Bishops, objected to one of the canons as an infringement of their right of election; and to others, as curtailing the powers of their Ordinary, as Bishop of Edinburgh. But these objections were considered as of no weight by the clergy in the other parts of the kingdom, who all dutifully acquiesced in the proceedings of the late Synod, and looked forward, with much satisfaction, to what they hoped would be the peaceful and pleasing consequences of it. Yet this happy prospect, which our church now had of enjoying peace and quiet, was soon darkened by a heavy cloud of distress, the occasion of which I shall very briefly lay before you.

About the end of July 1745, the young Prince
Charles

Charles Stuart, eldest son to the abjured claimant, LETTER
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landed in the Highlands of Scotland, with only seven attendants in his retinue; upon what invitation, or with what hopes of assistance, I shall not say; and being in a few days joined by some gentlemen in that neighbourhood, he set up his standard on the 22d of August, and published his father's manifestos, inviting all his loving subjects to come in and declare for the cause. I am not to attempt a minute detail of this unfortunate business, which has been so copiously related by others, and is still fresh in the memories of many among us. Suffice it to say, that, after having, with his handful of Highlanders, gained two complete victories over his opposers, one at Preston in East Lothian, on the 21st of September after his landing, and the other at Falkirk, on the 17th of January next year, besides several skirmishes, in which success seemed to be on his side, this bold Adventurer was obliged, after all, to retire to the Highlands; where, on the 16th of April 1746, coming to an engagement on Culloden-muir, not far from Inverness, his army was totally discomfited with a great slaughter; and himself, having escaped off the field, and wandered a long time in great jeopardy among the mountains and isles on the western coast, at last, on the 20th of September, got on board a French ship of war, with some few of his followers, and on the 9th of October arrived safe in France, in a most lamentable condition.

Thus ended this hazardous and almost romantic enterprize, which had for some months held all Scotland in awe; and, by a brisk irruption, raised no little alarm in the very heart of England, but was now shut up with the usual scenery of military

BETTER military butcheries and legal executions. It has
 LIX. been branded with the appellation of "the wicked and unnatural Rebellion;" and I do not mean to contend the propriety of the appellation, as I am taught to believe, that all rebellion is wicked and unnatural, and as such, am required to pray against it. Though, after all, if it were convenient in this case to offer a definition of rebellion, which has generally been understood to be, a rising up of subjects against their Sovereign, upon any specious pretence or private quarrel of their own; it might be supposed, and I hint the supposition with all due caution, that this present instance might perhaps be viewed rather in the light of a contention between two rivals, both claiming the same possession, and both equally alleging the justice of their claim; which, being too weighty to be determined by argument, could only be decided by the sword, and where the losing side were to lay their account, as in all such litigations, to be condemned in costs of suit. I have no scruple to allow, that it is natural for the victor, when he has been in possession, to be particularly incensed at a case of this kind, as in every example of superiority, even in the highest example of all, we find the superior more provoked by disputing his title, than by disobeying his commands. At the same time, I would beg leave to put our Presbyterian neighbours in mind, not to load our church with the whole burden of a rebellion, if it must be one, in which so many of other persuasions, and even some of their own, perhaps as many as of ours, were deeply engaged. Especially, let them not charge our religion with abetting rebellious principles, till they can assure us that they have renounced the principles of their predecessors, who

who avowedly preached up the lawfulness of fighting for their religion against any King whatever, which our church has always condemned, and never to this day practised.

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But whether our church was blameable or not upon this occasion, so it was in fact, that she was soon involved in the dismal consequences of it. In most country places, the meeting-houses were burnt to the ground by parties of the military detached on purpose: In towns or villages, where burning was not safe, they were shut up or demolished: The clergy themselves were obliged to leave their houses, which sometimes were plundered, and to sculk where they best could, that they might not fall into the soldiers hands: Their hearers stood aghast, between pity for their ministers and fear for themselves, being under the same suspicions, and equally uncertain what might be the issue. In a word, all was desolation and dismay among us, having no friend of capacity or courage to advise or protect us, and depending, in confidence of the divine goodness, only upon the integrity of our principles and testimony of our consciences, for inward support under the weight of these outward pressures. And yet, it must be acknowledged, and such of us as can look back to the confusions of that summer, do acknowledge it with grateful candour, that bad as the situation of our country was, there was reason to fear it might have been much worse, when we consider that the ordinary course of law was by proclamation suspended, and all put under military government for three months. In the Highlands indeed, which had the misfortune to be the stage of decisive action, and where the principal object of indignation was still wandering up and down, there were daily accounts

LETTER counts, during that time, of cruelties and devast-
LIX. ations, which no excuse could palliate, nor even
 the licentiousness of war justify. But in such
 places as were at any distance from that unhappy
 neighbourhood, the necessary orders against sus-
 pected persons, tho' grievous enough in the mean
 time to the miserable sufferers, were executed, for
 the most part, with a humanity which did honour
 to the feelings of those concerned in the execution,
 and to which the cool moments of reflection will
 give its due praise.

In this state of anxious suspense, stood our ec-
 clesiastical matters, till upon a gradual return of
 civil administration, the law began to take notice
 of us, and to provide more efficaciously in time
 coming against these dangers, of which our ene-
 mies now took the handle to charge our church
 with having been the occasion. To this purpose
 a severe act passed in this summer session of Parlia-
 ment, enjoining the strict execution of all former
 laws against Nonjuring Episcopal Ministers, with
 such regulations as were judged necessary to be a
 stronger curb upon them: For it was now enacted,
 ' That from and after the 1st of September 1746,
 ' every person exercising the function of a Pastor
 ' or Minister in any Episcopal Meeting in Scot-
 ' land, without registering his letters of orders,
 ' and taking all the oaths required by law, and
 ' praying for his Majesty King George and the
 ' royal family by name, shall, for the first offence,
 ' suffer six months imprisonment, as in the sta-
 ' tute of the last reign, but with this threatening ad-
 ' dition now, ' And for the second, or any subse-
 ' quent offence, being thereof convicted before
 ' the Justiciary or any of the Circuit Courts, shall
 ' be transported to some of his Majesty's planta-
 ' tions

tions in America for life, and in case of his re-
 turn to Britain, shall suffer imprisonment for
 life: The prosecution of this second offence
 to be upon information in writing, from the in-
 ferior magistrate to the King's Advocate, who is
 required to prosecute the same with effect. The
 number too of hearers allowed by former laws
 was now abridged by a special clause, declaring,
 That every meeting in Scotland, where five per-
 sons or more shall be met together to hear di-
 vine service, over and besides those of the
 household, or if it be in a place not inhabited,
 where any such five or more shall be met, and
 where divine service shall be performed by a
 Pastor or minister being, or professing to be, of
 the Episcopal communion, every such meeting
 shall be deemed an Episcopal meeting house with-
 in the meaning of this act. And to shut the
 door for ever against any shew of favour to the
 continuation of a Scottish Episcopacy, it is fur-
 ther enacted, That from and after the said first
 of September, no letters of orders of any Epis-
 copal minister in Scotland shall be admitted to
 be registered, but such as have been given by
 some Bishop of the Church of England or of
 Ireland, and in case any others shall be register-
 ed, such registration shall be void: Provided that
 every prosecution, for any offence against this
 act, shall be commenced within twelve months
 after such offence: Thereby keeping us longer
 at the mercy of enemies, and under the danger of
 informations, than by Queen Anne's law, which
 had limited it to two months.

But these restrictions, tho' sufficiently severe and
 designed to be so, were not the only hardships
 which at this time were laid upon our poor ob-

LETTER noxious church. Hitherto our laity, of whatever
 LIX. rank or character, high or low, had met with no
 legal molestation, nor been subjected to any penal-
 ty on account of their religious profession, and many
 conspicuous names of eminence and repute in the
 several departments of the administration, and well
 enough affected to the publick government, had
 attended our communion without inward scruple
 or outward offence. But now there is a fatal
 check put upon this freedom, and the hearers
 are for the first time restrained, as well as the
 clergy: For this new act further bears, ' That
 ' if after the said 1st of September any person shall
 ' resort to or frequent any illegal Episcopal meet-
 ' ing house of the above description, every person
 ' so offending, who shall not within five days give
 ' information of such illegal meeting to some pro-
 ' per magistrate, shall, upon conviction, for the
 ' first offence, forfeit five pounds sterling, one
 ' half to the King and the other half to the inform-
 ' er, and suffer six months imprisonment, unless
 ' and until the same be paid, and for every subse-
 ' quent offence, being convicted before the Justicia-
 ' ry or any of the Circuit Courts, shall suffer im-
 ' prisonment for two years, from the date of con-
 ' viction.' And lest the risk of a small fine, which
 might perhaps over-awe the vulgar, should not
 operate sufficiently upon people of fortune and
 family, it is particularly enacted in their case,
 ' That from and after the said 1st of September,
 ' No Peer of Scotland shall be capable of being
 ' elected one of the sixteen Peers of Parliament,
 ' or of voting at such election, nor shall any per-
 ' son be capable of being elected, or of voting at
 ' any election of, a Member of Parliament for any
 ' shire or burgh in Scotland, or of a Magistrate
 ' or

or Counsellor for burghs, or of a Deacon of
Crafts within burghs, or of a Collector or Clerk
of the land-tax or supply, who shall have, at any
time within one year preceding such election,
been twice present at divine service in any Epis-
copal meeting in Scotland not held according to
law, and where his Majesty and the royal family
have not been prayed for by name: And it shall
be competent for any Peer, and for any candi-
date or member at the other elections, to make
this objection, and to prove the same by a wit-
ness or witnesses upon oath, or by referring it to
the oath of the person objected to; and in case
the same shall be proved, or the person objected
to shall admit the fact or refuse to depose concern-
ing it, he shall be rendered incapable of voting,
or of being chosen at any such election, as afore-
said: But such admission shall not be made use
of against any such person, upon any prosecu-
tion for any penalty inflicted by this or any for-
mer act.

Nor was even this all the parliamentary precau-
tion, that was judged necessary for the public secu-
rity against the supposed disaffection of the Epis-
copal party. For in May 1748, this act, extensive
and provident as it might have been thought, was
revised: And information having been laid before

* Instances have frequently occurred, where advantage has
been taken of this disqualifying clause, to the prejudice of per-
sons possessed of every other qualification, and who had given
every other test of their allegiance which the law requires. May
it not be humbly hoped, that the wisdom of the legislature will
now see it expedient to remove such an odious and unnecessary
mark of distinction, which can answer no other end, than merely
to serve the purposes of a party, without adding any thing to the
security of government?

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the Parliament, that a small number of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland had complied with the terms of the act of 1746, an amendment was proposed of that part of the act, respecting what letters of orders were to be registered; and in order to dis-appoint these few individuals, it was carried, 'That no letters of orders, not granted by some Bishop of the Church of England or Ireland, shall, from and after the 29th of September 1748, be sufficient to qualify any Pastor or Minister of any Episcopal meeting in Scotland, whether the same were registered before or after the 1st of September 1746, and that every such registration, whether made before or since, shall, from and after the said 29th of September, be null and void.*' Neither was this all that our church suffered by this revival. The act of 1746 had left our clergy the liberty of four hearers, besides the

* This amending clause passed in the House of Commons without any great struggle: But in the House of Lords, it met with a different reception. In the Committee, it was opposed by all the Bishops unanimously, as well as by several Lay-lords; and on the question being put, it was thrown out, by 32 against 28; But upon report, a new debate ensued, and on a division, it was replaced, by 37 against 32. The Bishops, who spoke most vigorously against it, were Oxford, London, Lincoln, and Worcester, who not only pointed out the manifest injustice of this new explanation, with great force of reasoning, but likewise expressed themselves not thoroughly pleased with the clause in its original construction, as bordering too near upon the rights of ordination, which, they said, was a matter not of Parliamentary but ecclesiastical cognizance, and was inherent in the Episcopal character, which they acknowledged the Nonjuring Bishops in Scotland were, tho' not legally, yet primitively, clothed with. But the Chancellor Hardwick, who, if not an enemy to, was indifferent about Episcopacy of any kind, being supported too by all the Scottish Peers, except the Earl of Moray, had interest enough to form a majority against the Bishops, and to get the clause passed as it stands.

family,

family, in any house where they might perform divine service, whether that house was their own or not. But there was a clause in another act at that time, which was now improved to take away this indulgence, scanty as it was. LETTER
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It had been then provided, 'That from and after the 1st of November 1746, no unqualified person shall exercise the function of a Chaplain in any family in Scotland, under the penalty of six months imprisonment for the first offence, and for any subsequent offence, of being banished out of Britain for seven years: And that no person within Scotland shall keep, or entertain, any unqualified person as Chaplain in any family, under the penalty of six months imprisonment for the first, and two years for the second or any subsequent offence.' And now, to wreath the yoke of this provision on the necks of the Episcopal clergy, it is enacted, 'For the better ascertaining what shall be deemed exercising the function of a chaplain, within the meaning of the act 19th George II. That from and after the 29th of September 1748, any person being, or pretending to be, in holy orders of any denomination whatsoever, other than the Ministers, Elders or Preachers of the established Church of Scotland, who shall preach or perform any divine service in any house or family of which he is not the master, in the presence or hearing of any other person or persons, whether of the family or not, shall be deemed to be one who exercises the function of a Chaplain within the meaning of that act.' So that now the Episcopal clergy were strictly confined to their own dwellings, and could not in safety perform any part of their ministerial office, in ever such a private manner, in any other house, without

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without exposing both themselves and their hearers to the mercy of this act, which might be interpreted and stretched at pleasure.

From this short abstract of the new penal laws, which I have thus brought together into one view, it will readily appear to what a hampered and ticklish situation the Episcopal Church of Scotland was now reduced, beyond any thing that she had experienced in any period since her legal constitution was dissolved. And yet, under all this confinement, she still breathed, tho' for some time in a very weak and languishing condition. The clergy went about their duty as conscientiously and cautiously as they could; and tho' the legislative part of the government had, in the heat of provocation, laid the rod very severely upon them, which straitened them not a little for a while, yet, as that heat gradually cooled, they began to venture a little further upon the lenity of the executive part, which, it must be owned, was not always so rigorous as some enemies would have wished.

Under all these dangers and difficulties, the Bishops took particular care of what was peculiarly entrusted to them, the continuance of the Episcopal Succession, without which, they knew a church could not long subsist, tho' the hand of oppression were not bearing it down.* Yet, with

* Old Bishop Dunbar had died in the beginning of 1746, to the great loss of his clergy, who much needed the assistance and direction of one of his distinguished prudence and long experience, at such a critical juncture: And next year, the clergy of the district elected Mr Andrew Gerard, one of the Presbyters of Aberdeen, who, upon that election, was consecrated, on the 27th of July 1747, at Cupar in Fife, by Bishops White, Falconar, Rait, and Alexander: And on the 1st of November all

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all their care and attention, the woeful effects of LETTER LIX.
 the late penal laws began by degrees to be felt. Many of the older clergy were called off by death, and such young men as had been preparing themselves for the service of the church, being frightened at the discouraging prospects before them, or wrought upon by the timorous caution of their friends, turned their thoughts another way, and either went abroad, or retired to some secular business at home. The gentry too of our communion, who, by birth or fortune, were entitled to be useful and make a figure in the state, finding their legal privileges struck at by the disqualifying act of 1746, stood aloof in many places from our worship, and not inclining, or not having sufficient conviction of its spiritual authority, to join the establishment, appeared in no place of worship whatever, which, it is thought by many, has contributed not a little to that spirit of irreligion, and disregard for sacred things, now so much and so justly complained of.

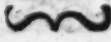
Besides all this, the preference given, by that act of 1746, to English or Irish orders, for enjoying the benefit of Queen Anne's Toleration, which had been designed for the Episcopal ordinations in Scotland, brought in a shadow of a foreign Episcopacy, which had not been much heard of before, among us. It is true, in some of our principal seaport towns, there had been now and then one or two English-ordained clergymen, even since the time of Queen Anne. But now, taking the advantage of the difficulties which our church, under the invidious title of Nonjuring,

1759, Mr Henry Edgar, Presbyter at Arbroath, was consecrated at the same place, and by the same persons, as Co-adjutor to Bishop White, then *Primus*.

had

LETTER had to grapple with, and laying hold on the mention of English or Irish Bishops in the late act, **LIX.** numbers of young students of various professions went up to England, upon some sort of vague recommendations, and returning with legally allowed orders from one or other of the Bishops there, set up here, not only in towns, but even in some places of the country where there was a vacancy, and sometimes where there was none.

Indeed, tho' some of the English Bishops (for they have not been all of one mind in this point) have condescended to humour such recommendations, which, upon their general principles, is not a little surprising; yet none of them have hitherto chosen to act any part of their Episcopal office, either purposely or occasionally, within the precincts of what was once reckoned their Sister-Church of Scotland. But there have been, among the Irish Prelates, one or two who were not so scrupulous. In 1760, the great traveller, Dr Pocock, Bishop of Ossory, being on a tour thro' Scotland in quest of curiosities, was prevailed with to administer the sacred rite of Confirmation in some of these new congregations in the north: And about ten years after, a Dr. Traill, Bishop of Down and Connor, was pleased to ordain a Priest in Scotland, and that too in a place where there was a Scottish Bishop residing at the time, who for more than thirty years had held the pastoral charge of that very congregation, to which those few who had encouraged this Irish performance had belonged. How regular, or consonant to ecclesiastic order, in any æra of the church, ancient or modern, such proceedings are, belongs properly to the casuist or controvertist to enquire into. As an historian

historian, I only relate facts, and as facts I leave LETTER
 them, with this observation, which experience LIX.
 will justify the application of, that as no vice is 
 more dangerous than that which deceitfully puts
 on the masque of virtue, so these strange intru-
 sions, under the fair and friendly shew at first of
 brotherly assistance, have, in end, conducted more;
 than any avowed enmity would have done, to de-
 press that Episcopal Succession in Scotland, which,
 bating the mistaken article of political scruple,
 the English Bishops do acknowledge to be other-
 wise orthodox and valid.

Before I conclude this letter, I shall beg leave,
 by way of recreation, after the dark and gloomy
 scene we have been contemplating, to amuse you
 a little with the view of a literary novelty, which
 began sometime before this, and continued a good
 while after, to make a stir among the clergy of
 England first, and by degrees came next to be
 talked of in Scotland: In 1748 there was publish-
 ed, an elegant and correct edition, in twelve
 volumes octavo, of "The Philosophical and Theo-
 logical Works of the late truly learned John
 "Hutchinson, Esquire," by Julius Bate, Rector
 of Sutton in Sussex, and Robert Spearman, a
 gentleman late of Corpus Christi College in Ox-
 ford. This laborious writer was a layman of
 Yorkshire, and being of a studious turn,
 assisted by proper education, had improved the
 opportunities which his station in life, of having
 the superintendency of sundry coal and tin mines,
 gave him, to make many valuable discoveries in
 the Philosophy of Nature, which he afterwards ap-
 plied to theological disquisitions, and thereby, had
 the pleasure to find an exact conformity between
 these two great constituents of human knowledge.

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Some of these discoveries he had sent abroad in detached pieces, as far back as the year 1724; and among the first abettors of them here, was our worthy countryman Duncan Forbes of Culloden, afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, who studied them with great attention, and not only honoured them with his approbation, but even took time, from the hurry of secular employment, to write some curious and elaborate dissertations to illustrate the author's design: In one of which he expresses his surprise, 'That tho' regard to revelation were out of the question, curiosity did not prevail with men of leisure and learning to look into books that are stored with so much entertainment in that way.' And in a "*Letter to a Bishop*," written long after their first appearance, he says, 'I cannot help thinking it some reproach to the curiosity, as well as to the religious zeal of the clergy, that sentiments, so new and surprising in matters of religion, should have been stalking about for so many years without any examination, approbation, or confutation.' Such was this great man's opinion of these writings, and there was at first some plausible shew of reason for the neglect of them which he complains of. The plan was entirely new, and out of the common line, no less indeed than to find *Natural Philosophy* in the Bible, where hitherto it had been thought no such thing was to be met with, or ever intended. And upon that popular hypothesis, contrived to account for and excuse the palpable contradictions between the current language of scripture, and the now received and applauded system of philosophy, it had been objected, by the numerous tribes of freethinkers, 'That if the pen-men of the Bible were mistaken in natural

‘ natural things, they might be so in spiritual; or, LETTER
 ‘ if the God of nature had inspired them in the LIX.
 ‘ one, he would have done so in the other too.’

This triumphant attack upon the infallibility of the scriptures, put our bold undertaker upon searching them in a different manner from what had hitherto been attempted, and induced him to try, whether the true and genuine sense of the original Hebrew, when fairly construed, without regard to any hypothesis ancient or modern, would not also be the true philosophy, and stand the test of every experiment and observation truly made.

His editors tell us, that the event answered his expectations; and he found, upon examination,
 ‘ That the Hebrew scriptures nowhere ascribe motion to the body of the sun, nor fixedness to the earth: That they describe the created system to be a *Plenum* without any *Vacuum* at all, and reject the assistance of gravitation, attraction, or any such occult qualities for performing the stated operations of nature, which are carried on by the mechanism of the heavens, in their threefold condition of *Fire*, *Light*, and *Spirit*, or *Air*, the material agents set to work at the beginning: That the heavens, thus framed by Almighty wisdom, are an instituted emblem and visible substitute of *Jehovah Aleim*, the Eternal Three, the co-equal and co-adorable Trinity in unity: That the unity of substance in the heavens points out the unity of essence, and the distinction of conditions the personality in deity, without confounding the persons or dividing the substance: And that, from their being made emblems, they are called in Hebrew *Sbemim*, the names, representatives, or substitutes, expressing by their names that they are emblems,

LETTER ' and by their conditions or offices, what it is they
LIX. ' are emblems of.'

He likewise found that the Hebrew scriptures had some capital words which, he thought, had not been duly considered and understood, and which he has proved, or endeavoured to prove, contain, in their radical meaning, the greatest and most comfortable truths. Thus the word *Elohim*, which we call God, he reads *Aleim*, and refers it to the oath or conditional execration, by which the eternal covenant of grace among the persons in *Jehovah* was and is confirmed. The word *Berith*, which our translation renders *Covenant*, and upon which is built the favourite doctrine of mutual covenants between God and man, between Creator and creature, yea, as matters now stand, between King and rebel, he construes to signify, 'He or 'that which purifies,' so the *Purifyer* or purification for, not with, man: The *Cberubim*, which have been made 'angels, placed as a guard to 'frighten Adam from breaking into Eden again,' he explains to be an hieroglyphic of divine construction, or a sacred image to describe, as far as figures could go, the *Aleim* and man taken in, or *Humanity* united to *Deity*: And so he treats of several other words of similar, tho' not quite so solemn, import. From all which he drew this conclusion, 'That all the rites and ceremonies of 'the Jewish dispensation were so many delineations 'of Christ, in what he was to *Be*, to *Do*, and to 'Suffer, and that the early Jews knew them to be 'types of his actions and sufferings, and by performing them as such, were in so far christians, 'both in faith and practice.'

These are some of the principal outlines of this author's doctrines, which, being at first thrown out

out in scattered pamphlets, were not, as President Forbes observes, much taken notice of one way or other; but being now collected together, and given out to the public in one view, became in a short time the subject of much dispute and of various entertainment, according to the various tastes of those who looked into them. And tho' none of the English Bishops gave them open encouragement, for what reason is not known, yet, as they passed no censure or prohibition upon them, many eminent divines of that church patronized them, and employed their pens either in proper explanations and consistent enlargements of them, or in vindicating them from the attacks of such as, not daring to quarrel with the design in general, thought it enough to shew their dislike, by criticizing upon some particulars in the execution.

In this condition, these abstruse writings by degrees found their way into Scotland, and met with the same variety of reception. Some chose to adhere to the current notions, under pretence of veneration for the primitive fathers, whom, they supposed, these new discoveries seemed to contradict. While others, of equal acquaintance with and regard for antiquity, saw no such danger; but having impartially examined Mr Hutchinson's works, as far as their time and talents enabled them, were happy to think that they had thereby acquired more excellent ideas of christianity, and could more successfully combat the Arian, Socinian, and deistical opposers of it, by his use of the Scripture-Artillery, than by all the dry metaphysical jargon of the Schools. And without pretending to decide in such a division of sentiment, it may be pronounced a strange thing, that a serious respect to, and diligent study of, the language

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LETTER guage in which *Jehovah* was pleased to reveal
LX. himself first to man, should be despised and scoffed
 at by those who ought to know better, and that
 too in an age, in which there are so many hostile
 troops of dangerous errors set in battle-array a-
 gainst the saving truths and gracious promises de-
 livered to us, in that language.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R LX.

*Accession of George III.—Clemency of his Reign
 —Effects of it in Scotland—Application from
 the Clergy of Connecticut—Consecration of Dr.
 Seabury by the Scotch Bishops—Reflections on
 that Event—Synodical Meeting and Resolution
 of the Scotch Bishops—Conclusion.*

FROM the short digression in the conclusion of
 my last letter, I shall now return once for all
 to the affairs of the Scotch Episcopal Church,
 and

and shall soon be able to finish what remains any way worthy of notice concerning them. For, from the state of depression into which this church sunk after the convulsions of 1746, down to the present time, there occurs little material, either in her outward appearance, or internal transactions, farther than what is necessary to the very being of a church, and common in every description of one. The discouragements under which she now laboured, by the great ones abandoning her communion; and the youth, whom she had bred, withdrawing their assistance, seemed to threaten her with a total and speedy annihilation. And tho' from that she was providentially preserved, yet the failure of these inward supports, making way for extraneous encroachments, did actually throw her into a kind of gradual and wasting consumption.

This malady was increased for some years, by a repetition now and then of some little stroke from the old hostile quarter, which tho' not to be called persecution, served to keep her down under the weight which the new laws had laid upon her. There were some few imprisonments here and there for a first offence; and one of our clergy, Mr John Connachar, in 1755, was banished out of Scotland by the Justiciary Court at Inverary, not in terms of any of the late acts, but upon an antiquated Scotch Marriage-Act, which was purposely produced, and, as was loudly complained of at the time, even wrested to operate against him. These prosecutions were not indeed general, and seemed to be rather the effects of private pique, for particular views, than of any formed design among those who were vested with public authority: But coming out under the colour of law, and in such gloomy times, they had the intended effect

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LETTER effect of adding to the damp with which the face
LX. of our church had been already overspread, and
 ~~~~~ distressed our clergy, as being all in the same predicament; with a perpetual uncertainty whose turn it might be next. And this dowering cloud continued to hang over them during all the remainder of that reign, which would appear not to have quite forgot or forgiven the high insult offered to the middle of it at home, and the provoking interruption thereby made to the success of the favourite war which it was then engaged in abroad.

On the death of George II. in October 1760, his grandson by his son Frederick, who died Prince of Wales in 1751, mounted the throne; and has, by the clemency of his disposition, and mildness of his government hitherto, shewn himself the true son of a father, who in domestic life, which was the only sphere he was allowed to shine in, was as humane and amiable a character as ever England had seen possessing that princely title. Soon after his accession, this young Prince concluded a peace with his two brother Kings of France and Spain, with whom his grandfather had left him at war: And shewed likewise by the choice of his ministry and other arrangements in the state, how much he wished to banish all national prejudices, and to root out, by acts of generosity, that disaffection to his family, which had been supposed peculiar to Scotland. Encouraged by these early symptoms of placability towards national enemies, and of an equal and impartial regard towards all his subjects, our church by degrees revived a little from her former depressed and declining state, and our clergy thought they now saw the agreeable prospect of better times, under a government which had begun in so promising a way.

With

With these thoughts, therefore, and in hopes of being winked at by such a mild eye, they ventured to have separate houses of worship erected again, in some small towns and country places, in as easy a manner, and with as little noise as possible. Since the general destruction of the meeting-houses in 1746, they had convened their flocks for divine service, as quietly as they could, in and about their own private dwellings; where, under all the difficulties that such confined meetings were daily exposed to, both from within and from without, they had the satisfaction, in alleviation of their many other anxieties, to find their people's patience and steadfastness, in the trying course of sixteen or eighteen years, such as would have been no disparagement to the character of primitive times; and such too as their very enemies admired, and even praised them for. But many of the old race going off the stage, and a new generation gradually rising up, who had felt little of the past shock, it was hoped there would be no danger now to make a calm attempt, where it could be done, for further accommodation in their attendance upon religious duties, and under the protection of Heaven, to trust to the lenity of an administration, which seemed to see no necessity for the continuance of former severities. There were some young men too, beginning to appear now for the ministerial office, where their labours might be called for, which was another incitement to the proposed erection, and was likewise a lucky circumstance for recovering the church out of that fatal decay, under which she had so long been languishing.

In this favourable appearance of returning serenity, it was thought proper to revise our Communion Office, and bring it, now that there was



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no contention or difference about it, to as exact a conformity with the ancient standards of eucharistic service as it could bear. This revival was undertaken in 1765, by two of our Bishops, who were well versed in these matters, and by some few alterations of expression, and a judicious arrangement of the several parts, especially by restoring the Invocation to its original position after the Oblation, instead of standing, as it had done, before the words of institution, have put the whole of that solemn office into such a form, as will be acknowledged by every one who is in the least conversant in antiquity, to be most agreeable to the nature and design of that divine institution itself, and at the same time best adapted both to fence against the novel doctrine of transubstantiation, and to silence any idle clamours which ignorance or prejudice had raised, or might raise, about our inclining to Popery.

All this time, the main point of ecclesiastic constitution was watchfully looked to, and the Episcopal order kept up as occasion served, or necessity required. The decrease of clergy in some of the old districts, and some other disagreeable circumstances, which now and then occurred, created vacancies in those places where either a Bishop was not sought, or could not for some time be had: And such vacancies, when happening, were supplied with Episcopal offices, as they were applied for, according to the provision made before-hand for any emergency of that kind, by the 7th of the Canons enacted in 1743, which were now received as the standing code of Church Discipline, suited to our particular situation. But where no incidental hindrance or canonical objection intervened, every vacant district was provided with an Ordinary, as speedily

speedily and regularly as the circumstances of the case would admit.\*

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In the year 1784, when our church had indeed a less number of Bishops than usual, but still such as was sufficient for the time to answer the great end of the office, an unexpected affair of a quite foreign nature was providentially thrown in her way, which contributed to raise her in some measure out of that obscurity into which a run of distress had plunged her, and procured her a parti-

\* Thus, on the death of Bishop Gerard of Aberdeen in October 1767, the clergy of that district met next year, and elected Mr Robert Kilgour, Presbyter at Peterhead, who was consecrated on the 21st of September, at Cupar in Fife, by Bishop Falconar now *Primus*, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander. In 1774, Mr Charles Rose, Presbyter at Down, was consecrated Bishop of Dunblain, on the 24th of August, at Forfar, by Bishops Falconar, Rait, and Forbes, the last of whom had been consecrated at Forfar, on the 24th of June 1762, by Bishops Falconar, Alexander, and Gerard, and appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness. On the 27th of June 1776, Mr Arthur Petrie, Presbyter at Folla in the Diocese of Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor of Moray, at Dundee, by Bishops Falconar, Rait, Kilgour, and Rose; and next year, on the death of Bishop Forbes, was appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and soon after had the sole charge of Moray resigned to him by Bishop Falconar, who was then elected to Edinburgh, where he had long resided, and died in 1784. In 1777 Bishop Rait died, on which the clergy of Brechin chose Mr George Innes, Presbyter in Aberdeen, who was consecrated at Alloa, August 13, 1778, by Bishops Falconar, Rose, and Petrie, but died in 1781, and the district continued some years vacant. On the 25th of September 1782, Mr John Skinner, one of the Presbyters of Aberdeen, being previously elected by the clergy for that purpose, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor of that district, at Luthermuir in the Diocese of Brechin, by Bishops Kilgour, Rose, and Petrie; and in 1786, on Bishop Kilgour's resignation, with consent of the other Bishops, and acceptance of the clergy, succeeded to the whole charge, in terms of the 9th Synodical Canon of 1743.

LETTER **LX.** cular degree of respect and notice, from a quarter where she had not been favoured with much of either for some time before. The American war, which, from inward and artfully fomented murmurings, had at last broke out into open revolt, and had been carried on for some years with various success between Britain alone, and her rebellious colonies, supported by France, Spain, and Holland, had, in spring 1783, terminated in a peace, by which Britain gave up her sovereignty over these colonies, and fully acknowledged and ratified the independence which they had already assumed to themselves, under the new title of "The Thirteen United States of America." This concession of necessary policy, dissolved the established connexion which had hitherto subsisted between the Episcopal people in America and the Bishop of London, who had always been, by appointment and practice, the proper Ordinary of the Episcopal Church there, but could no longer now be submitted to by them in that character. And as the United States had found it for their interest to grant an universal liberty of conscience to all professions, without preference to any by way of establishment, the Episcopal clergy, thus left to themselves, and destitute of any Superior, began to look about how to get this fundamental defect removed, and have their now orphan church duly organized, in such a form as they believed essential to her being, and might find consistent with the civil constitution of their new government.

In this important undertaking, the clergy in the province of Connecticut, who had long been a numerous body, took the lead: And having, after mature deliberation, pitched upon Dr Samuel Seabury,

Seabury, one of the missionaries from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, as a clergyman, in their unanimous judgment, every way qualified for the Episcopal function, and who had been one of the suffering loyalists during the late war, they sent him over to their old mother church of England, with proper attestations of his character and qualifications, and earnestly supplicating the Prelates of that flourishing church to take pity upon their desolate state, and give them a Bishop in the person of this worthy brother, to be a spiritual father to them for governing them in the mean time, and for the great work of continuing a regular ministry to posterity in time to come. Upon the Doctor's arrival in England, and presenting his credentials, the English Prelates received him very graciously, but required time to consider in what way the object of his journey might be best accomplished. The business was new, and out of the usual line of their procedure hitherto, in the performance of this distinguishing part of their high office. They saw the expediency of the measure proposed, but wished to have some preliminaries adjusted, and brought as near as possible to their own stated forms, without which, they were at a loss how to act consistently with that regard which they owed to the standing practice of their church, and the strict connection subsisting in England between the civil and ecclesiastical constitution.

In this state of suspense, which necessarily lasted many months, the candidate began to weary of so long a delay, and such a continued uncertainty, as the former was not convenient for his own situation, nor the latter suitable to the expectations of his employers: Therefore, having known before, that there was a continued succession of Bishops in Scotland,

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Scotland, and finding, where he then was, no objection to the validity of their Episcopal powers, whatever there might be to the propriety of their political scruples, he contrived to have it enquired at second hand, what prospect there might be of speedy success in an application to that quarter, if such application should be formally made. When this was intimated, in such a general manner, to the Scotch Bishops, they knew not well at first what to think of it, as being entirely unacquainted with the character of the person proposed, and not certain whether there might not be some danger in their giving any countenance to such an unexpected application. But when the proposal was more pointedly and pressingly repeated, and assurance given them, by authority, which they could rely on, that Dr. Seabury was a clergyman of unblemished reputation and eminent parts, with a full representation at the same time how matters stood concerning him in England, they at last agreed to comply with the application, and contribute what was in their power, towards advancing the good work so urgently recommended to their assistance. Upon the welcome notification of this consent, Dr. Seabury came to Scotland, and, on the 14th of November 1784, being Sunday, was publicly consecrated at Aberdeen, by Bishop Kilgour, now *Primus*, Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner.

This charitable act of spiritual function, by which the Episcopal Church of Scotland has the honour of first introducing a resident Protestant Episcopacy into America, was variously talked of when it came to be generally known. Some gave it their countenance in terms of the highest approbation. Others there were, who, tho' they could

could not openly and with any shew of principle condemn it, yet affected to treat it with contempt and ridicule, both in private conversation, and in some of the periodical papers. But whatever sinister interpretations may be put upon our Bishops taking such a part in this business, they are fully satisfied of the purity and uprightness of their own intentions; and while they look back with pleasure to the pious and grateful sentiments of which the clergy of Connecticut, on receiving their new Bishop, gave public and unanimous testimony, they will rest themselves on the well-grounded hope of the accomplishment of that affectionate wish, which these clergy expressed, in the overflowing of their hearts upon that occasion, "That  
" wherever the American Episcopal Church shall  
" be mentioned in the world, this also, that the  
" Bishops of Scotland have done for her, may be  
" spoken of for a memorial of them."†

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† In the year 1786, another body of Episcopal clergy, in some of the Southern States of the American Union, made a similar application to the English Bishops, upon being informed that the alledged obstacles in Dr. Seabury's case had been purposely and legally removed: And it was announced in the public papers, that on the 4th of February 1787, Drs. White and Prevost, the former elected for Philadelphia, the latter for New York, were both consecrated at Lambeth, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Bath and Wells, and Peterborough. This year too gave three new Bishops to the Episcopal College in Scotland: For on the 7th of March 1787, Mr Andrew Macfarlane, Presbyter in Inverness, was consecrated at Peterhead, as Co-adjutor to Bishop Petrie, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishops Petrie and Skinner; and soon after, on the death of Bishop Petrie, was elected and collated to the charge of the districts of Ross and Moray. And, in consequence of an election by the clergy of Brechin, Dr. Abernethy Drummond, one of the Presbyters of Edinburgh, and Mr John Strachan, Presbyter in Dundee, were both consecrated at Peterhead, on the 26th of September 1787.

LETTER I have only now to take notice of an affair,  
 LX. which has very lately happened, and will, no  
 doubt, be found, in its consequences, to be of  
 considerable importance in the history of the Scots  
 Episcopal Church. On the 24th of April 1788,  
 the Protestant Bishops in Scotland having met at  
 Aberdeen, to take into their serious consideration  
 the state of the church under their inspection, did,  
 upon mature deliberation with their clergy, un-  
 animously agree to comply with, and submit to,  
 the present government of this kingdom, as vested  
 in the person of His Majesty King George the  
 Third. They also resolved to testify this compli-  
 ance, by uniformly praying for him by name in  
 their public worship, in hopes of removing all sus-  
 picion of disaffection, and of obtaining relief from  
 those penal laws, under which this church has so  
 long suffered. This resolution was duly intimated  
 to the clergy and laity of their communion, as  
 proceeding from principles purely ecclesiastical,  
 and to which the Bishops are moved by the justest  
 and most satisfying reasons, in discharge of that  
 high trust devolved upon them in their Episcopal  
 character, and to promote, as far as they can, the  
 peace and prosperity of that portion of the christian  
 church committed to their charge.

For obtaining of this desireable end, as their  
 intimation, published on this occasion, bears, they  
 ' THEREFORE appoint their clergy to make  
 ' public notification to their respective congrega-  
 ' tions, upon the eighteenth day of May next,

by Bishops Kilgour, Skinner, and Macfarlane; the former as  
 Bishop of Brechin, the latter as his Co-adjutor. Since that  
 time, Bishop Abernethy being elected for Edinburgh, has been  
 appointed to that district, and having resigned the charge of  
 Brechin, is succeeded in it by Bishop Strachan.

that

LETTER

LX.

that upon the following Lord's day, nominal prayers for the King are to be authoritatively introduced, and afterwards to continue, in the religious assemblies of this Episcopal Church: And they beg leave to recommend, as to their clergy, whole obedience they expect, so likewise to all good christian people under their Episcopal care, and do earnestly intreat and exhort them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that they will all cordially receive this determination of their spiritual Fathers. If any of them wish for farther information on this subject, the Bishops hereby direct them to apply to their respective Pastors; and conclude this address with their hearty prayers to, and steadfast dependence upon, their gracious HEAD and MASTER in Heaven, that he would be pleased to bless, sanctify, and prosper, the pious resolutions and endeavours of his servants upon earth, to the advancement of his glory, the edification of his church, and the quiet and welfare of the state in all godliness and honesty. By this wise and salutary measure, an end is put to those unhappy divisions, which have long distracted this kingdom; and many thousands of our countrymen, who have hitherto been suspected of disaffection to the present government, will now be considered as loyal and obedient subjects.

Thus I have brought the History of our Church (to speak with the poet, *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*, or more in point with the apostle, 'through good report and bad report') down to the present time; and shall now take leave of a subject, in my management of which, after all the labour and pains it has cost me, I am abundantly sensible many defects will be found.



LETTER

LX.

Some there will be, I hope indeed a great many, who will complain that I have not done the subject justice. To this charge, where kindly intended and candidly made, I shall most readily plead guilty; and shall only offer the trite apology of having done the best I could, with my hearty wish, that some abler hand would undertake it, and do better. There will be others of the opposite sentiment; that the subject, especially in the latter part of it, was not worth the pains that even I have been able to bestow upon it. To that class of critics, I never doubted but our church, in her present low condition, would appear an object of contempt, as in her higher state of outward splendor she had been of envy and ill-will. But let such remember, that the whole Christian Church was once in the same predicament; set at nought by the rich and opulent, by the applauded philosopher and fashionable politician, ridiculed for her principles, and despised for her numbers. Not that I would be stating an exact parallel in every particular, especially in the invidious article of persecution, between our situation and that of these early times. I would only observe, that to impartial reflexion, if such would apply itself to our case, it may rather be matter of wonder than offence that, under such repeated depressions, and destitute of all worldly support, our church should have been preserved thro' the long course of a whole century, even tho' reduced to that low condition, in which the insulting eye of prosperity may allow itself to triumph over her.

Whatever ground there might have been for the popular cry of 'Disaffection and improper Hopes,' against the ejected Episcopal clergy, who, as men of natural passions, and once in legal possession of

com-

comfortable livings, could not be thought all at once to lose sight of their former situation, or contract much affection for the immediate authors of their losses and disappointments, there can be no good reason for keeping up these two inflaming articles of suspicion against their successors, who certainly can have no other object in view, than the interests of that kingdom which is not of 'this world,' no higher ambition than to do their duty as messengers of the PRINCE of PEACE. And as the principles, by which they are actuated, are thus harmless and inoffensive, they have no doubt but their practices, if inquired into, will shew them not altogether unworthy of the clemency which they have for some time experienced. Far from being guilty of any actual infringement of the laws of their country, their only fault has consisted in omitting to qualify themselves in the precise manner which the law prescribes. That omission it was not in their power to avoid, but by declining or throwing up that sacred office, which a strong sense of duty prompted them to undertake. They are now happy to think, that a favourable period has concurred with their most anxious wishes, for obtaining that relief which their situation has so long and loudly called for. The prejudices which gave occasion to the penal laws are now no more. A religious dissenting from the establishment is not considered as inconsistent with the safety of government: And those of the Episcopal persuasion in Scotland may, without any hazard, be allowed to partake of that freedom, which is extended throughout the kingdom to sects of every denomination. Though they wish for 'Liberty,' it is not that they may 'use it for a cloke of maliciousness,' but that, 'as the Ser-

LETTER

LX.

LETTER **LX.** *v*ants of God, they may perform, without molestation, those duties which, they are convinced, are essential to their happiness, both in this world, and in the next. And when they consider, with what becoming zeal the British legislature has lately given force to the pious endeavours of the English Bishops, for planting Episcopacy in foreign countries, they cannot but hope, that their own Episcopacy may yet be saved from ruin, and that Britons will not be refused a share of that gracious provision which has been extended to *Aliens*. In this hope, they humbly commit themselves, and all their concerns, to the care of his over-ruling Providence, who has the hearts of Kings in his hands: Devoutly praying, that HE may still guide his church in the paths of righteousness, and direct his protection to her, through whatever channel of benignity he pleases, that, under that blessed protection, they may lead quiet and peaceable lives, 'with consciences void of offence toward God and toward men.'

I now beg your favourable acceptance of these my endeavours to comply with your requests, and remain,

Yours, &c.

MAY 1, 1788.

THE END.

## APPENDIX.

That the Reader may have a clear and distinct View of the Episcopal Succession in Scotland, since the Revolution, as far as the present Bishops are concerned, it is thought proper to subjoin the following List of Consecrations, with the true Dates and Consecrators Names, as extracted from their Ecclesiastical Register.

JAN. 25, 1705. **M**R. JOHN SAGE, formerly one of the ministers of Glasgow, and Mr John Fullarton, formerly minister of Paisley, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by John Paterfon, Archbishop of Glasgow, Alexander Rose, bishop of Edinburgh, and Robert Douglas, bishop of Dunblane.—N. B. Archbishop Paterfon, bishop Rose, and bishop Douglas, with the other Scots Bishops, were deprived at the Revolution by the civil power, because *Episcopacy* had been voted an insupportable grievance by the Scots Convention. *Bishop Sage died in June 1711, and Bishop Fullarton in May 1727.*

APRIL



**APPEND.** APRIL 28, 1709.—Mr John Falconar, minister at Cairnbee, and Mr Henry Chrystie, minister at Kinross, were consecrated at Dundee, by bishop Rose of Edinburgh, bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and bishop Sage. *Bishop Chrystie died in 1718, and Bishop Falconar in 1723.*

AUG. 25, 1711.—The Honourable Archibald Campbell was consecrated at Dundee, by bishop Rose of Edinburgh, bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and bishop Falconar. *He died June 16, 1744.*

FEB. 24, 1712.—Mr James Gadderar, formerly minister at Kilmaurs, was consecrated at London, by bishop Hickey,\* bishop Falconar, and bishop Campbell. *He died in February, 1733.*

OCT. 22, 1718.—Mr Arthur Millar, formerly minister at Inveresk, and Mr William Irvine, formerly minister at Kirkmichael in Carrick, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop Rose of Edinburgh, bishop Fullarton, and bishop Falconar. *Bishop Irvine died November 9, 1725, and Bishop Millar, October 9, 1727.*

After bishop Rose of Edinburgh's death, which happened March 20, 1720,—OCT. 17, 1722, Mr Andrew Cant, formerly one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr David Freebairn, formerly minister at Dunning, were consecrated at Edin-

\* Dr. George Hickey, formerly Dean of Worcester, was consecrated in the Bishop of Peterborough's Chapel, in the parish of Enfield, February 23, 1693, by Dr William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, Dr Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, and Dr Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough. N. B. Dr Lloyd, Dr Turner, and Dr White, were three of the English Bishops who were deprived at the Revolution, by the civil power, for not swearing allegiance to William III. They were also three of the seven Bishops who had been sent to the Tower by James II. for refusing to order an illegal proclamation to be read in their dioceses.

burgh,

burgh, by bishop Fullarton, bishop Millar, and APPEND:  
 bishop Irvine. *Bishop Cant died in 1728, and*  
*Bishop Freebairn in December 1739.*

JUNE 4, 1727.—Dr Thomas Rattray of Craig-  
 hall was consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop  
 Gadderar, bishop Millar, and bishop Cant. *He*  
*died May 12, 1743.*

JUNE 18, 1727.—Mr William Dunbar, for-  
 merly minister at Cruden, and Mr Robert Keith,  
 presbyter in Edinburgh, were consecrated at Edin-  
 burgh, by bishop Gadderar, bishop Millar, and  
 bishop Rattray. *Bishop Dunbar died in 1746, and*  
*Bishop Keith in 1756.* N. B. They who were

deprived of their parishes in consequence of the  
 Revolution are in this list called Ministers: But  
 they who had not been parish ministers under the  
 civil establishment, are called Presbyters.

JUNE 24, 1735.—Mr Robert White, presbyter  
 at Cupar in Fife, was consecrated at Carsbank,  
 near Forfar, by bishop Rattray, bishop Dunbar,  
 and bishop Keith. *He died in 1761.*

SEPT. 10, 1741.—Mr William Falconar, pres-  
 byter at Forres, was consecrated at Alloa, by  
 bishop Rattray, bishop Keith, and bishop White.  
*He died in 1784.*

OCT. 4, 1742.—Mr James Rait, presbyter at  
 Dundee, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by bishop  
 Rattray, bishop Keith, and bishop White. *He*  
*died in 1777.*

AUG. 19, 1743.—Mr John Alexander, pres-  
 byter at Alloa, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by  
 bishop Keith, *Primus*, bishop White, bishop Fal-  
 conar, and bishop Rait. *He died in 1776.*

N. B. Anciently, no Bishop in Scotland had  
 the style of Archbishop, but one of them had a  
 precedency, under the title of *Primus Scotiae Epif-*  
*copus.*

APPEND. *copius*. And after the Revolution, they returned to the old form, one of them being elected *Primus*, with power of convocating and presiding, according to their Canons of 1743.

JULY 17, 1747.—Mr Andrew Gerard, presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated at Cupar in Fife, by bishop White, (having commission from bishop Keith, the *Primus*, for that effect) bishop Falconar, bishop Rait, and bishop Alexander. He died in October 1767.

JUNE 24, 1762.—Mr Robert Forbes, presbyter in Leith, was consecrated at Forfar, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Alexander and bishop Gerard. He died in 1776.

SEPT. 21, 1768.—Mr Robert Kilgour, presbyter in Peterhead, was consecrated at Cupar in Fife, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Rait, and bishop Alexander, and appointed Bishop of Aberdeen, in room of the late bishop Gerard.

N. B. Though the districts, into which the Scottish Bishops have divided their Church, are not exactly according to the limits of the Dioceses under the legal establishment, yet they still retain their old names, and every Diocesan Bishop has his distinct charge.

AUG. 24, 1774.—Mr Charles Rose, presbyter at Down, was consecrated at Forfar, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Rait, and bishop Forbes, and appointed Bishop of Dunblane, in room of bishop Alexander.

JUNE 27, 1776.—Mr Arthur Petrie, presbyter at Micklefolla, was consecrated at Dundee, by bishop Falconar, *Primus*, bishop Rait, bishop Kilgour, and bishop Rose, and appointed Co-adjutor to bishop Falconar, whom he afterwards succeeded as Bishop of Moray. He died April 19, 1787.

SEPT.



SEPT. 25, 1782.—Mr John Skinner, presbyter APPEND.  
in Aberdeen, was consecrated in the Chapel at  
Luthermuir, by bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, bishop  
Rose, and bishop Petrie, and appointed Co-adju-  
tor to bishop Kilgour, on whose resignation he  
succeeded to the charge of the Diocese of Aber-  
deen, in October 1786.

MARCH 7, 1787.—Mr Andrew Macfarlane,  
presbyter in Inverness, was consecrated at Peter-  
head, by bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, bishop Petrie,  
and bishop Skinner, and appointed Co-adjutor to  
bishop Petrie, whom he succeeded soon after as  
bishop of Ross and Moray.

SEPT. 26, 1787.—Dr. William Abernethy  
Drummond, one of the presbyters of Edinburgh,  
and Mr John Strachan, presbyter in Dundee, were  
consecrated at Peterhead, by bishop Kilgour, *Pri-  
mus*, bishop Skinner, and bishop Macfarlane, the  
former being appointed Bishop of Brechin, and  
the latter his Co-adjutor: That Diocese having  
been vacant since bishop Innes died in 1781, whose  
consecration is not mentioned in this list, as he had  
no hand in carrying on the Succession. For the  
same reason, several other consecrations are omit-  
ted. N. B. Bishop Abernethy being, since his  
promotion, elected for Edinburgh, is now ap-  
pointed to that district, and having resigned the  
charge of Brechin, is succeeded in it by bishop  
Strachan: So that the Episcopal College in Scot-  
land consists at present of the following members:

Mr ROBERT KILGOUR, PRIMUS.

Mr CHARLES ROSE, Bishop of Dunblane.

Mr JOHN SKINNER, Bishop of Aberdeen.

Mr ANDREW MACFARLANE, Bishop of Ross and Moray.

Dr ABERNETHY DRUMMOND, Bishop of Edinburgh.

Mr JOHN STRACHAN, Bishop of Brechin.





# ERRATA IN VOL. II

|         |         |                                               |
|---------|---------|-----------------------------------------------|
| Page 19 | Line 17 | for "Bur" read "But."                         |
| 21      | — 7     | leave out "but."                              |
| 24      | — 33    | for "ft te" read "state."                     |
| 57      | — 29    | put a comma between "Alciat and Blandrata."   |
| 61      | — 32    | leave out "of."                               |
| 93      | — 19    | read "been deferred."                         |
| 101     | — 10    | for "p rty" read "party."                     |
| 121     | — 5     | for "throw" read "threw."                     |
| 131     | —       | leave out "Sleidan" on the margin.            |
| 133     | —       | leave out "Sleidan" on the margin.            |
| 158     | — 26    | leave out "at."                               |
| 187     | — 5     | for "either joined" read "either not joined." |
| 193     | —       | on the margin, for "158" read "1568."         |
| 195     | — 33    | for "retun" read "return."                    |
| 329     | — 31    | for "On this day" read "On this."             |
| 330     | — 24    | for "1612" read "1621."                       |
| 338     | — 20    | for "formerly" read "formally."               |
| 415     | — 14    | for "for" read "from."                        |
| 489     | — 10    | for "aw" read "law."                          |
| 522     | — 22    | for "This" read "Thus."                       |
| 644     | — 30    | for "As" read "At."                           |

**N. B.** In the Dedication, Vol. I. l. 7. p. 2, for "Veniet" read "Venerit."

K Winifred. Saint

862.2.15

102d John Cooke

THE  
LIFE  
AND  
MIRACLES  
OF

St. *WENEFREDE*,

Together with her

LITANIES;

WITH SOME

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS

made thereon. *By D<sup>n</sup> Fleetwood Bishop  
of S<sup>t</sup> Asaph.*

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LONDON:

Printed for SAM. BUCKLEY, at the Dolphin  
in *Little-Britain*. 1713.



THE  
LIFE  
AND  
MIRACLES

OF  
ST. WENDEDE



LITTLE

WITH SOME

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS  
made thereon.  
By J. Ascham.

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# TO THE READER.

**B**OLLANDUS the Jesuit, in the third Chapter of his General Preface to the *Acta Sanctorum Januarii*, printed at Antwerp, 1643, lays down several Rules concerning the Credibility of History in general; but (as his Work led him) with a more particular Regard to the Credit of such as had written the *Lives and Miracles of Saints and Martyrs*. These Rules I offer to the Reader, and believe he will think them as reasonable as I have done, to be determin'd by, in passing his Judgment on the History of St. *Wenefrede*; and they will be, I know, the less exceptionable to such as I would win, because they come from one of *that Order*.

„ The *First Degree of Credit* (he says) is due to such as wrote the *Lives of Men* they knew, and saw, and lived withal. Thus *Possidius* wrote the *Life of St. Austin*; and thus, say I, St. *Arbanaſius* wrote the *Life of St. Anthony of Egypt*, and thus *Sulpicius Severus* wrote the *Life of St. Martin*.

„ The *Second Degree of Credit* is due to such Authors, as wrote, not what they saw themselves, but what they received from such as were Eye-witnesses. Thus *Bonaventure* wrote

„ the Life of St. *Francis*, St. *Hierom* of *Hilarion*,  
 „ and a nameless Author the Life of St. *Clarus*.

„ The *Third* Degree of Credit is due to such as  
 „ wrote, not what they had seen themselves,  
 „ nor what they had heard from such as were  
 „ Eye-witnesses, but what those People told them,  
 „ who said they had it from such as were Eye-  
 „ witnesses. This is what we call the Credit of  
 „ the *third Hand*; and thus Pope *Gregory* wrote his  
*Dialogues*, and in them the Life of St. *Bennet*;  
 „ and thus St. *Hierom* wrote the Life of *Paul* the  
 „ Hermite.

„ The *Fourth* Degree of Credit is due to such  
 „ Authors as transcribe what they relate, from  
 „ Writers that stand in any of the above-menti-  
 „ oned Degrees of Credit; or that make Collec-  
 „ tions from undoubted Monuments of Donati-  
 „ ons, Testaments, Transactions, or Commenta-  
 „ ries, that are within the three first Rules of  
 „ Credit. But this, with the good Father's  
 „ Leave, need not have been made a distinct Rule,  
 „ because it is indeed no Rule of it self, but the  
 „ Observation of the three others; that is, he who  
 „ transcribes from any Author of Credit, shall, if  
 „ he do it faithfully, be as much believed, as that  
 „ Author is himself from whom he transcribes.

„ And all the Writers of these Classes (saith  
 „ the *Jesuit*) are to be believed, if they are wise  
 „ and honest Men, and if their Writings are pure  
 „ and genuine, and not at all adulterated; for,  
 „ the Credit of naughty Folks, and such as are  
 „ over-credulous, is to be much suspected. These  
 „ Conditions and Restrictions, of being *wise*,  
 „ and *honest*, and *not over-credulous*, do, in my Opi-  
 „ nion, render the foregoing Rules very little use-  
 „ ful or significant; and yet, to do him Justice, his  
 „ Conditions and Restrictions are altogether as rea-  
 „ sonable, as are his Rules: And whoever shall be at  
 „ the

the Pains to read the tenth Part of what *Bollandus* had read of the Saints Lives, tho' written by Men within the three Rules, will find Reason (if he have the Courage) to own, that all those Rules without those Restrictions, are good for nothing; and that the Writers within those Rules, have left us such Relations and Accounts of Lives and Miracles of Saints, as can no more be believed by serious *Papists*, than what they know to be altogether Fiction and Invention can. The Writer of the Life of *Wenefrede*, was one who came neither within the Rules, nor the Restrictions: He lived not (as I shew hereafter at large) within 500 Years of her Death, nor cites any Author that did so; and I dare say he was not *wise*, and I am sure he was *over-credulous*; and he who will write in these Circumstances, cannot be very *honest*, I mean in the Quality of an Historian.

„ But there are (as he goes on) some Saints  
 „ Lives, that were not written at all, (he means  
 „ by Writers of the three Classes) or are lost;  
 „ but their Names and their Miracles were remem-  
 „ bred, and their Lives were written upon com-  
 „ mon Fame and Tradition. Here, *Judicio opus*  
 „ est, here is need of Judgment and Discern-  
 „ ment: If what is said agrees with what is deli-  
 „ vered by other creditable approved Historians,  
 „ 'tis well, and we must be content; we could  
 „ wish those lost Lives were extant and entire;  
 „ but — Sometimes (he says) their Miracles  
 „ only are preserved; but then they are so exagge-  
 „ rated, and so many new things added to them,  
 „ that some People do really look upon them but  
 „ as so many *old Wives Fables*.

But that which follows is much more remarka-  
 „ ble and worth observing: „ We often meet with  
 „ Miracles (saith he) which tho' we cannot deny  
 „ but they might *possibly* be wrought, yet there is  
 „ such



„ such a *Cause* assign'd for them, and they are  
 „ done in such a *Way and Manner*, that one may  
 „ well doubt whether it became the Majesty of the  
 „ everlasting God so to supply Mens Wants, or yield  
 „ to their Requests, and hear their Prayers. But  
 „ because (so great is his Goodness) we cannot  
 „ fully comprehend what good things he hath pre-  
 „ pared in Heaven for those pure Souls that are  
 „ beloved of him, or how far he will please to gra-  
 „ tify them on Earth, we should not hastily con-  
 „ demn such Relations as seem exceedingly strange  
 „ and paradoxical to us, but rather receive them  
 „ with Reverence, as they are said to flow from  
 „ the Fountain of Divine Goodness, from whence  
 „ our whole Happiness is to be derived and fetch'd.  
 „ Let it be granted, that the things said to be  
 „ done, were not indeed done: What then?  
 „ greater things than they might possibly be done,  
 „ and were done at other Times, and in other  
 „ Places. Take Heed therefore of denying that  
 „ such things were done, because you think they  
 „ neither could, nor should have been done.  
 „ Poor Father! His Reason and good Sense con-  
 „ strained him to lay down very good Rules, and  
 „ to strengthen them with just Conditions and Re-  
 „ strictions; but the Books that lay before him were,  
 „ every one of them, Exceptions to those Rules, or  
 „ would admit of none of those Conditions and  
 „ Restrictions. He saw himself at the Head, as it  
 „ were, of twenty or thirty huge *Folios*, (so many  
 „ he might well imagine they would make, by what  
 „ himself had prepared) that would, every one of  
 „ them, contain a hundred and a thousand things,  
 „ senseless, ridiculous, incredible, unworthy of God,  
 „ and those good Saints; and what should he do,  
 „ but fall to softning those Conditions, and abating  
 „ of the Rigour of his Rules, and desiring his Rea-  
 „ der's Favour, to take things as he found them, with  
 „ all



all their Faults? But, as my Business is not to quarrel with *Bollandus*, (to whose Works I am obliged for several things) so I will only observe of him, that all the Advantage his Rules and Conditions give me, in the Case of *Wenefrede*, his Softnings, Relaxations, and Abatements, would deprive me of; and if I will be *persuaded* by him, I must believe her whole *Legend*, but if I follow *his Reason*, as well as my own, I must not believe a Word of it. But we have not done with this good Father yet; what follows concerns us somewhat nearer, and it is in the 34th Page of his Preface.

And because that God, in working Wonders, does usually accommodate himself to the Simplicity and Faith of Men, therefore (observe) the Lives of the *Irish Saints*, the *Scotish*, and the *British*, as well those of *Albion* as of *Armorica* (i. e. of *Bretany* in *France*) are (*plane portentosa*) downright monstrous, and made up of Miracles almost incredible; either because the Constancy of Faith was remarkably eminent among those People, or the Simplicity and Candour of their Lives exceeding rare and wonderful, or certainly because their Writers were more simple than those of other Nations (*aut certe quia scriptores simplices*).

Here is a very sly and smart Reflection on all the Subjects of the Crown of *England*; for, let him sicken it as he will, he means to call us a foolish and a credulous People. I wonder how a *Jesuit* came to say so, of either the Writers or Believers of our Saints Lives; but indeed, what he says is generally true. No People have ever swallowed down such senseless Legends, as our own senseless Writers have furnish'd us withal. I cannot choose but hope that the *Papists* among us, will take Notice of this Remark, that their Credulity is really contemptible, even amongst such People as are of the same

same Religion, and such as make their Advantage  
 of it. It is not a Protestant Writer, but *Bollandus*  
 a Jesuit, that says (in the Life of *Gildas*, Jan. 29.)  
 That, in the Lives of the *British* Saints, there  
 are Abundance of things, that he could make  
 nothing of, that could be brought under no  
 Chronology, and were above all Belief. 'Tis  
*Godefride Henschenius*, another Jesuit, the Partner  
 and Continuer of his Labours, who (in *Mense*  
*Mato*, in his Preface to the Life of *St. Kellac*) says,  
 That as to the Story of the two Harts, or Hinds,  
 which came, uncall'd for, to carry the Saint's  
 Body to Burial, and stopped of their own Ac-  
 cord when they were come to the Place; and  
 afterwards served the Inhabitants for plowing  
 and other Husbandry-work, like tame Cattle,  
 and came every Night when they were un-  
 yolk'd, to the Place where the holy Body lay,  
 and licked the Sepulchre with great Devotion.  
 That as to this Story (he says) he does not know  
 whether he should receive it, or condemn it  
 quite, because there are a World of things full  
 as improbable as this, and more, that fill the Acts  
 of the *Irish* Saints, which he thinks were written  
 more to set People a staring and admiring, than  
 to gain Belief. It is no Protestant, but *Father*  
*Macallan*, a *Benedictine Monk*, whose Learning, Ho-  
 nesty, and good Qualities we hold in great Esteem,  
 tis he, who (in his Preface to the *Acta S. S. Ord.*  
*Benedict.* Vol. 1. 1668. put out at *Paris*) says,  
 There are some who have the Vice of feigning  
 or believing any thing, born as it were and  
 bred with them, and which they derive (he  
 thinks) from the very Nature of the Soil; And  
 many there are who lay this to the Charge of  
 the *Armorique*, and the *English* Writers of Saints  
 Lives; and to this Purpose, he quotes a Passage  
 out of *Petrus Cellensis* (one that lived about 1180.)

to *Nicholas an English Monk*, where he tells him the Island was encompassed with Waters, and the Inhabitants partook of the Qualities of that instable Element; and were turn'd about with every Wind and Fancy, and were so fond of their idle Dreams, that they compared them to Visions, nay, and prefer'd them." I cannot choose (I say) but hope, that the *Papists* of our Islands will consider these Accounts and Characters, that learned Foreigners, Priests, and Jesuits give of our Countrymen, who have written the Lives of our Saints; and will hereafter abate something of their Fondness and Credulity, and give such Authors no more Credit than they deserve, or than they would give them, had they written any other Histories, and Accounts of Things or Persons, and not the Lives and Miracles of Saints.

After this short Digression, I return to *Bollandus's* Preface, who thinking, I believe, that his Reflection would bear a little hard upon our *British* Writers, and our *British* Saints, tries, in the next Words, to make us some Amends; „ Neither (says he) can any one (tho' never so ill inclined) deny that many Miracles have been wrought among those People, (i. e. the *Irish, Scottish, English, Welsh, and Britons of Armorica*) since even at this Day (his Book came out in 1643.) the Places which were heretofore devoted to the Honour of the Saints, are famous yet for many Miracles wrought at them; altho' the Worship of the Saints has long been banish'd and put down, among those Hereticks. There is great Concourse still to *St. Wenefrede the Virgin's Well*, in the extreamest Parts of *North Wales*, of such as seek a Cure for their Diseases and Distempers. And a Man of great Quality (*Vir Illustis*, and every Gentleman is *Vir Illustis* abroad) assured me he hath seen even Hereticks themselves resorting to that *Well*, to



„ seek for Help ; and when he asked them, why  
 „ they, who were of the new Religion, which  
 „ forbad the Invocation of Saints, as of Souls that  
 „ either slept till the Resurrection, or that, if they  
 „ were in Heaven, knew nothing of our Affairs  
 „ below, why they should fall into the Dotages of  
 „ the *Papists*, (as they were daily taught by their  
 „ Ministers, the Preachers of the *fifth Gospel*, to  
 „ call them) and come to *St. Wenefrede's Well* for  
 „ Help? They made him this Answer, That they  
 „ neither cared, nor minded, what their Ministers  
 „ prated in the Pulpit ; they very well remembred  
 „ that the Waters of that *Well*, were used to do  
 „ Good both to themselves, and to their Cattle,  
 „ and to the Cattle of their Fathers, and that they  
 „ used to impute this Benefit either to *St. Wenefrede*,  
 „ or to *God* the Author of all Good.” The Answer  
 of these Hereticks to this Person of Quality is so  
 remarkable, that I must not trust my Translation  
 of it to the Reader, without giving him the Words  
 in Latin, *Respondisse eos, Quid in Pulpitis illi ganniant,*  
*sibi Curæ non esse ; meminisse illius Fontis aquam sibi,*  
*suisque gregibus, ac Parentum suorum, esse salutarem*  
*consuevisse ; idque vel Divæ Wenefredæ, vel Deo boni*  
*omnis Auctori, acceptum scribi.*

The Reader will, by this Time, perceive, that  
 I did not concern my self with this *Jesuit* at meer  
 Adventure, and only because he was a *Jesuit*, and  
 put out the *Acta Sanctorum* ; but because he med-  
 dled much with our *British Saints*, and reproaches  
 us very hardly, and makes especial Mention of the  
*Saint*, whose Story I am searching into: And I de-  
 sire that, before I leave him, I may make some few  
 Observations on his last Relation, which I think is  
*Jesuitical* all over. And First, there is no need of  
 denying that many Miracles have been wrought in  
*England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Bretagne in*  
*France.* No doubt but God hath wrought Wonders  
 amongst



## To the Reader.

II

amongst us, as well as in other Places; and hath made some of our holy Men and Women, Instruments of doing great things, as well as other People. We are no Enemies to Miracles, but we desire to be assured that they were wrought, before we believe them. *Secondly*, We have no need to deny that Miracles were wrought in such a Place, where such a Saint was heretofore honoured, even since the Reformation. Let any one prove that such a Miracle has been wrought by God at *Holy-well*, and there is no reasonable Man will deny it to have been wrought at *Holy-well*. What would these People have? but would it follow presently, that if a Miracle were wrought at *Holy-well*, it must needs be wrought by St. *Wenefrede*, or by God for her Sake, and at her Intercession? God, for his Mercy's Sake, and through the Intercession of his blessed Son, may hear the Prayers of such as call upon him faithfully at *Holy-well*, and may work Wonders in the Favour of such Supplicants; and yet the Saint of *Holy-well* may have no Share in that good Issue. I do not, for my own Part, believe, that any Miracles have been wrought at *Holy-well*, either before or since the Reformation, because I see none proved: But if there had, it would not have followed, that St. *Wenefrede* had had any Hand therein. This is a Fallacy that easy credulous Souls do often suffer to be put upon them; who, if they happen to pray for Relief in the Church of such or such a Saint, and it pleases God to give them what they ask, do immediately impute to the Merits and Intercession of that Saint, the obtaining their Request. This false Conclusion has been the Rise, the Progress, and Continuance of abundance of Superstition. *Thirdly*, That there is still a great Concourse of People from all Quarters to *Wenefrede's Well*, does only prove that there are still a great many crafty Priests, who find their Account

in sending a great many weak deluded People on such Errands: It does not prove that they obtain the Remedies they come to seek, nor the Cures they stand in need of. *Fourthly*, 'Tis true that many of those, whom the Jesuit and his Person of Quality call *Hereticks*, do also resort to *this Well*, to seek Help. 'Tis a very cold Spring, and is good, as other cold Springs are, in many Cases; but the *Hereticks* seek for Help from God, and no Body else; and if they find it, by the Means of those Waters, they return God Thanks, and no Body else, and bless his holy Name for having given such salutary Virtue to that Well; and, I dare say, that, in proportion to the Number of those that use those Waters, as many *Protestants* as *Papists* receive Benefit from them. The *Papists* come to St. *Wenefrede's* Well for Help, and so do the *Protestants*; the *Papists* expect some Help from *Wenefrede*, the *Protestants* none; if the *Papists* receive any Help, they impute it to the Merits and Intercession of St. *Wenefrede*, and are thankful to God and her; if the *Protestants* find any Benefit there, they thank God, and mind not *Wenefrede*, but impute it to God's Blessing and the cold Waters. This had been the right Representation of the Man of Quality to the Jesuit; but this had signified nothing to the Honour of St. *Wenefrede*, which the Man of Quality did certainly intend, and the Jesuit makes the Story seemingly end so, but indeed if you consider it well, it ends just as it should when told by a *Jesuit*, i. e. *equivocally*; which made me say the Relation was *Jesuitical* all over, and most of all at the Conclusion. The Man of Quality charges the *Protestants*, with believing that the Souls of the Saints sleep till the Resurrection: This is a false Charge; a Pope indeed hath been condemned and deposed for holding this, among many other false Opinions, but the *Protestants* hold none such. The Man of

of Quality charges the Protestants, with not calling upon the Saints, because they know nothing of our Affairs below. If the Saints knew nothing of our Affairs below, the Papists, I believe, would no more invoke them, than the Protestants. But this is not what the Protestants say, that I know of, in Justification of their not praying to Saints; but they say, that they do not know, nor have any Means of knowing, whether the Saints above know any thing of our Affairs below. A Man would not pray to God himself, unless he was sure that God could hear his Prayers, and knew his Wants, and was able to relieve him, if he saw fit. Now the very Reasons that induce a Protestant to pray to God, must hinder him from praying to Saints and Angels: He does not know that Saints or Angels understand his Wants; he does not know that they can hear his Prayers, if he should make them; nor does he know that they can help him in his Necessities, although they heard his Prayers. In a word, he knows nothing of Souls departing in the Favour of God, but that they are happy. When it is made very plain that the Saints above know our Affairs below; when it is made very plain that they can hear the Prayers of such as call upon them from all Parts of Her Majesty's Dominions at one and the same time; and when it is made plain that they can not only hear, but grant our Requests, of what kind soever: When these things are made plain, the Protestants will not, I think, be backward to call upon the Saints. All these Powers are manifest in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; upon them we are bid to call, and upon them we call with all Assurance of being heard. God is in every Place, and therefore all the Ends of the Earth may pray to him at once; God knoweth every thing, and therefore knows what every one stands in need of; and God is able to



to do what he pleases, and therefore able to grant us every thing we ask, if he sees fit. Let but the Saints be proved to be Omnipresent, Omniscient, and Omnipotent, and they will then, and not till then, deserve to be the Object of Prayer: And since we have a God thus qualified to pray to, what Need have we to seek for any other? But the Herericks, it seems, do come to *Wenefrede's Well*, let their Preachers prate as long as they please against it; and know that both they and their Cattle, and the Cattle of their Fathers, have received Benefit from those Waters. What then? so they do still. These *Rusticks* were, I think, too much for the Man of Quality, and having pleased him with giving a hard Word to their Ministers, made him believe they had a great Veneration for his Saint, by saying that they and their Fathers, and both their Cattle, had found great Benefit from those Waters; which might be said by those who knew and believed nothing of *Wenefrede's* Story: For observe the Cheat, they tell him, that this was constantly ascribed either to St. *Wenefrede*, or to God. I cannot but think that *Bollandus* laughed to himself when he heard and told this Story; for is there a Protestant in the World who will not own freely, that whatever Benefits any Persons or any Cattle have received by the Waters at *Holy-well*, they received them either from God, OR from St. *Wenefrede*? This is the Way of cheating Children; Children in Understanding as well as in Years. Had they said, That the World was created either by God, OR by St. *Wenefrede*, they had said what was exactly true; but it had been too ludicrous a Way of speaking, when that Supream, Eternal, and Almighty Being is concerned. And thus I take my Leave of this good Father, desiring my Reader to turn to these Rules of his, and to apply them, when he finds it convenient, to the Legend of St. *Wenefrede*;



*frede*; and to give it such Credit as, according to them, it shall deserve.

It remains now that I give some Account of the following Work. I will not be troublesome to the Reader in telling him what my Relation to *Holywell* is, and how I came to be engaged in the Design of discrediting the Story of *St. Wenefrede* in particular: It is enough that I am a Protestant, a Member of the Church of *England*, and have a Zeal for the Purity of God's Service, and a sincere Desire of undeceiving the Papists in this erroneous and very hazardous Point of *Saint-worship*. And as *Wenefrede* is held for a Saint of great Reputation among them, and great Resort is had to *Holywell* by *Pilgrims* (as they call them) from all the different Quarters of the Kingdom, and even from *Ireland* too, to pay their Devotions to her in the Place where she is said to have suffered Martyrdom; so I believed it would be of Use to take her History into particular Consideration. To this Purpose I set my self the hard Task of procuring and reading whatever had been written concerning her by any Author, either in Print or Manuscript, ancient or modern, that I could get: And if I were not very sure I had a good Design in doing it, I should be a little ashamed of having spent so much of my Time in reading so much Trash: But so it is, that I am able (I doubt) to say, That I have seen more of Her than most Men now living have done; and have moreover looked into almost all our *Historians* to find NOTHING said concerning her. The first Account I fell upon was the Life of *Wenefrede*, written by an Anonymous Author, in the *Cotton-Library*, *Claudius A. 5.* which I have therefore called *The Cotton-Life*. This was certainly written after the *Norman Times*, because the *Normans* are mentioned therein under the Name of *Francorum*, which was the Word then, and some time after, used, to distinguish the

the French from the English Subjects; but it was not long after, for the Character and Writing seem to be of that Age; and by the Plainness of Style, and Simplicity of Narration, I judge it to have been written between the Years 1100 and 1200, by some good *Welshman*, who knew nothing of her Translation to *Shrewsbury*, but leaves her bury'd at *Guthbirin*, and tells of no Miracles done there, or elsewhere, but at *Holy-well*, which yet he never mentions by that or any other particular Name.

The next Life I read was that written by *Robertus Salopiensis*, of great Length, and is to be found in the Bodley-Library at Oxford amongst A. Bp. Laud's MSS. L. 21. fol. 140. This Work is dedicated by one Robert the Prior of *Shrewsbury* to one *Gaurine* the Prior of *Worcester*; and at the End of his Work he says, the Bones of *Wenefrede* were translated to *Shrewsbury* in or about the Second Year of King Stephen, which was about 1137 or 1138; and between the Years 1130 and 1140 there was one *Gaurine* Prior of *Worcester*; and 'tis certain from *Ordericus Vitalis*, that about the same Time one *Herbertus* (mentioned by Robert) was Abbot of *Shrewsbury*, and succeeded *Godfredus*. But although the Time and the Names agree very well, yet I am not without some Scruples that neither the Life of *Wenefrede* is quite so old as 1140, nor her Translation so early as 1138; nor am I quite satisfied that Robert, who wrote the Life, was the same Man who wrote the Account of her Translation, though they are now joined together: But as I build nothing upon these Suspicions, so I will content my self with setting down, in its proper Place, a Reason or two why I believe her Translation was not so early, without drawing any Consequence from thence to the Prejudice of Robert's History, which I allow to be of its pretended Age, viz. about 1140.

The next was a short Life of *Wenefrede*, written by a nameless Author, consisting of Five Chapters, mostly taken out of the *Cotton-Life*, a little out of *Robert*, and the rest added by the Author himself. The Book in which it is, belonged heretofore to *Ramsay-Abby*, came afterwards into Sir *James Ware's* Library, and a Copy from thence was procured by the late Mr. *H. Dodwell* for the Use of Dr. *Humphreys*, late Bishop of *Hereford*, who had designed to have given a full Account of the Rise and Progress of this fabulous Story; and who by his great Skill in the Antiquities and History of *North-Wales*, which was his native Country, was very able to have done it. What diverted him from his Purpose I know not, but he seems (by what remains of his) only to have gathered his Materials together in order to it, and just to have begun.

The next in Order of Time, was the Abbreviation of *Robert of Salop's* Life by *John of Timmouth*, about the Year 1366, in his Book called *Sanctilogium*, as Archbishop *Usher* tells us; and this is the Life of *Wenefrede* which is found in *John Capgrave* at this Day; the greatest Part of whose Legend is but a Transcript of *Timmouth's* Work, put into Alphabetical Order for the Use and Convenience of the Reader: But the Expilator's Name being so much better known than the Man's from whom he copied, I all along call it *J. Capgrave's* Life of *Wenefrede*.

But the Piece that should be, methinks, of the greatest Authority, is the Account of her Life in the Nine Lessons in the *BREVIART Secundum usum Sarum*, which were read in the Church upon the 3d of November (which was appointed to be the Saints-Day) in the same manner that the Epistles and Gospels are now read among us. And tho' these Lessons were read in *Latin*, yet they were also put into *English*, and very well known among the



common People, who held them in great Esteem, and believed them without Scruple, because they were commanded to be *used and read in Churches*, though in another Tongue for Order and Uniformity's sake throughout the Catholick Church.

This *Capgrave's Life of Wenefrede* was abbreviated, and a little altered by *Laurence Surius*, a *Carthusian*, and put into his Work in its proper Month and Day, and from him abbreviated yet farther by a *German Monk*, whose Name I have not now by me, though I have read it. 'Tis also *Capgrave's Life* that *M. Alford* the *Jesuit* hath transcribed into his *Annals* in the Year 660, and which *Cressy* translated. Her Life is also to be found in *Old English Rhime* of about 300 or 400 Years standing, in the publick Library at *Oxon*, *super Art. A. 72. fol. 189*, as also in Prose in the *English Legend*. But in the Year 1635 it pleased one *J. F.* a *Jesuit* to translate into *English* the Life of our Saint from the *Latin* of *Robertus Salopiensis*, and to add a *Preface* and a *Conclusion* of his own; and as this is the most authentick Account of her, so it is what went most about in *Popish Families*: And upon this Book's growing scarce, an unknown Person thought fit this last Year, in 1712, to give us a *Reimpression* (as he calls it) of *J. F.'s* admirable Life of *St. Wenefrede*, with an additional Account of some more modern Miracles wrought by that Saint. Upon Sight of this last little Book, I laid aside the Design I had form'd of putting out the *Cotton-Life* of *St. Wenefrede* in *English*, with a large Chapter of Historical Notes added to it, together with a Chapter of *the Superstition of Waters*, and another of *the Growth of Miracles*; This Design, I say, I have for a little while laid aside, and thought it better for the present to give the Reader this *New Life*, with such *Observations* upon it, as I thought would be most for his Service, whether Protestant or Papist. But as  
I have



I have in several Places referred him to those Chapters, I assure him they are in such a Readiness, that he shall not, if there be Occasion, long be without them. I have, for the Popish Reader's Sake, left out nothing of the *Editor's* Book.

This is a small Account of the following Work, for which, as the Times go, I expect neither Praise nor Approbation; but shall be well content if I do any true Service to either Protestant or Popish Reader thereby. The *Editor* says in *Pag. 175.* „ That in the Travelling Season the Town of *Holy-well* appears populous, crowded with zealous Pilgrims from all Parts of *Britain*. The *Well* it self receives a Succession of Visitants from Sun-rise till late at Night.

This, I hope, will justify the present Undertaking, and shew it is not altogether unseasonable for a Protestant to be a little zealous for his Religion also, when Superstition has so many Votaries. I did not indeed think, a few Years ago, that one should have wanted an Apology for speaking or writing against Popery, in any Branch of it. I looked upon it as a constant Enemy, a standing Force always in Readiness to fall upon us, and sworn, in a manner, to our Destruction; and therefore that we were, as good Protestants, obliged to be upon our Guard continually, and to annoy them all we could. But there has been since that so marvellous a Silence, and so profound a Security in that respect, that to betray any Fears of its returning now, is not only a Mark, it seems, of a weak Understanding, and little Insight into publick Matters, but also (if you will believe some Men) of ill Design and Disaffection to the Government. But I confess I cannot carry my Respect so far to any Governours, as to believe we are secure, because some People tell us so, against the Alarms our Senses daily give us to the contrary. I

cannot chuse but think that this *Security* it self is one of our worst Symptoms. Whether the *Dogs* bargain with the *Wolves* to hold their Tongues, or whether they bark not, out of Fear, or Lazyness, or Complaisance, the Flock, I think, is not a lot the safer. The Enemy we have to deal with grows more numerous, is active, vigilant, and daring, daily pushes on its Conquests, is in good Heart, and under no Discouragement but that of *Laws*, rejoices in our Unconcernedness, confirms us in our Indolence, and tells us, if we suspect them we are unreasonable. And for these Reasons I should be glad to see Men somewhat more afraid of their Inveterate Enemy, talk somewhat louder against *Papery* both from the Pulpit and the Press, and tell the People, That if that Superstition ever settles here again upon the Throne, there is an End of their Religion, Liberty, and Property, and every thing besides, that Life is worth the living for.

I did not indeed think, a few Years ago, that one should have wanted an Apology for speaking or writing against *Papery*, in any Branch of it. I looked upon it as a constant Liberty, a standing Force always in Readiness to fill upon us, and to grow in a manner to our Destruction; and therefore that we were, as good Protestants, obliged to be upon our Guard constantly, and to annoy them all we could. But there has been since that to me a silent, and to me a second Silence, that to deny any fears of its returning now, is not only a Mistake, it seems of a weak Understanding, and hinders us from taking Manners, but also (if you will believe some Men) of ill Design and Disaffection to the Government. For I confess I cannot carry my Respect so far to any Government, as to believe we are secure, because some People tell us so, against the Affairs our Sense daily give us to the contrary.

## OBSERVATIONS.

**T**HE Author of the following *Observations* does also dedicate them, in great Earnest, to these *same devout Pilgrims*; and prays them to believe, that as he seriously intended them for their especial Use and Service; so he does truly mean and wish well to them. He also thinks they have a better Claim to them, because they make such painful Journeys to this *Isle*, from the remotest Quarters of the *Island*. It is to *save* these painful Journeys, to such sincere and well-designing People, that he hath undertaken this little Work. He would not by any Means, abate or cool the Fervours of their Devotion, but he would have them spent in a much better Manner, and fix upon a nobler Object, that both requires and deserves them.



them all, and, in due Time, will recompence them all. He is no Enemy to Tears, or any other Tokens of true Contrition; but he believes they are shed in a very wrong Place, when shed at *Holy-well*, in Contemplation of *St. Wenefrede's* Sufferings, Sanctity, and Glory; because he thinks there are no sufficient Proofs, that she ever suffered, that she was a Saint on Earth, or is now glorified in Heaven. These are the Reasons why he would not have the *Pilgrims* take such Pains, to pay undue Honours to *one*, who, for any thing they know, is an imaginary Saint, and of whose very Being there can be no Proofs brought, that would satisfy a reasonable Man, in any other Point of History; much less in the Case of *Pilgrimage*, where the Business is, to thank God for his Gifts and Graces bestowed upon the Saint; or to pray to that Saint for something that we want; or to pray to God to hear us for that Saint's Sake; or to that Saint to intercede with God for us. In all which Cases a Pilgrim ought to have the fullest Assurance, and the greatest Certainty that is possibly to be had, 1<sup>st</sup>, That *Wenefrede* did once live, as surely as he himself now lives; 2<sup>dly</sup>, That she was a Saint upon Earth, as surely as he is a Sinner; 3<sup>dly</sup>, That she had her Head struck off at *Holy-well*, and miraculously set on again, as surely as he is now at *Holy-well* himself, and has his Head upon his Shoulders; 4<sup>thly</sup>, That she is now glorified in Heaven, as surely as he is now praying on Earth. I would desire the *Pilgrims* to this *Holy Spring*, to consider with themselves, whether they can or ought to want any of these Points of Certainty, of the Life, and Death, and Sanctity, and Glorification of *St. Wenefrede*, in case they are required to thank God for her, or to pray to her; and then, to give me the Patience of reading the following Observations, in which I have endeavoured to shew, that they neither have, nor can have, that Certainty and Assurance of her Life, and Death, and Sanctity, which ought to be the Bottom of Praise to God for her, or Prayer to her herself. This is the Purpose of the following Observations; and which I could not avoid repeating often.

„ I have seen tender Virgins, who would look pale,  
 „ and tremble at a Northern Blast, sinking themselves un-  
 „ der Water, offering their Vows and Prayers with as great  
 „ Alacrity, as if they had been partaking of the most  
 „ transporting Joys upon Earth. The interior Fire of Di-  
 „ vine Love got the upper Hand of the cold Element,  
 „ and flaming Petitions mounted up to bring down expect-  
 „ ed Blessings.

This is very high indeed. Devotion has its Transports certainly; but every Body will not easily believe that they are  
 either



either raised, or cherished much, by plunging into very cold Waters. St. Bennet rolled himself, all naked, in a Bed of Briars and Nettles, for another Purpose; and St. Francis made to himself a *Mistress* of a large *Snow-ball*: But I believe they were rather voluntary Penances, than any great Helps to Devotion at that Time, how useful soever they might afterwards prove. And I doubt that these adventurous Virgins must be content to hear the Standers-by, pass much the same Judgment upon their Undertakings, if they will not be content to own they come, as others do, for Health and for Refreshment. I do, in great Earnest, wish these Waters had more salutary Virtues in them, than I think they have; 'tis for the Country's Good, and for the Good of every one: But I would not have these good Effects, whatever they are, assigned to so wrong a Cause, as they are by poor deluded *Pilgrims*, or rather by those who ought to teach them better.

„ No Complaint was heard, except this pious one, that  
 „ they knew little of the Merits of the *Saint*; only that  
 „ this was the Place of her *Martyrdom*, and that it was  
 „ famed for miraculous Cures, both of Soul and Body.  
 „ This valuable Consideration engaged me to undertake,  
 „ what I here offer unto you, not to gratify Curiosity,  
 „ but to promote Piety and Devotion.

Pilgrims are usually reasonable enough in these Cases, and complain of little more than of the Hardships of their Journeys. The Men that send them on these Errands, and the Men that live upon the Place to which they are sent, have generally a good Understanding betwixt them, and take Care to keep up the Credit of each other; and above all, to magnify the Saint, whose Shrine they are to visit. The Pilgrims to St. *Wensfride's Well*, were exceedingly satisfied, it seems, that she was a great Saint, and that *Holy-well* was the Place where she suffered *Martyrdom*, and famous for many wonderful Cures wrought both on Peoples Souls and Bodies; but they wanted, belike, to know the Particulars of her Life and Death a little better; and this Author undertakes, in the following Book, to give them Satisfaction. I have already said a little, and shall hereafter have Occasion to say much more, to convince both him and his *Pilgrims*, that neither can He give, nor They have, the Satisfaction wanted in this Matter. I will only add in this Place, that I believe no one can produce any Author, either written or printed, who mentions any *Parish*, *Church*, or *Well*, to have been in the Place where *Holy-well* now stands, beyond the Year 1130. In *Doomsday-Book*, which was made between the Years 1084 and 1086, there is no such Name to be found, tho' *Gronant*, *Prestattyn*, *Disfard*, *Gulgrave*, *Moston*, *Whitford*, *Carr-*  
*wis*,

*Halken, Skei-vig, and other adjacent Towns, (that now lie in Flintshire, but were then reckoned in Cheshire) are to be found, with little Variation of the Names. This is indeed a negative Argument, and in it self not very concluding, because the not naming a Place, is not a Proof that no such Place then was: But to such as know the Nature and Intend of making that Book, which was to be a Survey, as it were, and Surveyor of the whole Kingdom, by which the Kings were to know their Strength, and rate their Wealth in Taxes; to such, I say, the Silence of Doomsday-Book will be a kind of Proof, that Holy-well was not then a Parish or Place of any Note. The British Name of it is *Wressymon*, in English *Well-town*; but the oldest Date of that, that I can find, is not, I guess, much above 400 Years. The Word *Holy-well* is evidently Saxon, and the first Time it appears to me, is in the Charter of Confirmation, made to God, St. Mary, and the Monks of *Basingwerk*, in *Flynthshire*, by King Henry III, tho' it has hitherto been thought to be Henry II; but since the King there gives the Lands which once belonged to *W. Peverell* in the Time of King Henry his Grandfather, and it is certain that Henry II took away those Lands from *W. Peverell*, because he was found to have poisoned *Randall* the second Earl of Chester, in or about the Year 1154, therefore 'tis plain that Henry here named must have been Henry III, whose Grandfather Henry II was. It was this *Randall* Earl of Chester that is said to have founded *Basingwerk*, in the Year 1131; so the *Monasticon*, Vol. I. p. 729; but *John Brompston* in his *Chronicon*, and *Hen. Knighton*, tell us it was Henry II, that founded the Monastery of *Basingwerk*, after the Year 1150, tho' they do not agree in the Year. The Way to reconcile these things, is to say, that King Henry II was the Founder, but *Randall* Earl of Chester the great Benefactor, who gave them *Holywell, Fulbrooke*, and other Places; not so early as 1151, nor yet so late as 1154, but some Time between those Years. There is also Mention made of *Holywell* in the Charter of Confirmation made to the same Monastery, by *Llewellyn* Prince of *Wales* and *David* his Son, 1220. But let the *Well* be as old as it will, the Silence of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who went the *Veneration-Circuit* with *Baldwine* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in 1188, is one of the surest Signs in the World, that the *Well* was then in no Credit at all; for tho' he says they lay in Night at *Basingwerk*, which is not above Half a Mile from *Holywell*, and to which, as you have seen above, *Holywell* belonged, yet he says not one Word of either the Place, or the *Well*, or the *Saint*, or of any Cures or Miracles wrought at that Place by her; and yet there is hardly a Page in all that *Itinerarium Cambrie*, but has some one or more ridiculous and Tapericious Stories in it: Which is a sort of Demonstration to such as know the Manner of that Writer, that it was not for want of believing or remembering, but of hearing and knowing*

knowing any thing remarkable of *Wenefrede*, or *Holy-well*, that he made no Mention of them. There is also at the End of *Nennius*, in the *Cotton-Library*, *Pitell. A. 13.* a Page or two, with the Title — *De Mirabilibus Wallie*, in which there is Mention made of other Springs and Waters in *Wales*, famous for something or other, but not a Word of *Holy-well*. The Reader, I hope, will be content that I endeavour now and then to gratify his Curiosity, in such Remarks as these, since the Editor's Views and mine are very different.

„ The Life of *St. Wenefrede* was first written by *St. Elerius*, who is frequently mentioned in it.

There is no other Proof in the World that ever there was any such Man in Being as *Elerius*, but his being mentioned in the Life of *Wenefrede* written by *Robertus Salopiensis*; and in this Life there is not one Word said of his having written any thing about her. *J. Leland* in *C. 49. De Scriptorib. Brit.* gives this Account of him: „ *Elerius* was heretofore, and still is, in great „ Esteem amongst the *Welch*. I take him to have studied first „ at *St. Asaph*, upon the Banks of the River *Elwy*, and afterwards, to avoid the Noise and Frequency of People, to have „ retired, as it were, into the Desert. This is most manifest, „ that he erected a Monastery somewhere about the *Vale of* „ *Clwyd*, in which there was a great Number both of Men and „ Women, amongst whom was *Wenefrede*, a noble Virgin „ bred up by *Beuno*, and whose Head was afterwards cut off „ by *Caradoc*, her furious Lover.

Most of this is taken out of the Life of *Wenefrede*, written by *Robert*, and has no more Authority than that can give it: But here is no Mention of any Life written by *Elerius*, which yet had been much to *Robert's* Purpose, and would have given him great Credit, if he could have said that Part of the Account of *Wenefrede* was written by *Elerius*, one that lived at the same Time with her, and was her Spiritual Father and Instructor. This was an Advantage that *Robert* could not have overlooked, but he knew nothing of it: And that is an unanswerable Proof that *Elerius* did not write the Life of *Wenefrede*. That he studied (if ever there was such a Man) upon the Banks of *Elwy*, is said by *Leland*, perhaps upon as good Ground as if he had said the Banks of *Jordan*; and I dare say the one may be as well proved as the other can. I do not hereby mean that *Leland* invented this Story, but that he transcribed it out of some Manuscript he met with in his Searches, and set it down (as his Way was) out of his Author, without believing it any more than I do. That *St. Asaph* should be a Place of great Resort, and a kind of *University*, where, amongst other Inhabitants, there dwelt 965 Monks, 300 of which looked after the Cattle and the Plough, and



300 more were busied in the Offices of the Monastery, and in providing Diet and other Necessaries for the rest; and the remaining 365 were Students and Priests, and employed in the Service of God; that these People should live in the Town of *St. Asaph* is very amply attested in the Legend of *St. Kentigern*, written by *Joceline* a Monk, and much about the same Time with *Robert*, and of full as good Authority; but it would be very strange if *Leland*, or any one who knew the Country and Place, should believe it. One Thing more I think fitting to observe about *Elerius's* writing the Life of *St. Wenefrede*, and that is, That *Dr. Thomas James*, formerly Library-Keeper at Oxford, and a very Learned Man, finding the Life of *Wenefrede* in the Cotton-Library, written by a nameless Author, noted by the Margin these Words—*Per Elerium Britannum Monachum, Anno 660*. I doubt not but he was led into this Mistake by the ordinary Tradition; for had he read the Life it self, he would have found it written by one who lived after *William the Conqueror's* Time, which is 400 Years after the pretended *Elerius's* Time. There is also another Note added to *Dr. James's* by another Hand, thus — *Vel potius per Robertum Salopiensem, Anno 1140, ut vir quidam eruditus melius docet*: But this is also a Mistake, for the Life in the Cotton-Library contradicts *Robert* in some Places, and is not one sixth Part so long, as they who will compare them may see. Who this *Vir eruditus* was I know not, but the Person who says this of him, was the late learned *Dr. Tho. Smith* in his Account of the Cotton-Library; but neither the one nor the other had seen the Life written by *Robert*.

„ From him (*i. e.* from *Elerius*) *Robertus Salopiensis* collected and supplies, especially what related to the Translation of her Holy Body, he being the chief Agent in bringing the same to his Monastery. This *Robert*, the worthy Prior of *Shrewsbury* (who afterwards, for his great Talents, was chosen *Abbot*) wrote the *Saint's* Life soon after the Translation of that Treasure, which was in the Year of our Lord God 1138.

It is indeed said in *Robert's* Account, that the Translation of these Bones was made in the Second Year of King *Stephen*, which falls in 1137--8. But to this I have two or three Objections. First, That the Life of *Wenefrede* in the Cotton-Library (which was plainly written after the Norman Kings, as appears by *Diebus quinetiam Francorum*: And, *In tempore quoque Francorum*: And, *Pacis jure ubique per Patriam violato, Francis atque Gualensibus se ad invicem oppugnantibus*; and more of the like Kind, which evidently refer to the Times of the Norman Princes, of whom King *Stephen* was the last :) From this Life, I say,



I say, it appears that the Body of St. *Wenefrede* was even then at *Guitherin*, the Place where she lived, and died, and was buried. *Locus quidem, quo cum virginibus conversata, Guitherin vocatur; quo etiam post vitæ dormitionem, cum Consodalibus virginibus, VIII Kalendas Julii, sepulta requiescit in Christo.* Whoever will read this Life of *Wenefrede* will find it was written by a *Welchman*; and since it was written after the Times of the Norman Kings, and no Mention made of the Removal of her Body or Bones to *Shrewsbury*, but taken for granted that she still lay buried at *Guitherin*, it is not very likely that the Translation was so early as 1138, which was the Second Year of King *Stephen*; at least the Writer of this Life had heard of no such thing, who, I say, in all Likelihood wrote after the Days of *Henry the First*, if not after those of *Stephen*; because it is not reconcileable with either Custom or common Sense for a Writer to say, *In the Days of the Normans*; or, *In the Norman Times*; or, *In the Times when the Normans and the Welch were at Wars*, unless he wrote at least a little after those Times.

Another Objection to this early Translation of *Wenefrede's* Bones to *Shrewsbury* is this, That *Ordericus Vitalis* says nothing of this Matter, who was as likely as any Man else to do it, if he had heard of it, because of his near Relation and Affection to this Monastery at *Shrewsbury*. The Account he gives of himself is, That he was born in the Year 1074, the XIV Kal, March, and baptized at *Attingesham*, not far from *Shrewsbury*, a Town upon the *Severn*, by one *Ordericus*, a Priest, who gave him his own Name, and was his God-father; at Five Years old he was sent to School at *Shrewsbury* to one *Sigward*, a Priest, who taught in the Church of St. *Peter and Paul*, which Church belonged to *Odelirius*, his Father, and stood by the River *Mola*: Here he stay'd till he was Ten Years old, and was thence removed to *Utica* in *Normandy*, where at Eleven he received the first Tonsure, and was called *Vitalis*, because it happened on that Saint's Day; at Sixteen he was made Sub-Deacon, at Eighteen Deacon, at Thirty three Priest, and so continued 34 Years, when he made an End of his History, which was in the Year 1141. *Odelirius*, his Father, was a great Friend of *Roger de Montgomery*, who was Earl of *Shrewsbury*; and it was at his Exhortation, and by his Assistance, that *Roger* built and endowed this Monastery in 1083, and fetched his Monks from *Sais* in *Normandy* to fill it. In this Monastery *Odelirius* lived and died a Monk himself in 1101, and so did a Son of his, and Brother to *Ordericus*. These are the Reasons why *Ordericus* is so very particular in his Description and Account of this Monastery above any other Writer we have; it was his native Country, he went to School in the very Church, that was afterwards turned into a Monastery of *Benedictines*; his Father and Brother were Monks in it, and doubtless many of his Relations lived about and near the Place. It is to him (and, for

any thing I have yet seen, to him alone) that we owe the Knowledge of this Foundation, and of the first Abbots of it, and of other private Occurrences relating to this Place. It is he who in the Year 1138 (the very Year of the pretended Translation of *Wenefrede's* Bones) tells us, that *William Fitzalan*, *Municeps & Vicecomes Scrobesburie*, who married *Robert* the Earl of Gloucester's Daughter, rebelled against King *Stephen*, and held *Shrewsbury* against him for a whole Month; but that at last the King took it in *August*: And yet this *Ordericus*, as zealous a Monk as *Robert*, but a better Historian, says not one Word of *Wenefrede's* Translation, though he has Occasion to mention the Transactions of the very Year in which it was done, in the very Town where it was done; nay, he continues his History three Years or four lower, and yet says nothing of it. This makes me suspect *Robert's* Credit a little in his Story of the Translation: For although Silence is not a sure Foundation to build an Argument upon, either for or against a Fact, yet I assure the Reader, that the Silence of a Monk in the Case of a Saint's Translation to a Monastery much favoured by him, is clear another thing than the Silence of other Historians in other Cases.

In the MS. Life of *Sir J. Ware*, the Translation is said to have been in *Tempore Regis Henrici*; and if he means *Henry* the Second, I should sooner incline to believe it; but it is not worth the while to give Reasons for either Opinion. *Robert* is not an Historian whom one would be at any Pains to discredit, if good People were not moved by his Authority to go on Pilgrimage to a Saint of his making.

His Sincerity is much commended by *Card. Baronius*, *Surius*, *Pitt*, and *Possevinus*.

I assure the Reader that none of these People say one Word or Syllable of the Sincerity of *Prior Robert*; not one of them ever saw his Book. Whatever *Pitt* says is transcribed from *Leland* or *Bale*, with a little Change of Words, and generally for the worse. *Surius* gives us a short Life of *Wenefrede*, but it is but an Abbreviation of *Capgrave*. *Possevinus* says, He was a *Briton*, a Monk, and wrote the Life of *Wenefrede*, and lived about 1140. *Card. Baronius* says nothing at all of him; but in his Notes on the *Roman Martyrology*, on Nov. 3, tells us, That he had heard great Matters of *Wenefrede's* Well, and the Miracles done there, from *Thomas Goldwell* the Bishop of *St. Asaph* himself, who was an Eye-witness, and worthy of all Credit, but not a Word of *Robert*. I wish the Popish Readers would learn a little to distrust the Relations and Histories which their Priests put into their Hands, and be now and then at the Pains to examine whether the Facts and Accounts they give of Matters be so as they represent them or

or no. The New Editor of this Life of St. Wenefrede in 1712, does but transcribe this Passage from the Publisher of her Life in 1635, but he does not do it honestly neither; for the Passage there is, That Robert was, for his great Sincerity, by Card. Borminus, Surius, CAPGRAVE, Pitt, Possevinus, and others, worthily commended. Capgrave, it seems, was not thought a Name of so good Credit as the rest, and therefore in this New Edition is left out; but, after all, he was the only Man of all the Company that ever saw the Life of Wenefrede written by Robert; and it is from his Abbreviation of her Life, that all the rest of the Writers speak: Even Alford himself, and Cressy, his Translator, knew nothing of Robert, but what they found in Capgrave, though both of them wrote after the Jesuit J. F. published her Life in English from a Copy of Robert of Shrensbury in 1635.

It was penned by him in Latin, and dedicated by him to Guarinus Prior of Worcester, both being of the Holy Order of glorious Benedict. He tells Guarinus, That what he presents him with, is from the ancient and undoubted Monuments and Records of such Monasteries and Churches as the Virgin is known to have lived in; as also from the Depositions of venerable Priests, worthy of all Credit for their Religious Profession, Sanctity of Life, and great Learning.

The Life of Wenefrede, written by Robert Prior of Shrensbury, is directed to one Gua--- or Warinus, and such a one was Prior of Worcester between the Years 1130 and 1140, who were both Benedictines. So far is true; but that which follows is not true, viz. that Robert tells Guarinus, That what he presents him with is from ancient and undoubted Monuments and Records of such Monasteries and Churches as the Virgin is known to have lived in. This is indeed what the Jesuit J. F. makes Robert say to Guarin in his pretended Translation of him; and this is what the New Editor in 1712 transcribes from J. F. and puts upon his poor Pilgrims; but Robert says no such thing: His Words are these, *Partim per Schedulas in Ecclesiis Patrie, in qua deguisse dinoscitur, collegi: partim quorundam Sacerdotum relationibus addidici, quos Antiquitas veneranda commendabat, & quorum verbis fidem adhibere ipsa Religio habitus compellat.* In English thus; The Life of the Blessed Virgin Wenefrede, which I have lately made and sent to you, I have partly collected from the scattered Accounts I found in Writing in the several Churches of the Country, in which she is known to have conversed and lived; and partly learn'd from the Relations of sundry Priests, whose venerable Age recommended them to me, and whose very Garb and Habit constrained me to believe what they said. This is Robert's Account of the Materials out of which



which he composed his Work, and how he came by them; which, in my Opinion, falls very short of *ancient and undoubted Monuments*; nor is there one Word about *Monasteries*, nor any thing to signify the *Sanctity of Life*, or *great Learning* of the Priests, his Informers and Instructors. They might be very holy, and learned too, according to the Times; but Robert does not tell us so. Those are the Flourishes of J. F. the Jesuit, who thought a bare Translation of the Words of his Author would not make so much for the Credit of his Work as he believed it ought to have: But this is what I would have the Popish Readers now and then complain of to their Priests, and tell them that the Protestants take notice of their Want of Honesty and good Faith in Matters of this sort. Whatever Robert's Sincerity might be in writing this Life, I assure the Reader, the Translator has not shewn any great Marks of his own; for besides what I have already taken notice of, he has made other Additions even in the Author's Dedication-Epistle, which are not in the Original. Robert tells *Guarimus*, That the second Motive to his writing the Life was the Love he bore to the Virgin; That her great Merits being set forth, due Honour might be paid her by the Faithful. *Secundario, Virginis amor, quo declaratis ipsius meritis, honor ei debitus a Fidelibus impenderetur.* This was too poor and modest for the Jesuit: He translates it thus; The second was my especial Love and Devotion to this most renowned Virgin and Martyr of our Country, that by her Sanctity and great Merits, here by me declared, she might by faithful Souls be the more devoutly honoured, served, and prayed unto. He also translates *Veridicorum assertionis contestata*, by certain and undoubted Relations; the Word *Vitam* by eminent Sanctity and Graces. Now this is not to translate another's Words, but to write one's own Sense; and yet the Popish Readers are made to believe that Robert wrote these things 500 Years since, whereas in truth it was J. F. the Jesuit that wrote them in 1635, and I know not who that published them again in 1712. But before I leave this Head, I desire the Reader to consider whether this had not been a most proper Place for Robert to have told us, That he had collected some of his Materials from the Accounts that *Elerius* left, had he heard of any such Writings?

„ That Robert omits what is less certain, as her Journey  
 „ to Rome, and other Passages, not sufficiently attested:  
 „ So nice and scrupulous was the good Prior, not to re-  
 „ commend any thing to Posterity, which was not uncon-  
 „ troulable Matter of Fact.

„ Robert says, he purposely left out her Journey to Rome, and  
 „ other common Stories that went about concerning *Wenefrede*,  
 „ because he found them in no Books, nor handed about by any

Peo-



People whom he could trust. He had not therefore seen the Life of *Wenefrede*, above-mentioned, written by a nameless Author, which says she went to Rome — *Romam, ut memorant, petit, visitandi Causa Sanctorum Apostolorum loca*. And who can tell us, why a Man should scruple to believe she made a Journey to Rome, who firmly believed that she lived at least fifteen Years, after her Head was cut off, and set on again? This, I fear, is straining at Gnats, and swallowing Camels. When once a Woman's Head is cut off, and right set on again, she will as easily go from *Wales* to *Rome*, as from *Holy-well* to *Guthelin*. I ask the Reader's Pardon for this Levity; but it would raise a Man's Indignation or Contempt, to see such as call themselves the *Priests of the most high God*, telling the most ridiculous Stories, with a very grave and serious Air; talking about the *Scruples* of legendary Writers; and giving us for a *true History*, a Relation that is not quite so well attested, and authentical as the History of *Guy of Warwick* is.

„ 'Tis true, he ought to have observed the Rules of an  
 „ exact Historian, as to the Years of her Life, Death, and  
 „ Translation, which he omitted. However, out of o-  
 „ ther Classical Authors, I set down the Centuries.

The Truth of it is, *Robert* might as well have set down the Years of her Birth, Beheading, Removal from one Place to another, and the Time of her second Death, with as much Certainty as any thing else he relates, for he knew them all alike. But it seems, that neither the *Schedule* nor the *living Priests*, had told him any thing about the Time of her Life, or first, or second Death. But I rather think, he was wise enough to be afraid of naming Years, and King's Reigns, which might be examined into, and, if not well ascertained, bring some Discredit on his History. In this he shewed himself as skilful a Writer, as any I have seen, of the like Sort; for, in a Life of so great Length as this is, (containing 30 or 40 Pages in a small *Folio*, written in a good legible Hand) you will not meet with one Word, or Hint, from whence you can guess when *Wenefrede* lived or died. This I do not think was an Omission in *Robert*, but a wise and artful Concealment, and done with Design. However, the *new Editor* is resolved to supply this Defect, and to set down the Centuries, and that out of Classical Authors too, the Meaning of which, I confess, I do not comprehend, having, ever since I was at School, understood that Word otherwise.

„ To proceed with greater Security, I also take for my  
 „ Guide, that learned Antiquary, and accurate Annalist,  
 „ the R. F. *Michael Alford*, S. J. who, in his 2d Tome,  
 „ printed 1663, treats at large this Subject. Al-

*Alford* does indeed give us the Life of *Wenefrede* at large, and makes many Observations, to his Purpose, as he goes along upon it; but still it is the Life that *Capgrave* gives us; for he had never seen the Life that was written by *Robert*. He takes it indeed for the Life that was written by *Robert*, and so far he is in the Right; for *Capgrave* abbreviated *Robert's* Life, and put it into his *Legend of English Saints*; and *F. Alford* is so ingenuous, as to cite it, — *Robert Salop, apud Capgrave*; and *Robertus Abbas, ut eum refert Capgravius*: Which make it evident, that he had not, at that Time, seen the original Life written by *Robert*, which is four times bigger than the Abbreviation.

„ I likewise read attentively the Church-History of the  
 „ *R. F. Serenus Cressy*, set forth in 1668; who, in the  
 „ Preface, acquaints the Reader, that altho' great Part  
 „ of his Volume is owing to *F. Alford*, he has other an-  
 „ cient Records to assist him, in carrying on the Work.  
 „ This religious Author being of the holy Order of St.  
 „ *Benedict*, I rationally supposed that he might have such  
 „ Manuscripts in Custody, as came not to the Knowledge  
 „ of other Writers, which possibly had been secured by  
 „ the Body, at the Dissolution of Monasteries. Neither  
 „ of them vary as to the Relation of her Life and Death,  
 „ they only differ in a Name or two, viz. *Trebutia* for  
 „ *Thetwisch*, and *Caradocus* for *Cradocus*, who imbrued his  
 „ Hands in the holy Virgin's sacred Blood.

*Cressy's* Church-History is a very poor Work, undertaken for the Sake of the English Readers, and to serve instead of the old *Legendary*, which was grown a little out of Fashion; but it has little or nothing in it, which is not translated from *M. Alford*; and of the Story of *Wenefrede* he says nothing (because he knew nothing) but what the *Jesuit* had said before. As for the *Benedictines* having secured any considerable Manuscripts, at the Dissolution of Monasteries, 'tis a Fancy that has run in many Peoples Heads, but without any good Grounds. The Protestants would be as glad as themselves, that they had so done; but since 150 Years have produced little or nothing of that Kind from these Fathers, we must, I doubt, be content with what we have at home. As to the exact Agreement betwixt those two Writers, it will easily happen, when one of them translates from the other; and if they had differed in more material Points than those mentioned, it had been no great Matter, for they tell but one and the same silly Story, from one and the same Legend.

„ Doubtless

„ Doubtless you will observe, that this Edition of St.  
 „ *Wenefrede's Life*, is rather to be look'd upon as a Re-  
 „ impression, with some Amendments of the former  
 „ Book, set forth in the Year 1635, by J. F. of the So-  
 „ ciety of *Jesuit*; which he translated from a very ancient  
 „ (as he declares) and authenticall Manuscript of Robert  
 „ Prior of Shrewsbury.

'Tis better, I think, to hear what J. F. says himself in his  
 Preface, — *Whose Book* (meaning Robert's) copied truly out of  
 an old authenticall Manuscript, I have here, in *Sense*, faithfully  
 translated; so that J. F. translated from a Copy, not from an  
 authenticall Manuscript it self. But that which is more to the  
 Purpose to observe, is, what he tells us he translated Robert's  
 Book, in *Sense*; i. e. he did not translate it according to the  
 Letter, because he says, *The Author's old Phrases were scarcely ex-  
 pressible in good English.* I must own, that it is very hard to  
 translate an old *Latin Legend*, into good, or into tolerable  
 English; and therefore many times we must be content with  
 the *Sense* of the Writer, where his Words cannot be well turn-  
 ed; but then, in all these Cases, an honest Man will be ob-  
 liged to vary, as little as is possible, from the *Sense* which the  
 Words give most naturally. The Translation of J. F. the  
*Jesuit* is, in this Respect, very faulty: He varies when there  
 is no Manner of Need; and when the Words are plain, and  
 might be very literally translated. His Translation is not  
 much above Half what it would have been, had he translated  
 it literally, so that he has left out a great deal; and in other  
 Places he has added things of his own Head, which his Au-  
 thor thought not of; and I am confident there is not a Chap-  
 ter in the whole Book, where he has not translated something  
 very wrong, and made either more or less of it, than the  
 Author intended. Whoever will be at the Pains to compare  
 the *Latin* with the *English*, will wonder, as I do, that he  
 should say, *He had faithfully translated Robert, in Sense.* I have  
 given a Specimen of his Fidelity in the Preface, and it is  
 really so, more or less, throughout the whole Work. And  
 yet, after all, his Book may much more properly be called a  
*Translation of Robertus Salopienfis*, than the new Edition of  
*Wenefrede's Life* put out in 1712, can be called a *Re-impression*  
 of J. F. the *Jesuit's* Book; for the latter is exceedingly unlike  
 the former.

„ The two first Letters of his Name, and Calculation  
 „ of the Time, when F. *Alford* lived, brings to my  
 „ Thoughts, that very probably it was he who englished



" it : For *Cressy* tells me in his Preface, that altho' he  
 " published his Tomes under the borrowed Names of  
 " *Alford, alias Griffith*, his real Paternal Name was *John*  
 " *Flood*.

*F. Alford* was born in 1585, and died in 1653; and might  
 therefore very well translate *Robertus* in 1635, and put it out,  
 under the Name of *J. F.* But I have this Objection against  
 it, that *J. F.* translated *Robertus Salopiensis*, and therefore saw,  
 and had that Book in his Hands; whereas it appears that *F.*  
*Alford* never saw *Robertus's* Life, but cites it out of *Capgrave*;  
 and yet he lived 18 Years after the Year 1635, in all which  
 Time he might have amended that Passage, and very probably  
 would have taken Notice of *Robert's* History of the Transla-  
 tion of *St. Wenefrede's* Bones to *Shrewsbury*, which he mentions  
 in his *Annals* of 1138, but mentions out of *Capgrave* still,  
 who has but a Line or two about it. This makes me conclude  
 that *J. F.* was not *M. Alford*.

" I owe so much Deference to the Memory of this learn-  
 " ed Man, whose Merits are known by his elaborate  
 " Works, and who had the Perusal of the most ancient  
 " Records of *Britain*, that you will find little more than  
 " the Substance of your former Book: Yet must have  
 " Leave to say, that the English of it is so obsolete, and  
 " the tacking of the Words together, so much differing  
 " from the present way of Writing, that most People de-  
 " sired it might appear something more polished. I may  
 " add, that 'tis a difficult Matter to procure a Copy; and  
 " on this Account, those devoted to our sacred Patroness,  
 " languished after a fresh Supply from the Press.

I have no Purpose to detract any thing from the Praise of  
*F. Alford*, (who is here taken to be *J. F.*) I have a Respect for  
 all Men who endeavour to do what Honour and Service they  
 can to their native Country. His 4 Volumes of *Annals*, are  
 not generally had in that Esteem, that I think they deserve;  
 his Industry and Diligence are very great, and his Method is  
 very easy and useful. As to the new Edition of *J. F.'s* Book,  
 I know not how it can be called so; it is by no Means the  
 same Book: It treats of the same Subject, but in a very differ-  
 ent Manner; some things are left out, and others are put in,  
 and the Language much altered, but whether it be mended by  
 polishing, I will not determine: Plain English, after all, is the  
 best Language, and will live longest; but plain English is  
 not very fit for a religious Romance; and I take those People  
 who languish after a new and polished Edition of *St. Wene-*  
*fred's*



*frede's* Life, to be Lovers of *strange Stories*. But, in good Earnest, how can any serious Christians call *St. Wenefrede*, our *sacred Patroness*? This is Language proper for the History of the *seven Champions*, where *St. George* is for *England*, *St. Andrew* for *Scotland*, *St. James* for *Spain*, &c. Countries in which they never set their Foot. But is it thus, that *St. Wenefrede* is *Patroness of Wales*? I doubt it is a much more serious and religious Matter; and of this I say that serious Christians ought to be ashamed. My Opinion is, that there are no such *Patrons*, or *Patronesses*, appointed by God, over several Countries; or that take, of their own Accord, the Care of such a Nation, Region, City, Town, or District, in particular. But should I ever fall into this superstitious Dotage, and grow fond of any Saint's particular Protection, (either distrusting that of God, or, through a false Humility, not daring to approach his Throne immediately myself) I hope I should have the good Sense and Discretion left me, to choose a *Saint*, of whose *Being*, and *Grace*, and *Virtue*, and *Religion*, I might rest as well assured, as I am that there is any such Place of Happiness as *Heaven*, or any Saint therein. I would choose the blessed *Virgin*, or an *Apostle*, or some old and celebrated Saint and Martyr, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, or *Cyprian*, or some such one, as, all the World agreed in honouring for their holy Life and Death. I would not choose such a Saint as *Wenefrede*, of whose very *Being*, there is no Manner of Certainty left to us. I would not pray to one, of whom I find no Mention made for full 500 Years, after the Time wherein she is said to have lived. I would not go on a Pilgrimage to a *Saint's Well*, whose History is only told by a *poor Monk*, that lived so long after her as 500 Years, and brings no one Writer of Name or Credit, to vouch for any thing he says concerning her, all that Interim, except a few loose Scraps of Paper or Parchment, in the Church Chest, or the Relations of some honest old Priests, who told him what the Stories of the Country were about her. Such a Tradition as this, is not Ground sufficient for a Christian to build a *Patronage* upon. Were I a Papist, I would not have a *Patroness* of *Prior Robert's* making, who, by being so much concerned to profit his Monastery at *Salop*, by bringing thither the Bones of *Wenefrede*, and thereby more Company, and thereby more Offerings, might possibly be tempted to say things of her, that were not exactly true. But I would ask for as good Vouchers, and authentick Writers, to testify the Time she lived in, the Places she conversed in, the Death she suffered, the setting her Head again upon her Shoulders, and the second natural Death she underwent, as we have for other Saints, who are honoured without Dispute, and of whose Gifts and Graces no one doubts, nor makes any Question either of their Life or Death. When a Saint is the *Patroness* of a Country, ought not the Country to have all the Certainty and

Satisfaction that is possible, *whether, when, and how* that Saint lived and died? But *Waler* can never have this Certainty and Satisfaction of its Patroness, if *Wenefreda* be she, because there is no Author either in Manuscript, or in Print, who lived within 500 Years of her Time, that does so much as name her Name, or say a Word about her. But this I have shewn at large, in a Chapter of Notes, upon her Life; and I only mention it here, to put the *poor Pilgrims* in Mind, how ill they are used, and how their Priests impose upon their Understanding, when they send them, so many Miles, to pray to one, of whose Existence, Life, and Death, they neither have, nor can have, any Certainty. I do not pretend, in this Place, to dispute whether it be fit for Christians to choose their Patrons in Heaven, to pray to Saints, and go in Pilgrimages to their Shrines; but I say, if all these things were lawful and allowed, nay good and profitable, yet would it be a foolish and unreasonable thing, to pitch upon a Name, and place her as a Saint in Heaven, whom I have no sufficient Reason to believe ever to have lived upon the Earth, or, if she lived at all, that she lived in the Fear of God, and died in his Favour; of whom, in a Word, I know no more, than what a Monk hath told me, in a most miserable Account of her.

„ I have kept my self so close to the historical Part, that  
 „ altho' frequent Opportunities invited to enlarge, I ab-  
 „ solutely refused to make any Additions of my own. I  
 „ have rather abbreviated when I concluded some Periods  
 „ not very material, and this to lessen Bulk. A few Oc-  
 „ currences are reduced to proper Places, and some Pas-  
 „ sages are added out of holy Scripture, to set in a truer  
 „ Light the Virtues of *St. Wenefreda* and others.

The Editor of this new Life is well assured, that there are not ten People in all the Queen's Dominions, that can or will compare *his Book* with the Life written by *Rob. Salep.* nor many more that will compare it with the pretended Translation of *J. E. Jesuit*, put out in 1635. But I, who have read them all, (and many more of this bad Kind) can assure the Reader, that the Additions, Abbreviations, Omissions, and Changes made by this new Editor, have made it a very different Book, from either of the other; and if I may speak my Mind freely, as I do it, without Contempt or Ill-will, I profess seriously that *Robert's Book* is by much the best; *i.e.* considering who he was, and when he lived, the most excusable of all the *Thre*. As to the Passages of holy Scripture, which are here added, they are, I confess, so needless, and so oddly applied, that were there no better use to be made of them, I should be inclined

to think, with the Papists, that the People were not much injured, in being debarred from reading them.

„ What is said of St. *Beuno's* Nobility, I relate out of „ an unquestionable Manuscript.

He should have told us of what Authority his Manuscript was, for I have procured a Copy of *Beuno's* Life, from an unquestionable MS. in which his Nobility is a little otherwise derived, than it seems to be in his; and till I know the contrary, I shall take mine to be the more authentical; But I submit it to the Reader, to judge if any Descent can be greater than that which follows.

*Saint BEUNO's Pedigree.*

*Beuno* the Son of *Bugu*, the Son of *Gwynllip*, the Son of *Tegid*, the Son of *Codell Drylluc*, the Son of *Categyrn*, the Son of *Gorthogyrn*, the Son of *Gorthogyrn*, the Son of *Kyllegyrn*, the Son of *Debeuwint*, the Son of *Eudogan*, the Son of *Euddegem*, the Son of *Elud*, the Son of *Euder*, the Son of *Eudolen*, the Son of *Afallach*, the Son of *Amalech*, the Son of *Behym*, the Son of *Anna*, the Mother of that *Anna* that was Cozen German to the Virgin *Mary* the Mother of Christ.

Thus is *Beuno's* Nobility unquestionable by any reasonable Man, confirmed by two such Manuscripts. I have printed his Life, at the End, that the Reader might see, that *Beuno* and *Wenefrede* were not only nearly allied, (as this new Life tells us) but that there were many concordant Passages and Accidents in their Lives; or, at least, that they who wrote their Legends thought so; And I shall be obliged to any learned Popish Priest, who will tell me, why *Beuno's* Life is not as credible, in all its Parts, as that of *Wenefrede*.

„ And I presumed, that the Supplement of a few late „ Miracles would add Fuel to the Fire of Devotion.

A true undoubted Miracle, and well attested, is of great Force and Efficacy, both to beget, confirm, and increase Faith and Devotion; but monstrous Stories, and impertinent Relations, beget Contempt of Miracles, and prejudice the Christian Faith exceedingly.

„ You'll find me faithful to the Author; my only Apprehension is, that I have been deficient in the Saint's due Praises.



It is impossible to be faithful to *Robertus Salopianus*, and at the same time to be deficient in the Praises of his Saint *Wenefrede*. My Opinion is, however, that the Author of this New Life has been neither faithful to the one, nor deficient to the other.

„ Some perchance may think I am too liberal in the  
 „ Elogium; for we are fallen into an Age of Infidelity;  
 „ and we are dreadfully over-run with *Deists*, I wish not  
 „ with *Atheists* too, who sap the very Foundations of Re-  
 „ vealed Religion, and allow equal Credit to the *Alcoran*  
 „ and *Talmud* they do to the Old and New Testament.  
 „ Such as will not believe that the Rod of *Aaron* com-  
 „ manded Streams from a dry Rock, or that *Lazarus* rot-  
 „ ting in his Tomb returned to Life, will droll upon  
 „ St. *Wenefrede's* Well, and her *Resuscitation*. As if there  
 „ were no Mean between too credulous a Belief, and the  
 „ Madness of believing nothing at all, when shocking  
 „ our wild Fancy, though back'd with the strongest Evi-  
 „ dence of Humane Authority.

That there are *Atheists* in the Kingdom I have Reason to be-  
 lieve, and *Deists* in much greater Number; but that this wicked  
 Number is so prodigiously great at present, and so exceedingly  
 increased within these few Years, is what I cannot easily al-  
 low; although it is so much the common Cry, that not to  
 fall in with it is enough to make one pass for one of that bad  
 Number with many People. But I know that it has served  
 the Purpose of some designing Men so well, to have the Date  
 of the Growth of Infidelity fixed to, or about the Time of the  
 late Revolution, that I very much suspect the Truth of the Fable  
 upon that very Account; nor do I at all wonder that the *Popish*  
 Party does so readily chime in with that, and all other Cries  
 that tend to the depreciating that great Deliverance, that might  
 have proved so fatal to their Interest. And yet, of all Men living,  
 none can declaim against the *Atheists* and the *Deists* increasing in  
 England with a worse Grace, or can be less in Earnest, than the  
*Popish Priests*, as well because it is, as it were, the Rain and  
 Sun-shine that procures them the more plentiful Harvest; as  
 also, that nothing in the World does more naturally beget,  
 promote and increase Contempt of all Revealed Religion, than  
 the seeing the grossest Corruptions of *Popery* pretend to stand  
 upon the same Bottom, claiming the same Sanction and Autho-  
 rity, and requiring the same Belief, and Reverence, and Obedi-  
 ence with the most plain and undisputed Articles of our com-  
 mon Christian Faith, and our most necessary Duties. This is  
 too large a Field to enter on in general; but who would not be



be tempted to believe the Fables in the *Talmud* and the *Alcoran* are full as credible as the Relations of the Old and New Testament, if the Story of *Wenefrede's* Head being set on again, and of the springing of her *Well* just in that Place and Time, and all the Miracles related of her, must be told with the same Assurance, believed with the same Faith, entertained with the same Certainty, and compared with the Relations of *Moses's* striking the Rock, and the Waters flowing thereupon, and with our Saviour's raising *Lazarus* from the Dead? If *Robert of Se-lop's* History be of equal Credit and Authority with the Accounts of *Moses* and *St. John*, it will not be in any Body's Power to make the Credit of the Old and New Testament greater than that of the *Talmud* and the *Alcoran*; because the *Talmud* and the *Alcoran* are certainly of equal Credit with the Life and Death of *Wenefrede*. Such as will not believe the Miracles of the Old and New Testament, will droll upon *Wenefrede's Well* and her *Resuscitation*; no doubt of it: But they who disbelieve the latter, will not necessarily disbelieve the former, unless you tell them that they stand upon the same Bottom, and have the same Authority. If the Story of *Wenefrede* be as well attested as the Account of *Lazarus*, they will deserve and have the same Credit. But he who tells me this, and tells me at the same time, that the Story of *Wenefrede* depends upon the Credit of *Prior Robert*, tells me (in Truth and in Effect) that *St. John* is of no more Authority: And I would fain know who it is, in this Case, that saps the Foundations of Revealed Religion? who it is that brings the Miracles of the Old and New Testament into Contempt or Disesteem? But, to save himself from these Consequences, he tells us, *There is a Mean betwixt believing too much, and believing nothing, though back'd with the strongest Evidence of Humane Authority.* There is a Mean betwixt these two Extreams without doubt; but then he should have told us what Parts of this *Admirable Life* we were obliged to believe; which were most credible, which *less*, which *not at all*. Now this is not the Case of Scripture-Histories, which are intirely to be credited; and no one Part of the Relation more than another, and therefore are not, in my Opinion, without Impiety, to be compared with any Legendary Stories.

„ Others, by the Misfortune of Education (whom I „ truly compassionate) will be something out of Humour „ when they find undoubted Miracles in that Church, „ which they reject.

No considering Man either does or can deny, that God may work Miracles, *whenever, where, and by whomsoever* he pleases. He has certainly wrought them by *Jews*, by *Gentiles*, and by *Christians*; and he may do so still, if he please. I do

not

Not doubt but that he does at this Day, according as his Wisdom and his Goodness leads him, work many Miracles among the *Turks*, the *Persians*, and the *Moors*, the *Indians*, and the *Heathens* of all Sorts; and with the *Protestants* as well as *Papists*. And why then should a Protestant be out of Humour to find undoubted Miracles in the Church of *Rome*? A Protestant would neither turn *Turk*, nor *Jew*, nor *Gentile*, though he should see that God wrought Miracles among them; and why should he turn *Papist* on the like Account? I believe he may safely do it, whenever he sees undoubted Miracles wrought by God, on purpose to attest the Truth of any Point of *true Popery*, in which the Two Religions differ: But there is no Reason why a Protestant should turn *Papist*, because Miracles are wrought amongst *Papists*, (if you will take their Word for it) because they may be wrought to attest the Truth of *Common Christianity*, or for some other good Purpose of God, that has no Relation to the Points in Controversy. But that which this *New Editor* means by this, is, that Protestants will be out of Humour to find undoubted Miracles wrought by *Wenfride*, who was of the Church of *Rome*. But I believe there will not be many Protestants out of Humour upon this Account, because I think there will be no undoubted Proofs; 1. That ever there was such a Woman in Being; nor, 2. That she was of the Church of *Rome*; nor, 3. That she ever wrought any undoubted Miracles, either living or dead.

„ How the primitive Pastors, as *St. Beuno*, whose Feast  
„ is celebrated on the 14th of *January*, and *St. Elerius*'s on  
„ the 13th of *June*, exhorted Rich, Noble, and Beautiful  
„ Virgins to renounce the World, and to consecrate them-  
„ selves wholly to their Blessed Redeemer by religious  
„ Vows.

I am very well assured that Men of more Authority and Worth, and of much greater Antiquity, than *Beuno* and *Elerius*, have, in their Exhortations to *Virginity*, said so many strange, exalted, hyperbolical Things in Commendation of that State, which was never appointed or commanded of God, and to the Derogation of the Sanctity of *Marriage*, which was instituted by God in the Times of Man's Innocence, and under the Reputation of whose Holiness our Saviour was himself born (altho' it was impossible he should have any other Father but God) that I am sure they can neither answer it to God, or to their own Parents; and therefore that *Beuno* and *Elerius* should do the same, is no Wonder at all, if ever there were any such Exhortations to be made by them. But indeed I am not satisfied that we have any good Proofs of any thing but their Names left us, and I say the same thing of them that I say of *Wenfride*, that

that no Author has so much as named their Names that lived 500 Years within the Time assigned for their living. And I believe it is the good Prior of Shrewsbury that must vouch for them all, or my Anonymous Writer, who yet says nothing of *Elerius*. And in Affirmance of my Opinion, I have transcribed an old *British Calendarium* out of the Cotton-Library above 500 Years old. It is in *Vespas. A. 14.* and the Title is, *De Sanctis Wallieis Calendarium*. St. Bernard is in it, by which we know it cannot be older than 1153, when he died, or about ten Years after, when he was Canonized. Now in this *Calendarium* of *Welsh Saints* in particular, and written after Robert had written the Life of *Wenefrede*, there are no such Names as *Wenefrede*, as *Belina*, or *Elerius*, to be found in it; which is a kind of Demonstration that these three Names were not at that Time in any great Repute for Sanctity, or working Miracles.

How on this Account St. *Wenefrede* offered herself a Sacrifice to preserve her vowed Virginity, which pure Oblation was so acceptable to God, that he recompensed it with such a stupendous Miracle, as neither the precedent (says *Cressy*) nor subsequent Ages of the Church (save that at St. Paul's Decollation) could afford one to equal it.

Never was so ridiculous a Legend founded on so weak a Bottom. Take the whole Story for a certain Truth. A young Prince one Sunday Morning comes to a Lord's House, and finds his only Daughter all alone, and immediately falls in Love with her, and tells her, If she will but lie with him, he will certainly marry her afterwards, and make her a Princess. She being virtuously disposed, and having vowed to be a Nun, makes her Excuse at present, and tells him she will wait upon his Highness by and by, when she is better prepared for his Reception; and under this Pretence gets out at a Back-Door, and runs as fast as she can towards the Church, in Hopes she might be there secure from his Attempts: The Prince immediately pursues and overtakes her ere she could get thither, and asking her once more if she would yield to his Desires, and being told she was already engaged to Christ, and could not possibly do it, he was so enraged, that he drew out his Sword, and cut her Head off presently. Now I desire to know, where is the extraordinary Merit of this Virgin in all this Matter? Can one reasonably suppose, that there is any one honest Maid in all *Flintshire* that would not do as much as *Wenefrede* did to avoid a furious Ravisher, and save her Virtue? and that too for very Honesty's Sake, without the Obligation of a Vow to become a veiled Nun? I have no great Opinion of the Virtue of this Author's Devout Pilgrims, as if it were any ways beyond or



above the Virtue of those who stay at home; but yet I hope that not a single one of all those tender Virgins who tremble at a Northern Blast, yet sink with such Alacrity under the Waters of Holy-well, would behave herself any worse than *Wenefrede* here did; she would, I hope, reject with Scorn so scandalous and wicked a Proffer, made by a Man of little better Quality than herself, and that at the first Visit too: I hope she would make as good Excuses for Delay, and get away as fast as she could from him; and should he overtake her in the Common, or the Street, and tempt her there again, I hope she would have the Virtue to refuse him, and endure the utmost that he in his wicked Rage could do to her. Yet this is all that *Wenefrede* is said to have done, taking good *Father Robert's* Word for the Truth of all that passed. This is the Virtue, this the Merit, this the pure Oblation, that was so acceptable to God, that he must work so stupendous a Miracle to recompence it, that no Age past, or to come, could afford one equal to it, excepting that at the Beheading of *St. Paul*; the Veins of whose Head and Neck did not, it seems, bleed Blood, but Milk; and whose Head, when it was new cut off, made three Leaps, in each of which Places immediately sprang up a Well of sweet Water. But, with the Favour of *F. Cressy*, the Preference still is due to *Wenefrede*; for though three Springs are more than one, yet did the Head of *St. Paul* lie quiet at the last, and was not again united to its Neck to live full fifteen Years after (as useful a Head as it was) which was the Case of *Wenefrede*. And to shew I have no Prejudice to this, or any other British Saint, I assure the Reader I take the Story of the Rise of *Wenefrede's Well*, to be full as true as that of *St. Paul's Three Springs*. And I cannot tell whether I ought not to be ashamed to be found more knowing in these Matters than *F. Cressy*, who thinks *St. Wenefrede's* Case to be only equalled by that of *St. Paul*; whereas I know a great many Cases that are equal, if not superior to them both, if it would do any Good to produce them here; he who would see them may look into the Chapter of Miracles, or that of Waters.

„ These Men are unwilling to hear how *St. Beuno* despised his Hereditary Patrimony and Glory to become a poor Minister of the Gospel. How in the primitive Times the Holy Mass was offered to the Eternal Father, to apply the Fruits of our Redemption: How Sacred Reliques were honoured; and praying for the Faithful departed was practised; as *St. Elerius* confided *St. Wenefrede* would do for his Soul, he being of Opinion that she would survive him.

„ *Tis*



'Tis a common thing for the Writers of this low Kind, to mix and confound the Times of which they write with the Times in which they live; and in speaking of the former, to describe the Manners and the Customs of the latter. The Doctrines delivered by Robert in the Life of *Wenefrede* are certainly the Doctrines of Robert's Days; but it does not follow that they were the Doctrines of the Days when *Wenefrede* is supposed to have lived. I do not say they were not; but I say that Robert's Authority does not prove they were; that must be proved by Writers of that Age and Century. And yet this is the Fallacy that M. *Alford* would put upon his Readers; he would have them take for granted, that the Doctrines in the Life of *Wenefrede*, written 500 Years after, were the Doctrines of the British Church 500 Years before; which, were it really true, yet it is not to be proved in that manner to any one's Conviction. The Time allotted by *Alford*, *Cressy*, and those who follow them, to St. *Wenefrede's* Living, is about the Year 660. I know they have no good Grounds to go upon in assigning this rather than any other Time, for the Time in which she lived; for Robert is silent in the Matter, and after Robert comes no body for above 400 Years, that pretends to tell us when she lived. But I dispute not when she lived, let it be in 660, as they pretend to guess; I only ask by what Figure those Times are called *Primitive Times*, and the Doctrines then in Fashion *Primitive Doctrines*? But, after all, why should he think a Protestant unwilling to hear that *Beuno* left a great Estate and all his Honour to become a poor Minister of the Gospel, when he is glad to hear that the Apostles forsook all and followed Christ, and reads, with Pleasure, that many rich and honourable Persons did the like in After-Ages? What Harm is this to a Protestant? As for offering the Holy Mass to the Eternal Father, to apply the Fruits of our Redemption, it is what I do not sufficiently understand, nor I believe this *New Editor* himself; but of this I am sure, that there is no such thing said in Robert's Life of *Wenefrede*: His Expressions are, the celebrating Mass, and celebrating the Divine Mysteries; and further he goes not. What Occasion has a Protestant to be disturbed at hearing that People of old honoured Reliques, when he himself would honour them, were he assured they were the Reliques of Christ's Saints and Martyrs? What a ridiculous Thing is it, to fancy that Protestants have not the same Curiosity, and the same Affections that Papists have in those Matters, could they believe they were not cheated in the Wares? They would not prostrate themselves before an old Shooe, though they were sure it were St. *Cyprian's*; they would not lift up Eyes or Hands to him in Prayer on that Account, nor rub any Beads upon it; they would do nothing silly, nothing superstitious to it, or before it; but I believe they would give Money for it, they would look often on it, consider its Shape, and Make, and Mat-

ter, preserve it carefully, and would not lose it for a considerable Price; and I know not whether they would not value it equally with his Foot. The Difference betwixt us is, that we are longer in believing such a Relique belonged to such a Saint than the Papists, and do not afterwards think it can work so great Miracles as they are apt to think. And, lastly, why should a Protestant be loth to believe, that *praying for the Faithful departed* was heretofore practised, when he knows (if he be a Scholar) that some People did actually pray for the Virgin Mary and the Apostles, and other holy Men and Women, when they were sure, and owned that they were sure, they were in Heaven and happy? What is all this to the Purpose, unless it be made our Duty, and enjoyn'd by God, or plain that it is useful to the Living and the Dead? Has not a Protestant as much natural Affection to his Relations, as much Kindness to his Friends, and as much Compassion to all Christians, as a Papist has? And what should keep him then from praying for such as departed this Life in a less safe Condition than he fears they should, but that he finds no manner of Ground in God's Word to believe that any thing we do can alter that Condition for the better? That since the holy Ghost has said, that every Man must give an Account to God of his own Works, done in the Flesh, it would be strange that another's Prayers, or Alms, or Fastings, or Oblations, should atone, or be accepted for my Transgressions, when I am dead. All Men are willing to believe the things that make for their Security, their Ease, and Interest; and therefore Protestants can have no Prejudice against these Doctrines, but that they are perswaded there is neither Reason nor Revelation to support them. But, after all, *Elerius* does not say that *Wenefrede* should pray for him, when dead; he says he was glad that God had sent her to that Place, to bury him, when dead, *Neique Memoriam post Obitum meum habituram*, and to make honourable Mention of him after his Decease; for so he explains it afterwards, *Qui & me sepeliret, & hunc incolam Locum post me, celebrem illum faceret*, for which he said he had prayed to God: Not but that People did, in *Elerius's* supposed Time, pray for the Dead; and that *memoriam habere* does also signify to remember the Dead, by reading in the *Dypticks* the Names of the Deceased, as was the Custom of much elder Times; but that it signifies here no more than remembering him, when dead, with Honour.

„ If these Christian Articles are to be set aside, and antiquated, by Consequence general Councils; canonized Doctors, and ancient Histories, must be suppressed and repealed, as delivering and encouraging the same primitive Doctrine,

Volun-

Voluntary Vows of Poverty, honouring Reliques, and praying for the Dead, tho' they should all of them be innocent and allowable, yet might be safely laid aside, not only without Prejudice, but to the Advantage of Christianity. They are, at the best, great Snares, Occasions of many Errors, and the Foundation of a World of superstitious Practices; they help to fill the Monasteries and Nunneries, and furnish out Processions and fine Shows; and by feeding the Fire of Purgatory, they provide a good Income for the Priests. But Christ's Religion was compleat before these things were thought on; and so it would be, tho' all the Councils, Doctors, and ancient Histories that treat of these Articles, were at the Bottom of the Sea, never to rise again.

Quick-sighted *Alford* foresaw it expedient, if not necessary, to solve an Objection which some captious Criticks might glory in, viz. Why *V. Bede* makes no Mention of glorious *St. Wenefrede* in his History: He answers, That *Bede*, *Malmesbury*, *Huntington*, and other ancient Authors, who wrote at large of some Saints, are silent in the Praise of our *Virgin Martyr*, because they only recorded the Acts and Monuments of their respective Saints and Churches. *V. Bede* in particular, declares he only designed to write the History of his own Nation, which was the *English Saxon*. Hence he makes no Mention of *St. Patrick*, *St. Ursula*, *David*, *Dubritius*, *Kentigern*, who were illustrious Lights of the British Church. *Alford* adds, that there being an irreconcilable Separation, betwixt the *Britains* and *Saxons*, not only as to Distance of Place, but likewise as to Tempers and Affections, all Manner of Commerce was interdicted; insomuch that *V. Bede*, who lived and died in the North of *England*, could not have such certain Knowledge of what passed in the West, as to insert it in his History.

I have, in the Chapter of Notes, urged this Objection farther than *Alford* could think fit to do, and considered his Answer so thoroughly, that I will say but little to it here, and refer the Reader to that Chapter, if he require more Satisfaction. *V. Bede*, as much a Stranger as he was to the British Affairs, and notwithstanding all the Enmity betwixt the Nations, yet wrote the History of *St. Alban*, and of *S. S. Julius*, and *Auron*, who were *Britains*, and suffered at *Caerleon upon Ush*; and I believe, if ever he had heard of *Wenefrede*, he could not have forbore telling us her Story: So would *Stephen Heddins* his

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Contemporary in his Life of *Wilfride* Archbishop of York, where he has often Occasion to talk of the *Britains*, whom he always calls *Schismaticks*, because they would not keep their *Easter* on the same Day with the *Romish* Church, nor make any use of the *Pope's* Barbers, but polled their Priests Heads by a Pattern of their own. I say the same thing of *W. Malmesbury*, *Huntington*, *Esbelward*, *Ingulfus*, *Florentius Wigorn*; of *Roger Hoveden*, *Roger of Wendover*, *Robert de Monte*; *Walter Hemingford*, *Matthew Paris*, *Matthew Westminster*; and, in a Word, of all the Writers, good and bad, from *Bede* to *Ranulph Higden* a Monk of *Chester*, about the Year 1360. There is not one of them has so much as named her Name, till the last put her Story into 18 or 20 monkish Latin Rhymes, and gave it us, in a Poem, intitled *De Laudabilibus Wallie*. The Answer to all this is, it seems, that they were all of them *Anglo-Saxons*, ignorant or envious Writers, or who had something else to do, than to take any Notice of foreign Saints. But this will never pass upon any Man who has ever read all, or any of these Authors. There is not one of them who would not have gone a hundred Miles, as it were, out of his Way, to have told the Story of *Wenefrede's* Head being set on again upon her Shoulders; not one of them who would not sooner have left out a whole King's Reign, than *Wenefrede's* Resuscitation, had he believed or heard of any such thing. You may be confident, therefore, that the utter Silence of each and all of these Historians, did not proceed from any Design, Spite, or national Pique, but from pure Ignorance of the Matter. That *Bede* makes no Mention of *St. Patrick*, *Dubrice*, *David*, and *Kentigern*, is indeed an Argument to me (considering the Temper of the good Man) that he knew nothing of them. But supposing that he had heard of their great Virtues, and yet would make no Mention of Men or Things that were foreign to his History, (which yet is not his Way) does any one think it possible he should have concealed the Story of *Wenefrede*, had he known it? The rest of the Saints were very extraordinary Persons indeed, and famous in their Day, but not one of them had his Head cut off, and set on again, which makes you know a great Difference betwixt *St. Wenefrede* and them. But the Force of the Objection does not lie in the Silence of *V. Bede* alone, but in the Silence of all Writers whatsoever, that treat of our Affairs, not only *Anglo-Saxons*, but of *Nennius*, *Affer Menevensis*, *Jeffery of Monmouth*, *Caradoc of Llancaunan*, and of (one as good as all in this Point) *Giraldus Cambrensis*; who were all of them *Britains*, Historians, and very good Believers; of whom I have given an Account (as I said) in another Place, to which I must needs refer the Reader, if he be any ways scrupulous.



„ In this little Undertaking, I looked on my self as a  
 „ *Debtor to the Unwise, as well as to the Wise* ; therefore in  
 „ handling the Subject, I avoided all quaint and uncom-  
 „ mon Expressions, as might require Study in the Vulgar.  
 „ Plainness of Stile, without Theatre-dress, best becomes  
 „ those who write to inform and edify the meanest State  
 „ and Condition.

The Editor of this Book, if he were so before, is still a  
*Debtor to the Wise*, for, surely, he has paid them nothing in it.  
 I am altogether of his Mind, that plain Language best becomes  
 those, whose Purpose it is to inform and edify plain People ;  
 but he who finds himself a *Debtor to the Unwise*, should also  
 think he ought to pay them with *plain Truths*, as well as *plain*  
*English* ; and I am a little afraid that even *the Pilgrims* will not  
 go away much edified with this poor Story he has told them.

„ I will not detain you any longer (my dear devout  
 „ Pilgrims ; ) yet before I take my Leave, I most hum-  
 „ bly and earnestly crave a charitable Remembrance at  
 „ the *holy Well* ; and I faithfully assure you of a grateful  
 „ Return. We are all of us Passengers in this World,  
 „ and no more than Strangers and Sojourners upon Earth.  
 „ Let us unite in Prayer, for a happy finishing of our  
 „ Journey, that after this mortal Pilgrimage, we may safe-  
 „ ly arrive at the glorious Fountain of eternal Life, where  
 „ we shall be inebriated with a Torrent of Pleasure,  
 „ rendring Thanks, loving and adoring our most merciful  
 „ and omnipotent God, World without End.

To this I have nothing to say, but a sincere *Amen*, as wish-  
 ing both the *Author* and his *Pilgrims* all true Happiness. But I  
 take this Opportunity, to desire the Reader not to censure me  
 too easily, as one who has taken too much Pains, and shewn  
 my self too much in Earnest, in confuting so poor a Story as  
 this of *Wenefrede*. *Holy-well* is a Fountain of great Superstiti-  
 on ; and as ridiculous and idle as the Fable may appear to *Pro-*  
*testants*, it does not, as yet, appear so to the *Papists* : And it is  
 for their Sake and Service that I have taken the Pains these Ob-  
 servations cost me ; and for their Sake would take much great-  
 er, if I knew I could be useful to them, in so doing.

"In this little Undertaking, I looked on my lot as a  
 "Duties to be done, as well as to be done; therefore in  
 "handling the Subject, I avoided all quaint and uncommon  
 "non-Expositions, as might have been in the way of  
 "Plainness of Style, without I thought it best to become  
 "those who write to inform and edify the mortal Sinner  
 "and Condition."

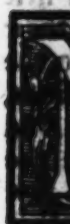
The Editor of this Book, if he were to believe in this  
 "Duties to be done, as well as to be done; therefore in  
 "handling the Subject, I avoided all quaint and uncommon  
 "non-Expositions, as might have been in the way of  
 "Plainness of Style, without I thought it best to become  
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"I will not detain you any longer (my dear devout  
 "Pilgrim;) yet before I take my leave, I must hum-  
 "bly and earnestly crave a charitable Remembrance at  
 "the dear Lord; and I faithfully assure you of a grateful  
 "Return. We are all of us strangers in this World,  
 "and no more than Strangers and Sojourners upon Earth.  
 "Let us unite in Prayer for a happy finishing of our  
 "Journey, that after this mortal Pilgrimage, we may safe-  
 "ly arrive at the glorious Fountain of eternal Life, where  
 "we shall be incircled with a Torrent of Pleasure,  
 "rending Thanks, loving and adoring our most merciful  
 "and omnipotent God, World without End."

To this I have nothing to say, but a sincere Amen, as with-  
 "ing both the Author and his Reader all true Happiness. But I  
 "use this Opportunity, to desire the Reader not to censure me  
 "too easily, as one who has taken too much pains, and thrown  
 "myself too much in earnest, in continuing to poor a story as  
 "this of Wayward. Myself is a foundation of great Sublimity  
 "on; and as ridiculous and idle as the fable may appear to be  
 "faint, it does not, as yet, appear to be the least. And it is  
 "for their Sakes and Service that I have taken the pains to do  
 "lay down to me; and for their Sakes would the much more  
 "or, if I knew I could be useful to them, in so doing."



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THE  
Life, Martyrdom, and Miracles  
OF

St. W E N E F R I D E, &c.



ANY are the evident Motives of Credit, clearly distinguishing the unspotted Church of Jesus Christ from heterodox Persuasions, which are built on private Fancy, and for the most Part on Faction. Among the rest, consummate Sanctity, and undeniable Miracles, challenge their due Places. The holy Apostles, before they separated to promulge the Gospel thro' the Universe, in the Symbol of Faith, instructed future Ages, that the Spouse of Christ, purchas'd with the Effusion of his most sacred Blood, is holy; I believe in the holy Catholick Church. (c) Other Sects pretending to Religion, lean, or to speak more properly, lead on to agreeable Liberty, which powerfully invites and brings over vast Crowds of loose Profane

(a) 'Tis a new Thing to hear, that Papists, in great Crowds, turn Protestants, that they may live more loosely and more at large than they might have done in their own Communion; 'Twill hardly be believed by any one who knows how indulgent most of their Confessors are, and what Allowances they make. I fear that neither Side has much the Advantage in Reproaches of this Nature, as to Profane; but certainly the Principles and Rules of Protestants allow of no unlawful Liberties in any Kind whatever.



feltyes. (b) As to *Miracles*, which set a Seal on the *Faith*, the immortal Son of God hath assured us, that those who believe in him shall do greater Wonders than he wrought himself, St. John xiv. 12. The Life of St. Wenefride is very conspicuous, as to both these genuine Marks of *Miracles* and *Sanctity*; as it will more clearly appear by her wonderful Actions, and the several Steps by which she arrived at so high a State of Perfection.

In the seventh Age after Man's Redemption flourish'd many *Saints* of both Sexes. I shall only mention those chiefly concern'd in this short History. (c) St. Beuno, the glorious Instrument of St. Wenefride's second Life and Sanctity, was born of noble Parents in Montgomeryshire,

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at

(b) It neither is nor can be literally true, that any one ever did greater Miracles than Christ did. The Apostles and first Disciples of Christ might work more Miracles than their Master, and their Miracles might convert more People to the Faith, and have a greater and a quicker Effect upon their Minds, than those which our Saviour wrought among the Jews. And in this Sense the Words were justified by the Event; the speedy Conversion of so great a Part of the World by so few Hands, in so short a Time, as both the Scriptures and other ancient Writers tell us was done, is a convincing Proof that the Servants were, in this Point, greater than their Master, and the Disciples than their Lord. But to imagine that any of them either did or could work greater Miracles than Christ did, in curing all Diseases by a Word, and in his Absence, and raising People from the Dead, and the like, is to imagine what no Man living can comprehend, and what no History, that can be credited, has ever given us any Instance or Example of. But for this I refer the Reader to The Chapter of Miracles, in which I have shewn, that this of St. John 14. 12. is one of those abused Texts that is laid as a Foundation for the most ridiculous and most absurd Legends in the World: And that I might not want an Instance of the Application of this Text to this bad Purpose, the present Book affords me one. The Miracles of St. Wenefride are, it seems, to convince us, that that Promise of our Saviour was made good in her great Works.

(c) See The Life of St. Beuno, at the End; translated from the British M. S. in Jesus College, Oxon. and which is certainly of equal Credit and Authority with The Life of Wenefride, and may be of great Use in fixing the Chronology of these Saints Lives, which is as yet somewhat doubtful.



at the Fall of the River Rhyw into Storn, therefore called *Aberhyw*. His Father *Bisf* descended lineally from *Cadell*, Prince of *Gleſiwig*; and his Mother derived her Pedigree from *Anna*, (who was marry'd to the King of the *Picts*) Sister to the mighty and renown'd King *Arthur*, who departed happily this Life, and was interr'd at *Glaſtenbury*, in the Year 542. His Grandfather was *St. Gundeleus*, and he was near related to ſeveral eminent Saints; amongst the reſt, he was Couſin German to *St. Kentegern*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, who, forc'd from *Scotland*, founded the Biſhoprick of *St. Aſaph*, from his Diſciple of that Name, whom he left to govern that Church.

Young *Banno* was educated under the Direction of a holy Man call'd *St. Dangeſus*; and he advanced ſo faſt in Perfection, that he ſpent two or three Days and Nights in continual Prayer, ſo that he was drawn with Reluctancy to reſreſh fainting Nature. He took an early Surfeit of worldly Vanity, he renounced the flattering Allurements of terrene Pleaſures, and exchanged the glittering Grandeur of an opulent Fortune for the poor Habit of a Monk; reſolving to ſpend the Remainder of his Days in the Practice of Evangelical Counſels. Being well ſettled, and thoroughly grounded in the Apoſtolical Inſtitute, he obſerved the following laudable Practice to promote the Honour of his Creator. When he had built a Church and Monastery, and there eſtabliſh'd regular Diſcipline, he remov'd to ſome other Part of the Country to perform the like Duty to God; ſo that in few Years he became a common Father to numerous Religious, who reſpected him as their holy Founder.

This zealous Monk having finiſh'd his Monastery at *Clynoc Vawr* in *Carnarvonſhire*, found himſelf powerfully inspir'd to viſit his Relations in *Flintſhire*. 'Tis true, he had long before bid adieu to all Ties of Fleſh and Blood; but he underſtood this Call, as a Voice from Heaven. A rich and potent Lord in that Part of *North Wales* where now *Holy-well* is, had marry'd the virtuous and noble Lady *Wenlo*, (a) Sister to *St. Banno*. His Name

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was

(a) To ſatisfy his complaining Pilgrims, the Editor (or rather Author) of this new Life, is very careful to give them a very particular Account of *Wenefride's* Relations. He tells

was *Theodrich*, some write him *Tiebwich*; but a Manuscript now before me, of one of the eruditeſt Antiquaries of the laſt Age, ſays his Name was *Tyuid*. Theſe Parents of St. *Wenefride*, by an exemplar and truly Chriſtian Life, ſurpaſſ'd their high Extraction. They reckon'd ſolid Virtue as the moſt diſtinguiſhing Quality; and they pitied vicious Potentates, who are contemptible in the Eyes of the King of Kings. St. *Wenefride*, with the Glory of *Welf Britain*, was born in the troubleſome Reign of King *Cadwallon*; and St. *Beuno* made his Viſit to his Brother-in-Law's Houſe, in the Reign of King (1.) *Eluith*, the ſecond of that Name. The venerable Monk, having with much Humility, and great Modesty, made himſelf known, he told them, That he was ſent by Almighty God to honour him there, as he had done in other Places; and that he neither expected, nor crav'd any other Favour, than a ſmall

us, her Mother was my Lady *Wenlo*, and that St. *Beuno* was her Uncle, and her Father's true Name *Tyuid*: Which are Discoveries that are owing entirely to the MS. that was before him; for Robert of *Salop* ſays no ſuch thing, nor the *Old Life* of *Beuno*, nor the *Cotton MS.* nor any other Account, Latin or Engliſh, in Verſe or in Proſe (for I have all before me, in ſad Abundance.) However, I do not queſtion the Editor's Sincerity herein; but only take Occaſion from hence, to pray theſe Pilgrims to conſider upon what Uncertainties they travel, upon what poor and wretched Bottoms the Lives of their Saints are built.

(c) The Editor ſays *Beuno* viſited his Siſter, in the Reign of King *Eluith* the ſecond of that Name. I believe it would puzzle the eruditeſt Antiquaries of all *Wales*, to tell us, when, or where, *Eluith*, either *Fiſt* or *Second*, reigned. But ſince he copies this Miſtake from J. F. the Jeſuit, I will let them both fight. It is in *Robertus Salopiensis* thus — *Pervenit ad Præſentem cauſulam Magni & Potentiſſimi Viri, nomine Theodrich, qui ſilius domini ſymonis & excellentiſſimi Senatoris, & Regis Secundi, Eluith nomine.* Which is in Engliſh — He came to the Manner-houſe of a certain great and mighty Man, whoſe Name was *Tenith*; who was the Son of a moſt high and excellent Lord, and the very next Man to the King, whoſe Name was *Eluith*. The Jeſuit had, by conſtruing wrong, created a new Prince of *North Wales*, (of which there was no Manner of Need;) and tho' he be now depoſed, yet *Wenefride* has thereby got a Grandfather, even *Eluith*, the Father of *Tenith*, who, I deſire, may be hereafter placed in his right Genealogical Order.

small Parcel of his large Territories, sufficient to build a Church on; *where others, with my self (said he) will daily pray for your Safety and Happiness.*

*Thewish* (I shall stile him so for the future) was not in the miserable Catalogue of those thoughtless blind Worldlings, who are prodigal in Vanity and Ostentation, but start and frown at the first Proposal of parting with small Matters for the Advantage of their Souls. No, he look'd forward with other Eyes, towards a more permanent Being, than here upon soe did Earth; therefore return'd the following Answer: *With good Reason, holy Father, I am oblig'd to give you Part of the Lands I now possess, for the sake and Service, who bestow'd them all upon me. You have pleasur'd me, in asking this Charity, which is more advantageous to me than to you, who propose it: Therefore from this very Day, I do absolutely alienate from my self, and my Posterity, the Matter I now live in; and with Joy I surrender unto you all my Rights and Title, and I put you into Possession. I humbly beg'd a Barrow, that having one only Child, a tender Virgin, who is my special Comfort, you'd inscribe her in heavenly Documents, that her life and Conversation may be holy, pleasing to God, and joyful to her Parents.* After this generous Settlement, the Nobleman made choice of a Dwelling-Seat, not far distant from the Place he had given to St. Beuno; where, on a Hill, he could see the Church, where the Servants of God praise'd their Maker.

As *Constantine* the Great, at the Building of St. Peter's Basilica, divesting himself of his Imperial Robes, took up the Spade, broke Ground, and carry'd twelve Baskets of Earth, in Honour of the twelve Apostles, to cast into the Foundation, in Testimony of his Devotion to the primitive Princes of Christianity; so in Imitation of this heroick Pattern, the noble Lord *Thewish* set aside State and Birth, many times putting his own Hands to the holy Work. This he did to encourage others, and to contribute in some sort to the finishing of the Fabrick. The Church being made fit to offer in it the (f) Divine Sacrifice, he and his Spouse, with their only Child, were daily present at holy Mass.

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(f) I have already observed that this is none of *Rafert's* Expressions, but of the Editor's own making; as most of the Life hitherto is.



Mafs. They had this pious Custom, to place their Daughter at the *Saints Feet*, at the Time of his Exhortations to the People, advising her to give Attention to his excellent Doctrine. This was not necessary, altho' religiously suggested by pious Parents; for she was so much transported with a holy Delight in hearing him preach, that she frequently visited him alone, to discourse of Self-Knowledge and Christian Performances.

It was her Parents Intention to marry her to some Nobleman of the Country, and to bestow on her a most plentiful Fortune; but her ever blessed Redeemer, in those tender Years, was disposing her sweetly for his Service. By St. Beuno's frequent Discourses, she understood how great, how good, and how glorious the heavenly Spouse was; that voluntary Virgins are like Angels upon Earth; that they follow the Lamb wherever he goeth, Apoc. xiv; that the Honours of the World are vain, and its Pleasures short lived; so that the very Thoughts of a Terrene Husband became hateful unto her. Wherefore she resolved to keep her self (g) undefiled, and to consecrate her pure Virginity to the Lord of Heaven and Earth. One main Difficulty occur'd, how to render her Parents favourable to this heavenly Call. She burned with the Love of God, and at the same Time she resolved to fulfil the Commandment of honouring Father and Mother. In this Struggle betwixt Divine Vocation and Christian Duty, the Bestower of all Lights put her into a Method how to prepare the Way towards her Happiness, by making use of St. Beuno, as a glorious Instrument.

This holy Man was honoured as a Saint by her Parents, and by Consequence she knew very well, that he had great Power and Authority with them, and they would not reject any reasonable Request made by him, such as she took hers to be. Impatient of losing Time, for completing her Design, having found him one Day alone, and at Liberty, she acquainted him with the holy Fruits of his moving Discourses, and after a very patherick Manner, humbly petitioned for his zealous Concurrence, in preserving

(g) St. Paul's Opinion is, that Marriage is honourable (in) all, and the Bed undefiled; but the Monk's Opinion is, that they who would keep themselves undefiled, must not marry.



-serving the rich Treasure of her Virginity, which she re-  
solved never to part with, for all the Offers that the flat-  
tering World could make her. St. Beuno was agreeably  
surpriz'd at this most welcome News; for, as St. Paul, he  
desir'd all to be like unto himself, 1 Cor. xi. 1. He had un-  
shaken Confidence in God's Power and Goodness, that he  
who had begun the Work, would give it the finishing  
Stroke. Moreover, being no Stranger to the singular Pie-  
ty of those he was to treat with, he cheerfully undertook  
the Task, to the unexpressible Satisfaction of the expect-  
ing Virgin.

We cannot read without flowing Tears, how faithful  
Abraham, in Obedience to God's Command, had his  
Hand lifted up to sacrifice his Son Isaac, his only begotten  
Son, whom he lov'd, Gen. xxii. 2. not so much as demur-  
ring at the first Intimation of the Omnipotent; perchance  
it may move us to Devotion, by a serious Consideration,  
how the Lord Thewith entertained this unexpected Petiti-  
on of his dear Child. Besides the internal Gifts of Grace,  
and apparent Virtues, which charm'd her devout Parents,  
her Stature was well proportion'd, her Face was matchless,  
her Modesty equalled her Beauty, Qualifications much ad-  
mir'd by Mankind. She was the agreeable Object of  
their Eyes, the Support of their Family, and the Prospect  
of their Happiness upon Earth. Yet no sooner had St.  
Beuno delivered his Sentiments, as to the Nature of the  
Offering, That it was a sort of *Holocaust* to sacrifice their  
Affections, and to bequeath to their God the dearest Crea-  
ture in the World, whom they loved more than they  
did themselves, with other persuasive Reasons to the same  
Effect; the holy Man, I say, had no sooner ended his  
Discourse, but contrary to the Weakness of other fond Pa-  
rents, Tears of Joy came trickling down Lord Thewith's  
Cheeks, who with his Spouse, broke out into the Praises  
of Jesus Christ, for so highly favouring their only Child.  
They then called for their Daughter, and gave her full  
and free Leave to forsake the World, wishing her a hap-  
py Progress in the Way of Perfection. They likewise  
declared, That the heavenly Spouse having made choice of  
her, they intended to make him Heir of what they de-  
signed for her Dowry, by disposing of the same, to his  
greater Honour, in pious and religious Uses. They drew  
also this Advantage to themselves, of renouncing the  
World,

World, so far as was consistent with Persons in their Station. They entered into a firm Resolution of giving to the Poor great part of their Princely Wealth, of retiring from Worldly Noise and Hurry, that with an undepend- ing Freedom they might be more absolute Masters of short Time, to provide and send before them never ending Treasures to Heaven.

The pious Virgin receiving this coveted Grant, concluded that she could never return sufficient Thanks to God for the Favour. She watched whole Nights in the Church, either kneeling, or prostrate before the Altar, where she imagined to herself that she was in her immortal Spouse's Presence-Chamber. Contemplation raised her up into Ad- miration of His infinite Perfections; so that to hear *Jesus Christ* only named, brought joyful Tears into her Eyes from a flaming Heart. Pure Delights overflow'd her Soul, and looking towards Heaven, the World appeared base and contemptible. To add Fuel to this pleasing Fire, she procured a little Oratory near unto St. Beuna's Cell, to visit him with greater Ease in the Day-time, and in silent Night to practise her Master's Spiritual Lessons.

The implacable Enemy of Mankind, suspecting that such high Beginnings of Perfection in tender Years, might prove a powerful Invitation to other Noble Virgins of de- spising themselves and the World, employ'd one of his incarnate Emissaries to defeat the Design of the Holy Ghost. What Hell cannot effect, by its own immediate Suggesti- ons, it too frequently brings about by the insinuating Ar- guments of lewd Mortals. Wherefore, such as induce others to forfeit Divine Grace by mortal Sin, are detesta- ble Instruments of rebellious Lucifer. As the Devil put into the Heart of Judas Iscariot to betray the Son of God, *John xiii. 2.* so he cast an impure Flame into the Heart of *Credacus*, King *Alen's* Son, to commit a sacrilegious Rape upon *Christ's* lovely Spouse. He was sordidly enamoured with the Charms of her Person, not casting an Eye on the Beauty of her Vertues; so waited for an Opportunity to gratify his brutish Passion, which thus happened. One Sunday St. Wenefride's Parents being gone to Church before her, and she for a short Space detained at Home on a cha- ritable Account, soon to follow after; the Prince having Intelligence, entered the House, under Pretence of Bu- siness with the Lord *Thowth*. At first the holy Maid, not

at all suspecting his Insincerity or Design, received him very courteously, with an humble Apology of her Unworthiness to entertain one of his Royal Birth: But if you please (said she) to repose your self in a more convenient Room till Divine Service is ended, my Father will be at Liberty to serve you. To this candid and obliging Answer of the bashful Virgin, Cradocus, now more than ever enflamed with sinful Desires, reply'd in the greatest Disorder, That nothing could be more agreeable than to stay in her Company, since it was then solely in her Power to make him happy. If she comply'd with the ardent Desires of a passionate Lover, she might expect all the Happiness his Power and Quality was capable of bestowing upon her.

Although the Virgin blush'd and trembled at the Immodesty of this wicked Proposal, yet being perfectly present to herself in the dangerous Occasion, and fortify'd with Divine Grace and Light from Heaven, she answer'd, That there was not the least Doubt to be made of enjoying Honours, Wealth, and Worldly Happiness, by being espoused to so noble a Prince; that she was in great Confusion to be so suddenly surprized in such mean Attire, not becoming his Presence: Wherefore permit me (said she) to enter my Chamber adjoining to this, to better my Dress. Cradocus in the Heat of his Passion, unwillingly gave ear to the Virgin's Petition, yet could not refuse a Request accompany'd with so much Modesty and seeming Deference to his Quality. She no sooner got clear of so impudent a Guest, but slipping out privately by another Door, she immediately ran towards the Church, sure of meeting with Protection there from so villainous an Attempt. Mean time the Prince, impatient of so long a Delay, and not without some Suspicion of what had happened, rush'd into the Room to which she retired; not finding her there, he pursued her so eagerly, that he overtook her on the Descent of the Hill before she could gain the Church. There with a drawn Sword in his Hand, and with Fury in his Face, he threatens to separate her Head from her Body, unless she quickly consented to his Will.

Here methinks appeared a lively Representation of the Anguish and Perplexities on every Side of chaste Susanna, whose Honour and Conscience was attempted by the two lascivious Judges. If she consented 'twas Death to her, and if she did not she would not escape their Hands, Dan. xiii. 12.



The Noble *Israelite* came to this final Resolution, 'Tis better for me, without the *Ast*, to fall into your Hands, than to sin in the Sight of our Lord. Oh! that Christians had such a Horrour and Detestation of mortal Sin, to look upon it as more hideous and frightful than a violent Death. St. Wenefride was of that settled Opinion, she had two Sorts of Deaths waiting for an Answer, a Separation of the Soul from the Body, or a Separation of the Soul from God: She did not ballance upon the Matter, but undauntedly and heroically reply'd, How, by her Parents Approbation, she was holily espoused to the Son of God, who infinitely exceeds all Power and Beauty upon Earth; that she would be faithful and constant in her pure Affections, and rather lose her Life, than to admit any Corrivall. Neither shall your Menaces and Terrours (said she) draw me from the Sweetness of his Love, nor so overawe me, as to make me recede in the least from executing what I have promised. As it happens sometimes that despised carnal Love turns into Rage, so it fared with barbarous Cradocus, who seeing himself scorn'd (as he thought) gave such a deadly Blow to the Virgin's Neck, that the first Stroke severed the Head from the Body; which falling upon the Descent of the Hill, roll'd down to the Church, where the Congregation was kneeling before the Altar. As they were terrify'd with the bloody Object of her Head, so they were astonish'd to behold a clear and rapid Spring gushing out of that Spot of Ground her Head had first fallen upon, which to this very Day is visited from all Parts by Devout Pilgrims. The Place of her Martyrdom had before her Death the Name of the Dry Valley, or Barren Bottom, which was changed into the Title of *Fynhon*, which in old *Wells* signifies a Fountain or Well. 'Twas also observed, that the Stones of the Well were tingured with Drops, as it were, of Blood, to perpetuate the Memory of what she had shed for the Love of Christ; and in Process of Time 'twas taken Notice of, that the Moss growing round the Well had a very fragrant Smell, as an Emblem of the Odour of her Angelical Vertues.

To close the last Act of this inhumane Tragedy, and to relate the dreadful Stroke of Divine Justice on the cruel Tyrant, we are to premise with Brevity, that the just Grief of the Holy Virgin's Parents is not to be expressed, seeing their dear Child so villainously butcher'd almost

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before their Eyes. St. Beuno's Vertue was also put to the Test, to bear with true Resignation the Loss of so devout a Creature. Tears came trickling down his Cheeks at the Sight of the horrid Murther. The afflicted People, with united Voices, called upon Heaven for speedy Execution against him, who had comitted that heinous Outrage. Indignation accompanied Compassion, when they beheld the unrelenting *Affassin* wiping his bloody Sword upon the Grass, and glorying in the detestable Fact, without any Fear of God or Man. St. Beuno was preparing to offer the Unbloody Sacrifice of our Redemption; but being inspired by Him who declared, *Revenge to me, and I will repay it, Deut. xxxii. 35.* he left the Altar, and taking the Blessed Martyr's Head into his trembling Hands, he mounted the Ascent towards *Cradocus*. He feared not such a Blow as was given to the tender Virgin; on the same Account, for the Love of Christ, he would have bid it welcome. Faithful Servants of God dread nothing, Sin only excepted. Being come up to him, he said, *Thou wicked Man, who, without any Regard to Innocence or Beauty, has massacred a Princely Virgin, no less nobly born than thy self. Nor dost thou repent, or seem sorry, as thou oughtest to do, for this horrid Sacrilege. I here beseech my Heavenly Lord, that, for an Example to others, he will please to execute his Divine Judgment against thee, who hast murdered his Spouse, troubled his People, violated his Sabbath, and besprinkled his holy House with Blood, which I consecrated to his Service.* As the Earth swallowed up rebellious and perverse *Corah*, Numb. xvi. so some affirm, that at St. Beuno's last Words, *Cradocus* not only dropp'd down dead, but also that the Earth opened to give Passage to the luxurious Body to sink towards his monstrous Soul, or that the Master whom he had served, the Devil, carry'd it off; for it is certain, that the Carcass of the cruel Murtherer never afterwards appeared.

The Faithful glorified God in his Justice, but could not curb their Grief. St. Beuno earnestly exhorted the Parents and People to turn from Lamentations, and to address the Creator of Souls, and Raiser up of dead Bodies, that as he had commanded back *Lazarus* to Life, rotting in his Monument, so, to his greater Honour and Glory, and for the Comfort of the sorrowful Parents, who had so generously dedicated this darling Child to his Service, he would graciously vouchsafe to restore her to Life. He

then join'd the sacred Head to the pale Body, covering both with his Cloak, after which he offered up the holy Sacrifice of our Salvation.

After Mass was ended, he, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, made the following Prayer; O Lord Jesus Christ! for whose sake this holy Virgin contain'd the World, and languish'd after Thee; by the tender Bowels of thy Mercy, Love, and Bounty, be graciously pleas'd to grant us the Effect of our Vows and Prayers humbly offered unto Thee. We are fully persuaded that this godly Virgin, who lived holily, and died for Thee with great Constancy, is now highly exalted, and wants no more the Society of us mortal and miserable Creatures. Yet to manifest thy Omnipotence and Supreme Dominion which thou hast over Souls and Bodies, which are never dead to thy Power of reuniting them; as also to multiply the Merits of that Soul, whose Body lies here before us: We crave a second Life for her, to the end that after a long and plentiful Harvest, laden and enriched with new Merits, she may return unto Thee, her Eternal Spouse, and the Beloved of her Heart, who, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, rulest on Earth, and reignest in Heaven for ever and ever. The pious People, drown'd in Tears, having, with Sighs and moving Sobs, answered devoutly, Amen, the Virgin arose, as newly awaked from Sleep. She wiped her Eyes and Face to clear away that glorious Dust, which had settled on her lovely Head when it tumbled towards her dear St. Bruno. The Decollation of St. Wenefride is celebrated on the 22d of June. (h)

Contemplate here (dear Reader) the Joy and Admiration which then transported all present at this wonderful Miracle. Tears burst out more plentifully, but flowing from

(h) One MS. says the 22d, but the Cotton one and that of Sir James Ware say the 24th. Olaus Rudol. Jul. So that she died upon the same Day both at Holywell and Guichein. And I wonder how the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his Clergy in Convocation assembled, came to appoint her Day to be observed on the 3d of November, which they did in 1398, more than 700 Years after her supposed Death. They also appointed Nine Lessons to be read on her Festival, which are yet to be seen in the Brevisary Secundum usum Sarum, and which (I mention it for his Credit) are almost Word for Word taken out of her Legend, written by the good Monk Robert of Shrewsbury.

from a different Cause. They magnified and blessed the boundless Goodness of her Great God, every one resolving to rise with the Saint to a Newness of reforming their past Lives. One Particular in this surprizing Resuscitation is very remarkable, viz. When her Parents and others fixed their Eyes upon her Neck, they observed a pure white Circle, no larger than a small Thread, quite round it, denoting the Place where the Separation had been made, which always after remained. From this the great Veneration of the People for her changed her Name, which was *Brewa*, (i) into that of *Wenefride*. *Wen* in the old British Tongue signifies *White*, and other Letters were by an Alteration added to this Syllable, to render more agreeable the Sound of the new Name. In the many Apparitions after her Second Death, when she shewed herself to her devout Clients, they always took special Notice of the aforesaid white Circle, which intimated to them the indelible Mark of her Spouse's Affection, for suffering that mortal Wound so courageously for his Sake.

Permit me here to break off for a while the Thread of this Discourse by a short, but necessary, Digression, in order to obviate the Cavils of some modern incredulous Criticks, who seem now-a-days to entertain such strange Notions of these Supernatural Works of Almighty God, that they believe nothing that suits not exactly with the fanciful Ideas of their own Brain. These Refiners will be apt not only to carp at what is here related concerning this Holy Virgin's Return to Life, but perhaps also turn to Ridicule what follows hereafter, of her sending Presents

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(i) *Wen Brewa, Wen Vrewa, Wen Erema, Wenefreda*, as *Lansan-fraid*, comes from *St. Bride*, which is *St. Brigit*. The *Cotton Life* takes no Notice of the Change of her Name, but says her Name was *Wenefrede* always, and, which is more, calls her *Candida Wenefrede*; and yet he who wrote it, seems to have been a Welchman. And the old English Legend of the Saints Lives says thus, *And ever as long as she lived after, there apiered about her Neck a Rednes round about, lyke to a rede threde of Silk, in Signe and Token of her Martyrdome*; which quite overthrows our Criticism. It matters not much whether the Circle were white or red, provided there were any; and *Robert* assures us, that after her last Departure out of this World she never shewed herself openly to any one, who did not also see this Circle, which I dare say is true.



sents to St. Beune by the Current of the Miraculous Fountain, and several other wonderful Things contained in the following Pages. As it would be highly criminal to pretend to fathom the Wisdom of God by our shallow Capacities, or to confine his Omnipotence to the bounded Limits of the greatest Power upon Earth; so it would be Madness in us to believe every thing, without rational Grounds and sufficient Authority. But when we find such Instances of the Infinite Power and Goodness of Almighty God, as we have here in this History recorded (k) by Learned

(k) I refer the Reader to what has been said in the Observations before-going, and to the Chapter of Notes, that he may from thence determine who these Learned and Pious Witnesses were, that for 500 Years together have not so much as named the Name of *Wenefrede*; and how her Sanctity and Miracles can be said to be handed down to Posterity by an uninterrupted Tradition, when we can find no Mention made of her during that Space of Time. From the supposed Time of *Wenefrede* to *Robert of Salop* are 500 Years; and after *Robert* no Body, that we know of, says any thing of her for full 200 Years more. And is not this a very proper Case to talk of *Witnesses* in, and of *uninterrupted Tradition*? As to what follows concerning Miracles, I refer the Reader to the Chapter on that Head, reminding him now only of these few Things; That Miracles are not to be believed purely upon the Credit of him who relates them, unless he be an inspired Writer; because all Men are subject to be deceived themselves, and may, if they will, incline to deceive others. Nor are all Miracles to be believed, merely because God might and could have wrought them, if he would: Nor are all to be believed, because they are of the same Kind with those which God hath already wrought in the Scriptures. In a Word, when the Miracles that are said to have been wrought by the Saints in their Legends have as full Authority and as good Proof as those we find in the Holy Scriptures, then they may be as certainly believed: Nay, when we are as sure that the Saints lived at such a Time, and wrought such and such Miracles, as we are that *Julius Caesar* lived, and that *Josephus* wrote his History, we will believe the one as surely as the other. But would one think it possible for any Man in his Senses to compare the Certainty of *Julius Caesar's* living, and of *Josephus's* writing his History, with the Certainty of *Wenefrede's* and *Beune's* Life and Miracles? Surely the *Pilgrims* ought not to endure, without Complaint, so great a Scorn and Insult upon their Understanding. What is it makes it worth these Writers While to expose the Scrip-



Learned and pious Witnesses, and handed down to Posterity by an uninterrupted Tradition for several Ages together, and never questioned till these our Days. It is the Duty of every rational Man and pious Christian, rather to acknowledge the Goodness of God, who appeared wonderful in these his Works, than dispute his Power by cavilling at Facts, only because they seem to shock his foolish Imagination. To condescend to the Weakness of future Ages, Divine Providence seems to have taken particular Care we should not want undoubted Examples of this Nature, to facilitate our Belief. We know the Prophet *Elizeus* call'd back to Life the Son of the *Sunamite*, iv Kings 4. St. *Peter* rais'd *Tabitha*, and St. *Paul* the young Man that fell from the Window, *Act.* ix. 20. Again, when the Sons of the Prophets were cutting down Wood on the Banks of the River *Jordan*, the Head of one of the Axes fell into the Water. The holy Prophet *Elizeus* cutting a Piece of Wood, in Form of a Handle to it, cast it into the River. The Iron immediately, contrary to its Nature, came from the Bottom, and joyn'd the Wood, iv Kings 6. If some of our modern Criticks, who pretend to more Wit than Religion, durst publish their prophane Notions on

tures and our common Religion by such unequal and ridiculous Comparisons? We have no Distrust of God's Power to work what Miracles he pleases, and at what Time, and in what Manner; we only want Assurance of the Fact, from Writers of Authority and Credit, whose Skill, and Honesty, and Judgment, we may with good Reason depend upon. But must we presently believe, that every first of May, as long as *Beuno* lived, the Virgin came and brought a curious Vestment wrapped up in a Woollen Cloth, and laid it in the Midst of the Well, which was from thence carried down into the River, and thence into the *Dee*, and thence into the *Irish Seas*, and thence into the *Menai*, and from thence to *Clynog Vaur*, where *Beuno* lived, and received it safe and dry, as if it had been carried in a Ship; which is a Course of at least 50 Miles, and has as many Crooks and Windings, and perverse Turnings, as it is possible for the Sea and Land to make, in such a Compass. Must we, I say, believe this annual Miracle upon the Credit of a Monk or two, delivering the same 500 Years after the Fact, because it was not impossible to God, and because the Scriptures tell us, that Iron swam at the Prophet *Elisba's* bidding? And yet this is the Reasoning of this Writer.

on this Occasion, as freely as they do in other miraculous Cases not mention'd in holy Writ, they would ask, By what Sympathy the Iron was moved from the Bottom of the River, to seek for, and by what Art it found out the Piece of Wood swimming on the Surface of the Waters? Whether the Recovery of the lost Head of an Ax, was a Matter of such Importance, that God should think fit to employ his Omnipotence, in working so great a Miracle to find it? But to silence all such prophane Reflections in those who pretend to Christianity, Almighty God has been pleased, not only to work this, and the like Miracles, but provided they should be stamp'd with Divine Truth, and delivered down to all Ages to come, in the very Word of God it self.

Is it harder to believe, that a little light Bundle should float upon the Sea, and arrive safe in a Creek, near unto which St. *Baum* then lived, without the least Damage, than that the Head of an Ax, a lumpish Piece of Iron, should swim upon the Surface of the Waters of the River *Jordan*, and join a Piece of Wood thrown in after it, in Form of a Handle? Without Doubt both Facts are wonderful, both Miracles.

I know there is a very wide, and, as I may say, an infinite Disparity between Miracles registered in holy Scripture, and those recommended to Posterity by learned and unquestionable Authors: But when Facts are so fully attested by a Cloud of Witnesses, and delivered down to us by the universal Belief of all Ages, as in the Case before us, of our Saint's being rais'd to Life by the Prayers of St. *Baum*, and of the Manner she sent Presents to him afterwards; it would be as unpardonable in a rational Man to refuse his Assent, as to deny that there ever was such a Person in the World as *Julius Caesar*, or that whatever *Josephus* the Historian has left written of the Jewish Wars, was nothing but a meer Fable. Let then the Atheist rally, let the Incredulous mutter; all good Christians know, that the Son of God, who neither can nor will deceive, has made this infallible Promise to his Church, That he will be with her to the End of the World, Mat. xxviii. 20. and that they who believe in him, shall not only do the Works he did, but even greater than those shall they do, Joh. xiv. 12. Can the Hand of God be shortend? or, Can his Goodness receive any Diminution?

No

No, nor your Omnipotence, O Lord, is still the same, and of your Mercies there is no End.

Whatever this incredulous Age may think of this great Miracle of our Saint's Return to Life; it appear'd so evident to the *Wes't Britains*, and redounded so much to the Honour of God's Church, St. *Benedict's* Sanctity, and the Power he had with his *Creator*, that many *Pagan People*, remaining in those Parts, came to hear the holy Man's Instructions in the *Catholic Faith*, and to receive Baptism.

St. *Wenefride*, according to her former Practice, like *Mary* at the Feet of *Christ*, sat on a low Seat before him. She was never satiated with the heavenly *Manna*, which fell from his angelical Tongue. She counted as nothing what she had already done, or suffer'd, and restless to be more strictly united to her beloved *Sponse*, she aspir'd to the Height of Perfection. Wherefore she most humbly begg'd upon her Knees, to be solemnly veil'd, (according to the Custom of the primitive Ages) that by entering into a religious Course of Life, she might put her to greater Confusion, which had fiercely attempted to dishonour God and her self. But mostly, that she might pour forth her Soul in the Presence of her eternal *Sposer*, with a flaming and disengag'd Heart, entirely his; and say, *Behold I have left all things, and have followed thee*, *St. Mat. xix. 21.*

St. *Benedict*, with Tears of Joy, complied with this religious Request, and performed the Ceremony in a numerous Assembly. He knew to what a Degree of Sanctity the Spirit of God would raise her, for his own Glory, and the Improvement of others; therefore he spent whole Days in cultivating her Soul, in what regarded a religious State. She, as an apt Scholar, took in so fast the frequent Lessons, and put them in Practice so punctually, that it struck her Master into Admiration. He finding her so far advanced in an interior Life, that she was even able to direct and govern others in the Way to Perfection, one Day he called for her Parents, and after the following Manner deliver'd unto them his Sentiments and Resolutions.

As you (said he) have most liberally bestowed a Church and House for the Service of God, and for the Help and Benefit of the Faithful, so his Divine Majesty, has more than sufficiently requited your Charity, by conferring on you spiritual Favours, but more especially on your Child, whom, for the Time to come,



you may follow as a safe Guide, in our blessed Redeemer's Service. I am call'd on by Heaven to another Place; and I leave you to the Grace and Goodness of God, and the rare Example of your Daughter. Then turning to St. Wenefride, he said, Our Lord, dear Child, has appointed you to succeed in my Labours. March on in the Way of Virtue, as I have taught you, and guide others on the Road to Eternal Life. Gather in this very Place, for your heavenly Spouse, many pure and devout Virgins; but know withal, that here you shall not end your Days, for after the Term of seven Years, spent by you in Prayer and Austerities, for your own Merits, and Edification of others, our gracious Lord will summon you to another Place, that Strangers may be instructed by you, and come to the true Knowledge and Service of him; for whose Sake you sell a Kiss of Rancour.

When the Ancients of Ephesus had heard St. Paul declare unto them, that they should see no more his Face, according to they fell upon his Neck, and there with great Weeping in like Manner, when St. Wenefride was acquainted by her admired Master, that she should not see him any more in this World, a lawful Grief seem'd to overwhelm her. To comfort her in such deep Affliction, St. Beuno took her by the Hand, and led her to the Crystalline Fountain, the Place of her Martyrdom; where they sitting together on a Stone, bearing to this Day the Name of St. Beuno's Stone, and which lieth now in the outward Well; You see (said he) the Monument here of your Sufferings. Behold also the Stones, as tinged with your Blood, which was shed for the Glory of your heavenly Spouse. Be you therefore attentive, and mindful of what I do foretell you, concerning three special Favours, whereby your glorious Spouse Jesus Christ will hereafter honour your self, and by your Prayer benefit others. The First is, That these bloody Spots shall never be wash'd off from the said Stones, but ever remain, as triumphant Signs of your Blood, spilt in Defence of your Chastity. The Second is, That any Person who shall devoutly ask Temporal Blessings, or Freedom from Spiritual or Corporal Distresses, to be obtained by your Merits and Intercession, the same shall compass his Request, if it be to the Honour and Glory of God, by paying their Devotions three times at this Well. If what he petitions for be not for the Advantage of his Soul, and therefore is not granted; at his Death, by your Prayers, he shall reap more ample Fruit, and in the next World everlasting Bless.

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Blessings. *The Third*, That after my Departure into a more remote Part of this Island, God will give me a Cell near unto the Sea Shore; so that whenever you send any Letters or Tokens to me, as I intreat you to do at least once every Year, only cast them into the Stream of this Fountain, and they will come safe unto me. Which Wonders will be gloriously divulged of you, to the End of the World.

He then conducted her back to the Church; where he added, Behold this Church, and Buildings round it, which have been rais'd by the Munificence of your Parents; these I leave unto you, to be converted into a Monastery of chaste and holy Virgins, who moved by your pious Instructions and exemplary Life, may put in Practice those divine Lessons, which I have often delivered unto you; that is, the Contempt of the World, and an entire Abnegation of themselves; which are the Foundation of religious Perfection. Strive therefore, dear Child, in all things, to exhibit your self as a lively Pattern of Virtue. As to my poor self, I will go whither the Spirit of God shall direct me, and shall ever retain in my Heart and Soul, a most fatherly and loving Memory of you.

To experience the racking Effects of a rational Sorrow, is nothing derogatory to solid Virtue. The Holy of Holies not only groan'd, but wept at the Tomb of Lazarus, St. John xi. 35. and he shed Tears upon Jerusalem, St. Luke xix. 41. for the future Calamities of that obstinate City, which would not know the Time of its Visitation. The royal Prophet, a Man according to God's own Heart, upon taking his last Farewel of his beloved Jonathan, they wept together, but David more, i Reg. xx. 41. It must not then seem strange, that the tender Heart of this doleful Virgin, was ready to split asunder with Grief, at the last Adieu, in this World. The more he attempted to sweeten this bitter Separation, his charming Words caused her swelling Sorrow to float higher; insomuch, that when she saw him, with his Staff in his Hand, ready to depart, she rated the approaching Loss as the heaviest Cross upon Earth, and could not forbear expressing thus her self unto him; Now, holy Father, I am to be left alone, as a poor Orphan Child without a Nurse, or as a silly Sheep amongst ravenous Wolves without a Pastor to defend me. I was always safe with you, always joyful in your Presence, always instructed by your Exhortations, and edify'd by your Example. These Words, attended with flow-

ing Tears, so much oppress'd St. Beuno's Heart, that not being able to utter any Answer, he bless'd her with his Hand, and hasten'd his Pace in the Beginning of his Journey.

Nothing now could comfort her, save only the fresh Remembrance of all his pious Instructions, and an earnest Desire of executing obediently his Commands. Accordingly, in a short Time, she associated to her self many noble and devout Virgins, who observ'd such Rules as she establish'd for them. She order'd nothing but what first she practis'd her self; and Miracles were not wanting to increase her Authority, and the Opinion of her Sanctity. Their Love and Respect towards her, caus'd each of them to contend who should be most forward in the Imitation of her rare Perfections. They nauseated sordid Pleasures, they undervalued Wealth and Honour, and they seem'd to be Inhabitants of a Terrestrial Paradise, in loving and serving their heavenly Spouse, the Son of God. She govern'd her Subjects with endearing Commands, so that they obey'd with equal Merit and Content. She eas'd them in their Difficulties and Temptations, in so much that they observing her rigid Mortification, her angelical Purity, and knowing the strict Union she had with God in Prayer, whatever she declar'd unto them, was receiv'd as Oracles from Heaven.

The spreading Fame of St. Wenefride was wonderfully dilated by miraculous Cures of diseased Persons. They were frequent and apparent, and divulg'd thro' other Parts of Wales. Many flock'd from distant Places to hear her Discourse, and to receive Instructions; whom she sent away with flaming Hearts, and ardent Desires to be faithful and fervent in the Service of their God. They regretted a Return to their respective Habitations; and as the Queen of Saba stood astonish'd at Solomon's singular Wisdom, so these admiring Strangers magnified the constant Happiness of the Virgins she govern'd, and blessed those who always stood before her, in Reg. xi. 8. they having such a secure Mistress, and so tender a Mother.

Gratitude for received Favours is not only a moral Virtue, but the eternal Employ of Cherubins and Seraphims, who are now adoring, and offering never ending Thanks to the infinite Goodness of their Omnipotent Creator, who commanded them out of the Chaos of Nothing. St. Wenefride had a most grateful Soul; she honour'd St. Beuno as

an eminent Servant of God; she loved him as a Father; she respected him as a Master; and could never sufficiently acknowledge her Duty to her greatest Benefactor, after him who made her. St. Beuno delivered to her the first Rudiments of Perfection; he incited her to embrace a religious State; he obtained for her by his Prayers a second Life, and polish'd her Interior, that she was amiable in the Sight of God and Men. To make some small Return, she sent him every Year a Token, after the Manner he had prescribed. In the Beginning of May, (1) almost a Year after his Departure, with the Help of her religious Sisters, she finished a curious embroider'd Vestment, (m) and wrapping

(1) The Cotton-Life says this Present was sent upon every Eve of St. John Baptist, and so it might come to Beuno upon that very Day, on which her own Head, as well as St. John's, was cut off.

(m) This Editor translates *Casula* by *Vestment*, tho' it properly signify a *Chasuble*, which is somewhat for the Priests use, in celebrating Divine Service: But I incline to think it was rather an ordinary Vestment, or a travelling Coat, for daily use, because the Cotton-Life says, that wherever Beuno went with this *Casula*, he was never wet in it, (that Power it seems it was indued withal) and from thence was called Beuno *Casulfeck*, or Beuno-drycoat. Now I think so great a Saint as Beuno, would never go abroad in any of the holy Habits, that were proper to the Priest whilst he was officiating; and moreover, the coming of the Vestment dry, after such a Voyage, was not so proper to denominate the Saint *Casulfeck*, as its keeping him dry when he was going about his religious Business in rainy Weather would be. And tho' this be adding Miracle to Miracle, yet it is no great Matter, when compared with what the Monk *Jocelinus* tells us of good St. Kentigern, in the 35th Chap. of his Life, namely, that whenever he went abroad, whether in Rain, or Hail, or Snow, there was not a Drop that fell upon him, but discharged it self all around, and left him dry; nay those who went along with him did also escape these Inconveniencies; so favoured of God was this great Saint. And least the Reader should incline a little to disbelieve this Account, the Author bids him remember, that the Israelites travelled forty Years, and their Raiment waxed not old; and that nothing was impossible with God; which shews what excellent use the Monks are apt to make of Scripture Examples. The Cotton-Life says this Bundle that was sent to Beuno, was not thrown into the Well, but laid upon a Stone in the Well; which Stone failed, with its Freight, till it came to Beuno's Cell, and



ping the same in a Woollen Cloth, she went down with her Religious, and others, to the Well Side, and casting the Bundle into the Water, she said, *Holy Father, according to your Command, and my Promise, I send you this small Token of my Love.* To the great Astonishment of numerous Beholders, it passed down the Stream into the River, then into the Sea, and it landed near the Monastery where St. Beuno then dwelt, many Miles distant from the holy Fountain.

The holy Man was then walking on the Sea Shore, and wondered what that Bundle should be; but opening it, he remembered the Charge he had given to St. Wenefride, and that, as he had foretold, it came miraculously to him, without the least Sign of Wet or Moisture. This Vestment he preserved with great Care in the Church, for the Celebration of holy Mass. He likewise received fresher Lights of her present and future Sanctity; how much Almighty God would be honoured by her, not only at Fynhon, but in other Places whither Divine Providence should direct her to go. The Virgin never intermitted to send him a yearly Present, till his most happy Death was reveal'd unto her, and the glorious Reward he was crowned with in Heaven.

This last Passage may appear to incredulous Drolls the most surprizing of all others in the History of St. Wenefride's Life. Therefore Divine Providence thought fit to authenticate the Memory of it to this very Day, and after this Manner. In Carnarvonshire, eight Miles distant from the Town of Carnarvon, there is a little Creek where the Sea runs up, called in Welsh (n) *Porth y Casseg*, (corruptedly,

there delivered it dry into his Hands. And why not, since nothing is impossible with God, and since we are sure that Iron swam, and sure that the Hand of the Lord is not shortened? But as sure as all these things are, there is another full as sure, and that is, that Monks can invent.

(n) *Porth y Casseg*. The Editor is very much exalted at this lucky Incident, that there is still a Creek in Carnarvonshire, that is called *Porth y Casseg*, which should be *Porth y Cassul*, or the Port of the Vestment; and thinks it a full Proof of the above-told Story of the Vestment's yearly Voyage from Holy-well to Beuno's Monastery at Clynog Vawr; and says that the Port of the Vestment solves the Objection from the Year 660 to 1712. By



edly, as I could instance in other Appellations) for *Port y Cassul*, or the *Port of the Vestment*. Here the first Present of our Saint miraculously landed; and the Place retains the Name to this Day. Near unto this Inlet stands a large Parish Church call'd *Clynnog*, in which St. Beuno was buried, his first founded Monastery being there. His Tomb is yet extant, and is had in great Veneration by the Inhabitants. The History of St. Wenefride's Life was curiously represented in the Glass Windows of *Clynnog* Church, but has been so defaced, that little now appears. What can be more persuasive to obtain Credit to this Miracle, than so ancient and so certain a Tradition, even to those who use their utmost Efforts to destroy the Memo-

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this it appears, that he takes three things for granted; 1. That there is such a Creek as *Port y Cassul*; 2. That this is *Port y Cassul*; and, 3. That this has been so call'd from 860 to 1712, i. e. for 852 Years. To the First I say, there is no such Name in any of our Maps; nor is the Place known by that Name to the Inhabitants thereabouts, as I can learn upon Enquiry. There is such a Place in *Monmouthshire*, called now *Parcasseg*, but in the *Monasticon* 'tis call'd *Portcasseg*. To the Second I say, that *Port y Cassul*, is as likely to be the Name as *Port y Cassul*, altho such Changes are very easy and natural. But I demurr to the Third Conclusion altogether; for if this silly Story should be but of the same Date with *Prior Robert's* Legend of *Wenefride*, yet might the Place where this famous Vestment was said to land every Year, be called, by the poor ignorant common People *Port y Cassul*, without rising to such a Height of Time backwards as *Beuno's* reputed Age is. But after all, there is no Mention of *Port Cassul*, or any Port at all, by *Robert*, tho' he be tediously particular in describing the sending, sailing, and arriving of this *Woollen Vessel*, with its rich Freight. The *Common-Life* calls it *Port-Sachlem*, with Reference, in all Likelihood, to the *Sack* or *Bag*, in which this precious Coat was wrapped up, it being observable, that that Word *Sac* signifies the same thing in abundance of Languages. The Life of *Beuno* also is defective in this Point, there being no Mention made, therein, of the wonderful Conveyance of this yearly Present. But since the Editor says, That the uninterrupted Tradition from Father to Son, for so many Centuries, is a clearer Attestation of Fact, than if it had been recorded in written History, it must e'en pass; for I have nothing to say to things that are to be believed, whether they be written, or whether they be not written: This solves all Objections indeed.

ry of Miracles. The Port of the Vestment solves the Objection from the Year 660 to this of 1772. As Apostolical Tradition is the unwritten Word of God, and by it we receive the holy Scriptures, and the sacred Interpretation and true Sense of them, as what regards Infant Baptism, &c. let it be lawful for me to say, that as to Human Birth, uninterrupted Tradition from Father to Son for so many Centuries, is a clearer Attestation of Truth, than if it had been recorded in written History.

After St. Beuno's Decease, St. Wenefride began to feel in her Soul clear Illustrations and strong Impulses for removing from the Monastery where she was. She had the Comfort to see her Religion so well grounded in Perfection, that her Presence was not necessary. Wherefore in the End of the seventh Year of her Government, (as the Saint had foretold her) she took Leave of her Spiritual Children and of her loving Parents. 'Tis easily imagin'd, that as the Virgin Mary was under a severe Trial at the Departure of St. Beuno, whom she call'd her Father; in like Manner these noble religious Virgins had heavy Hearts and flowing Eyes, when they understood that their dearest Mother was fully resolv'd to leave them. To compose and quiet them, she declar'd that it was the Will of God, and as they had submitted unto Her, they ought to shew undisturb'd Obedience to their heavenly Spouse; that all things ought to be welcome, coming from his fatherly Hand, and appointed them by infinite Wisdom. So having compleated necessary Orders, she embraced each of the Sisters, and chose one of them for a Companion in her Journey. Before her Departure she went down to visit the Place of her Martyrdom; where falling upon her Knees in fervent Prayer, she humbly besought the Creator of Heaven and Earth to direct her in this new Pilgrimage, and likewise to increase his Blessings on such, who in a devout Manner should visit that Well, where for his Honour she had suffer'd the Loss of her Life. The many Miracles in subsequent Ages gave clear Testimony that her charitable Petition had the gracious Assent of him who is the Bestower of all good Gifts.

St. Wenefride having recommended to God her Monastery of Fishan, her Parents, and her Friends, (a) Divine

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(a) The Editor of this Life, grows somewhat scrupulous in this Part of the Work, dares not express himself so freely as the

Providence directed her to the Cell of blessed *Deifer*, eight Miles

should, nor do that Justice to the Saint of *Bodvarry*, that *Robert* and the *Jesuit J. P.* have done. He talks of Providence directing *Wenefrede*; whereas the original Work says, That having passed the whole Night in Prayer and Watching, she heard a Voice from Heaven, that said distinctly to her, 'Take thee only one Maid for thy Companion, and go to blessed *Deifer*, who lives in a Place that is called *Bodvarry*, and he shall tell thee what thou art to do, and whither thou must go: For the Man was great in the Sight of God, and walked in all the Commandments and Ordinances of the Lord blameless; and of him, it is said that he was mighty in working Miracles, and that among the rest, he caused a Well to rise out of the Earth, and stretching out his Hands over it, he prayed to God, that whatever sick Person should wash therein, he might return home safe and sound; which many People have experienced to their great Comfort, and had their Healths restored by it.

I confess, that when I read Monkish Relations, I am evermore suspicious of the *Deifer's* and the *Deicola's*; but in this Relation I take him for as true a Saint, as *Wenefrede* her self, and know not why this Story should be smothered, or his Well neglected. I will not however trouble the Reader with the Miracles said by *Robert* to be done by him; but observe, that altho' *Wenefrede* was inspired by God to go to *Deifer*, yet when she came thither, he knew nothing of the Matter; but told her that he would that Night consult with God, by Prayer, who might perchance reveal that Matter to him: And so it came to pass, for towards the Morning, a Voice from Heaven directed him to tell the blessed Virgin, that she must needs repair to *Henllan*, where one *Saturnus* should inform her what she was to do, and to what farther Place she was to go. *Saturnus* was, it seems, better provided for her Reception, and having been instructed of God before-hand, told her (but not before they had passed the whole Night in Prayer and holy Conferences) that she must next resort to one *Elerius*, who was a holy Man, and lived at a Place called *Gwitheryn*, where she should be instructed fully in the Will of God. What excellent Work is here, for Inspiration, and Divine Impulses! Warned of God, to go from *Holy-well* to *Bodvarry*! warned of God, to go from thence to *Henllan*! warned of God, to go from *Henllan* to *Guitherine*! a Course, as I guess, of about 16 Miles in Compass. *Wenefrede* inspired to go to *Deifer*, *Deifer*, at length, inspired to send her to *Saturnus*, and good *Saturnus* inspired to send her forwards to *Elerius*, and *Elerius*, at last, inspired to tell her she must be first a Nun, and then, in God's good Time, an Abbess, at *Guitherine*! I do not so much as dispute whether *Deifer*, *Saturnus*, and *Elerius*, be right old British Names or not, but stand amazed that Pilgrims should be taught to think, that the blessed Spirit is thus employed.



Miles distant from the Holy Well. This Recluse was much in God's Favour; and Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury, recounts of him several evident Miracles, which for Brevity are here omitted, because my sole Intention is to set forth the Merits of our glorious Patroness of Wales. The holy Man told her that God had not made any thing known unto him as to her Journey; but have Patience (said he) this Night, and I will inquire after his blessed Pleasure. St. Deisea spending the Night in Prayer, according to his Custom, heard a Voice towards Morning, which said, Tell my dear Virgin Daughter Wenefride, that she repair forthwith to the Village Henthlant, where the venerable Saturnus will fully instruct her as to the Place of her Abode during Life. Deisea acquainted her with his Commission, and likewise assur'd her, that this holy Neighbour (so he call'd him) would be enabled from Heaven not only to satisfy her where to fix, but likewise he would inform her of other things relating to her self. After that, he directed her in the Way to St. Saturnus.

It pleas'd Almighty God to honour the Virgin's Progress by revealing the same to several Saints, and the Occasion of her Journey. Amongst the rest was St. Saturnus, who gave her a charitable Reception at Henthlant. Great Part of that Night they spent together in Prayer and holy Conferences; and to her great Consolation he entertain'd her with many spiritual Lectures. He acquainted her in the Morning, that there was a Place not far off, call'd Witheriac, (now vulgarly Guitherin) which was enrich'd with precious Reliques of many glorious Saints, who had liv'd and dy'd there; and on this Account it was highly revered by devout People. This Place (said he) is appointed you by Divine Providence for your Temporal Sojourning upon Earth: You'll find there a holy Abbot, by Name Elerius, who is of so great Mortification, and of so great Union with God in Prayer, that he's entirely dead to the World. I am order'd to send you to this Man, and farther to let you know, that you'll experience under his Conduct a Caelestial Tranquility of Mind. You'll likewise find there a Monastery of chaste Virgins, who have been train'd up from their very Infancy in solid Virtue. You are destin'd by Heaven to improve them more in Perfection by your Example and Instructions. In Process of Time these Religious will submit themselves unto you, as to a Mother.

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ther and Abbess, who is sent providentially unto them by their heavenly Spouse.

St. Wenefride was transported with Joy, hearing this agreeable Relation of her Happiness so near at hand. She most humbly begged his Blessing, and Directions how to finish her Journey. The holy Man, out of Respect and Reverence, accompanied her himself part of the Way. At parting he gave her his Blessing, and ordered his Deacon to conduct her to St. Elerius. 'Twas no small Comfort to her that she was travelling towards a Monastery of pure Virgins, and there to enjoy their Angelical Conversation.

Gaitherin is now a Village, whatever it was in former times, in Denbighshire, near the River Cluide, which separates this County from that of Flint. St. Elerius had here his Monastery in a Vale called *Vallis Clutina*, where several Religious Persons of both Sexes embraced his Institute, and followed his Example.

The holy Abbot had a Revelation of her Coming, and of her distinguishing Merits; therefore to honour her, he met her at some Distance, and led her to the Church. After they had pray'd a while together, he took her aside from the Deacon and her Companion, telling her, that he was no Stranger to that Heroical Act of suffering a violent Death to preserve her Virginity; that the miraculous Fountain was an evident Testimony of it; and that he would chearfully assist her in the Designs of His Divine Majesty intended by this her Journey. The Virgin reply'd, That as to herself, she had only this to offer, That as she had been guided by God's Holy Spirit to find him out, so in the future Course of her Life she would be an obedient Child in hearing and observing his Directions.

The holy Abbot was extremely edify'd at this humble and modest Answer. He told her, That if she pleased, they would spend that Night in Prayer, for greater Security in this important Affair. This they did; and he having received clearer Lights from Heaven, was replenish'd with incredible Joy, and told her in the Morning, That Almighty God would not be wanting to increase His Fatherly Love towards her. Without saying more, he led her out of the Church to the Monastery which was under his Government, and he spoke thus to the Religious Virgins.

Rejoice, dear Children of God, for that it hath pleas'd your Heavenly Spouse to send a New Star of wonderful Brightness to shine amongst you. He has provided you such a Companion as will enrich your Souls with the Treasure of Religious Perfection, by the Lessons she'll set before you. This is the renowned *Wenefride*, who, as you have heard, suffered a glorious Death in Defence of her Chastity. This is she whose Triumphs are accounted in Churches, and whose Trophies illustrate the Province where she lived. I Rejoice therefore, because she is come to remain and end her Days amongst you. Happy is her Arrival! Princes carefully this inestimable Treasure. Mark and imitate the Example she'll shew you, and give Attention to the spiritual Documents she'll deliver, because for this Christ has sent her. Having uttered this Speech to the Religious in general, he address'd the venerable Abbess *Theonia* with these few Words: To you, dear Mother, after a more special manner, I recommend a respectful Entertainment of this sacred Spouse of Christ, who by directing her hither has signally enriched and regulated your Family. After this he withdrew, leaving *St. Wenefride* amongst them blushing, and as it were sinking under the Burthen of her own Praises.

Not only Abbess *Theonia*, (p) who was a very holy Woman, but *St. Elerina* also held frequently private Conferences with *St. Wenefride*; and discoursing of Heavenly Mysteries and various Practices, they discovered her to be so clearly illuminated in the first, and so solidly grounded in the second, that both of them admired the rich Treasury of her Soul. When the Abbot return'd to his Monks, who lived not far off in austere Discipline, 'twas his Custom to magnify the Merits of this Stranger, and seem'd not able to express what was due unto her.

At length the Fame of her Sanctity was so much divulg'd, that numerous Crowds of all Callings flock'd to *Gallaria* to behold a noble courageous Creature, who to secure her Virginity had suffered the Loss of her Head, and who after Death, to the greater Glory of her Spouse, by a holy Man's Prayer, had returned to Life. They importuned her to shew the pure white Circle round her Neck,

which

(p) The Editor conceals from his devout Pilgrims, that the Abbess *Theonia* (another Welch Name to be sure) was the true and natural Mother of *Elerina* (as Robert affirms more than once) not out of Respect, I fear, to undefiled Marriage.

which she industriously declined, till at the Request of her Sisters she yielded to their pious Desire, lest she should seem to affect Humility. The glorious Scar forced Tears of Compunction from their Eyes, by reflecting how Heroically and with what Fortitude she received the mortal Wound from the Sword of cruel Cradocus, rather than once to offend her God, and how often they had shewed their Weakness in complying with the first Suggestions of the Infernal Enemy, and shameful Proposals of a wicked Companion.

St. Elerius going one Day to the Monastery to visit the living Martyr, and to confer with her in Spiritual Matters, they entered occasionally on the Subject of the Happiness of dying well. He told her, That he often took Complacency in the Thoughts of having her near him when he lay on his Death-Bed, and that after his Departure her Prayers would afford him Relief for the Repose of his Soul. No Father (said she Prophetically) Christ hath appointed otherwise. You shall live to bury our dear Mother Theonia, and a few Years after to bury me: Then some Time being expired, your self shall pass from this transitory World, and go to Him, of whose Kingdom there is no End. All this came to pass as the Saint foretold.

Soon after this Prediction Theonia was visited with her final Sickness, and finding herself near her End, she received from Elerius's Hands the Blessed Sacrament, as her Viaticum to conduct her safely towards Heaven. The Religious were on their Knees round her Bed, lamenting bitterly the foreseen Loss, whom she comforted after this manner: Children! Tears are not to flow for Friends, or for our selves, unless some Evil hath happened or Misfortune. Our present Case hath no such Countenance: As to my self, I am hastening to my Heavenly Spouse, (as I hope) who calls me to Him. As to you, Blessed Wenefride, a more holy Mother, will succeed me, who by Words and Works will improve you in Perfection. Follow her Steps, and you will not wander nor go astray. Then being spent, she breathed out her pure and precious Soul. Her Obsequies being solemnly and christianly performed by St. Elerius, he appointed St. Wenefride Abbess, to govern the Monastery. Her profound Humility dissuaded her from undertaking the Charge, but the Obedience she had promised the holy Abbot, and



the repeated Petitions of the *Sisters*, notwithstanding natural Reluctancy, wrought her at last into Compliance.

The nice Art of governing *many*, whose Geniuses and Constitutions are as differing as the Features of their Faces, is attended with such vast Difficulties, that Solomon being favoured and honoured by the *Almighty* with that unlimited Offer, *Ask what thou wilt, that I may give it thee*, 3. *Reg.* iii. 5. the considering King petition'd for what was most necessary to rule the numerous *Israelites*; he desired, not Riches or Glory, but *Wisdom*, a *docible Heart*. St. *Wenefride* was naturally prudent, and her *Spouse* bestowed upon her a more than ordinary Talent of Governing; so that wish'd-for Success answered Expectation. He bless'd that *Head* with supernatural *Wisdom*, which had been sacrificed to his Honour. She made use of the same Maxims and Methods at *Guitherin*, as before she had done at *Finhon*. Her Commands were intimated with such Affability and Discretion, that they appeared to her Subjects so many Intreaties. She went constantly before the rest in the most painful Duties of the *Monastery*; and although the Dignity of her Office required due Distance, she not only conversed with her *Sisters* as with Equals, but also look'd upon herself as the least deserving in the whole *Community*. She had the true Spirit of Poverty, and was so much averse to Superfluities, that she would scarce admit of Necessaries. She was most rigid in Abstinence, and *Patience* had taken such absolute Possession of her Heart, that not the least Entrance was allowed to Anger and other inordinate Passions. Her Prayer was continual, when not interrupted by Duties of Charity and necessary Sleep. She was frequently favoured with *Raptures* and *Extasies*. She never dropped any Word tending to her own Commendation, and was sensibly afflicted when others mentioned any thing in her Praise.

The Blessed *Martyr* inculcated daily to her *Sisters* to have always before their Eyes the grand Example of their dear *Redeemer*, and to copy out such Vertues as He exercised, to instruct as well as to save them: That they ought to study a pure Intention in all their Actions, to serve God for His own sake. She earnestly recommended Fortitude and Perseverance as strong Armour to overcome all Sorts of Temptations: That they ought not to be dismay'd in these spiritual Conflicts, for by the Conquest they would obtain



obtain the Crown. *Prayer* (she said) when well performed, did dilate their Souls, and prepared an Entrance to Divine Grace, which enabled them to undertake Noble Actions for their God. 'Tis needless to mention her Angelical Purity; the flowing *Fountain* seems to denote that she would have parted with Streams of Blood rather than to have consented to one single Thought to the Prejudice of her consecrated Virginity.

'Twas observed, that when she exhorted her *Religious*, a Depth of Heavenly Wisdom appeared in her Words, which inflamed her Hearers with the Love of *Jesus*. She was favoured with a special Gift of discovering Temptations, and of applying proper Remedies to defeat the Enemy. Not only the *Laity*, but even *Religious Men* and *Prelates* found great Advantage by conferring with her. Many resorted to *Guitherin* from all Parts of the Province. What is yet more, notorious *Thieves* and inveterate Malefactors were reclaimed from their evil Courses by her powerful Advice and irresistible Remonstrances.

*Almighty GOD* was pleased to declare by Signs and Miracles how much St. Wenefride was in his Divine Favour. Scarce any Day passed wherein, by sudden Cures of desperate Distempers, she did not comfort drooping and desponding Patients: Her *Monastery* resembled a common Refuge of the Distressed, and she was like a tender Mother to the Unfortunate. Her Heroical Vertues were the universal Subject of Discourse in private Families, and the Fame of her Miracles was heard from the Pulpits in Churches. St. *Elerius*, who was best acquainted with her Merits, declared openly, That *Providence* had directed her to *Guitherin*, to honour and benefit them all: But from humane Applause, which was abhorr'd by her to the last Degree, she was invited by a Revelation to the immortal Glory of *Angels*.

The *Saint* being thus forewarned of her long wish'd-for Departure, the welcome News, for whole Days and Nights, threw her into *Extasies* of Joy. She had made it her Study to forget, as much as possible, what she had done or suffered for her dear Lord; and therefore, as one who is to undertake a long Journey, she made necessary Provisions, as if nothing had been performed during the Course of her holy Life. She redoubled her Fasts and other Austerities; she fatigued herself in the painful

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Exercises of continual Charity towards her Sisters and others. Notwithstanding her Angelical Interior, and the uninterrupted Union with her Divine Spouse, she vilify'd herself as one not worthy of his Presence. That she might not surprize the Community, by her leaving them in a short Sicknes, (9) she imparted first to St. Elerius the Summons she had received from her Redeemer, and the same afterwards to her dear Sisters, whose Sorrow was little inferior to those Transports of Jubilee she was absorp'd in, by the certain Assurance of passing speedily to her Lord and Master. They wept, they mourned, but she thus comforted them.

Weep not, dear Children, but conform your Wills to your Creator's Pleasure. Doubt not but that in Heaven (whither through the Mercies of God I am going) I shall be more serviceable to you by my Prayers, than here on Earth by my Presence. For that Land of Promise is not a Place of Ignorance, but of clear Knowledge, where the Blessed understand the Wants of their Friends on Earth; and they being united in the Fountain Head of infinite Charity, they are powerful and ready to procure speedy Helps to succour them. This I promise to do for you, my dear Children, after that Christ shall have taken me into His Kingdom. You must not be contristated like those who have no Hope. To wicked Worldlings, who by their sinful Lives dread the Sight of a terrible Judge, Death appears like a cruel Executioner, to drag them to a formidable Tribunal; but to innocent and holy Souls Death is entertained as a welcome Guest; he finds them ready to embrace him with Joy: They are like to Men expecting their Lord when he returns from the Marriage, St. Luke xii, 36. and are ready to go with him, in through God's Mercy, I hope that I am prepared at present for the Heavenly Journey to enter into the Joys of my Lord.

Her concluding Sicknes took its Beginning from frequent and violent Convulsions, which she endured with unparallell'd Patience. The lively Hopes of seeing her

(9) Robert says, that Elerius heard of it, only by Report and Chance, after she had acquainted her Nuns with it, and comforted them concerning it: But the Editor, having made Elerius to be her Confessor, durst not venture her telling any thing of Importance to any one before she had acquainted him with it; which is of good Use for those who trade in such Wares, and a right Intimation to devout Pilgrims.

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Heavenly Spouse sweeten'd all her acute Pains; yet knowing that the crafty Tempter is more furious in the decisive Conflict, she earnestly and often besought our Lord, that He would not permit the infernal Enemy to be frightful unto her in her last Agony. She exhorted all who came to visit her to make early Preparations against that dreadful Hour, on which depended eternal Happiness, or never-ending Misery.

In the Beginning of November finding her Strength exhausted, and that her Dissolution was near at hand, she called for the Saint her Confessor, and was by him fortified with the Ho'y Sacrament of the Church. Beholding the Religious in Tears upon their Knees, she said, Dear Children, rather congratulate with me, than grieve so much at my approaching Happiness. I hope e're long to enjoy him in Heaven whom I have ardently loved upon Earth. Preserve inviolably the Promise you have made Him: Undervalue the base and sordid Pleasures of this transitory World; reflect that your Bodies, although beautiful and in their Prime, are no other than loathsome Prisons, which detain your immortal Souls in close Confinement. Take great heed not to defile them, and never forget this important Lesson, that the Heavenly Comfort and Joy which pure Souls experience on their Death-Bed, recompences abundantly all worldly Riches, Pleasures, and Honours which they have despised and abandoned for the Service and Love of Jesus Christ.

The Saint, as it were, knowing the very Minute of her Departure, took her last Leave and Blessing of holy Elerius, hoping that they would meet soon in Heaven, without any Fear of a future Separation. She humbly requested that her Body might be bury'd near unto Theonia's, her holy Mother. Then in a pure Act of intense Love of God, on the 3d of November, she breathed out her thrice happy Soul into her Blessed Redeemer's Hand.

Elerius observing that she had expired, as the Religious also did, who were kneeling near her Bed, the many deep Sighs published their Lols. The holy Abbot found himself obliged to suppress his own Grief, that he might more effectually comfort them, by declaring that she was only removed to Heaven before them, and that they ought to prepare to follow after her: That she was united gloriously to her God, and by her Prayers would powerfully assist them. Her Body was very little alter'd



in the Comeliness of it by her Death; and as she had desired, 'twas solemnly interr'd near *Theonia's*, and many other *Saints* bury'd before her in that Place: Amongst the rest were (s) *Cheb* and *Sennan*, the one lying at her Head, and the other by her Side. Both these were renown'd for Sanctity and Miracles, and had Churches rais'd to their Memories. Yet altho' these two, and many other *Saints* Bodies, which had been committed to that holy Ground, drew thither devout People; yet the Place was mostly revered and honoured for St. *Wenefride's* Sepulchre, which was afterwards favoured by a Train of evident Miracles. Not long after St. *Elerius*, by a happy Death, finished his Course, and went to receive the eternal Reward of his Apostolical Labours. His Body was interr'd in a Church erected to his Name and Memory, where it pleased Almighty God to work miraculous Cures, in Testimony of his Sanctity on Earth, and Power by his Prayers in Heaven.

The Omnipotent, who has assured Mortals by his Divine Promise, that those who glorify him, he will glorify them, 1 Reg. ii. 30. most eminently fulfilled the same in St. *Wenefride*, both living and dead. She glorified her Creator in her tender Years, by consecrating unto him her unspotted Virginity. She glorified Him like St. *Agatha* and St. *Agnes*, with the chearful Offering of her Head, to preserve untainted Fidelity to her Heavenly Spouse. She glorify'd Him, by withdrawing noble *Virgins* from the prevaricating World, and raising their Souls to the pure Love of God, instructing them in the true Spirit of Humility and Mortification. In fine, she glorified Him through the whole Course of her Life, in all Points of religious Perfection, not only relating to her Subjects, but even the *Laiety*. On the other Hand, the Almighty has glorified her

(s) 'Tis an unreasonable Thing for a Monk to sow any one Church-yard so thick with *Saints* as *Robert* has done that of *Guitherin*, unless he intends to remove them in due time. *Keby* was thought to have been bury'd in *Anglissey*, and *Sennan* in *Ireland*, where he was Bishop, by the same Token that he died the very same Day with St. *David* in 544. But this Thief of a Monk has brought them both to a Place where he could come more easily at them, and pacifie the People of the Parish better for the Loss of *Wenefrede*, since they had so many *Saints* Bodies still left with them.

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her down to the present Age, from the Year 660. According to St. Beuno's Prediction, there has been no Cessation of Miracles; testifying her signal Sanctity, and how dear her precious Soul is to her Maker. 'Tis true, this humble Virgin was accustomed to blush and to shed Tears at the first Sound of her Praises, and therefore desired and obtained that she might absent herself from *Finhon*, to live in Obscurity (as she resolved) out of the frothy Noise of Acclamations, which she could not avoid at the Place of her Martyrdom. This was her pious Contrivance, but the Design of Heaven was to glorify her at *Guitherin*. As God commanded a Torrent to flow on that dry Valley, where her bloody Head touched first the Ground, so at her Sepulchre He did not reject or refuse any Petition made by her devoted Supplicants.

The Historians of her Life, St. (†) *Elerius* and *Salopienfis*, concluded that it would be an Undertaking to swell Volumes,

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lumes,

(†) I think it fit to tell the Reader again, that *Elerius* never wrote one Line in his Life about *Wenefrede* that any one knows of. *Robert* of *Salop*, that ought to have known (and would have told us if he had) says not one Word about him as to this Point: And the Editor might as honestly have said, that he himself had translated *Elerius's* Life, as say, that *Elerius* was her Historian. *Robert* does indeed say, that the Number of Miracles wrought at her Shrine and Fountain was exceedingly great. The Anonymous Writer of her Life (which I have called the *Cotton-Life*) makes all her Miracles to have been wrought at her Fountain, and not one at *Guitherin*, where he leaves her buried. But the Observation I would make, both to the Pilgrim and the Protestant Reader upon this Head, is, That whatever Blessings God bestows upon People that pray in Places where there is no famous Saint worshipped and called upon, he bestows them for his own Goodness sake, and for his Mercy's sake in Jesus Christ, and in Compassion to his needy Creatures: But that whatever Blessing he bestows in Places where some famous Saint is worshipped and called upon, there they are all, it seems, bestowed upon the Intercession and for the Merits of that Saint, if they be so pray'd for and asked; and I believe it will not be denied, that not one Papist in a thousand does ever ask of God any great Blessing, but for the Merits, Sake, and by the Intercession of some one or more Saints. Hence therefore it must needs be, that the Blessings which Papists receive at God's Hands must be generally accounted miraculous, and those the Protestants receive mere Mercies and

lumes, if they register'd all Wonders done at her *Spring* and *Fountain*: They thought it sufficient to acquaint the *Reader*, that the *Blind*, *Lepers*, and other diseased Persons, were perfectly cured by drinking the *Water*, or bathing themselves in the *Holy Well*. This became so famous, that tender *Mothers* made no Difficulty of casting their sickly Children into the Stream, which was a speedy Cure. Such as lived at great Distance, and were tormented with Agues, or hot burning Fevers, caused the Water to be brought to them, and drank of it as a certain Remedy to relieve them in their Maladies. Those in very remote Places, used to put one of the little bloody Stones which was taken out of the *Well* into other Spring-Water, and they were cured. 'Tis said, that the *Virgin Martyr* herself prescribed the first Use of this last Remedy, who soon after her Second Death appearing to many, who in dangerous Distempers devoutly called upon her, she directed them, for their speedy Recovery, to apply the Water and Stones of the *Well* in the aforesaid manner. Such as had Swellings or old Sores bathed the Part affected, and they found present Relief.

At this wonderful *Spring* almost daily Miracles were wrought, according to a Petition she made to *God* before

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common Blessings. This is the Spring of Superstition, this the Food and Nourishment of Saint-Worship. But I desire the serious understanding Papist to consider, and inquire, and then compute as well as he can, whether the Protestants or Papists of this Kingdom (in Proportion to each other's Number) receive more or greater Blessings, more Deliverances from Sickneses, or Pains, or Dangers from abroad, or sad Accidents at home. 'Tis certain that they pray alike for all the Good they think they want, and deprecate alike the Evil which they fear: But it is as certain that the Protestant asks what he asks and deprecates what he fears, through the Mediation, and by the Intercession, and for the Merits sake of Christ only, without any Mention of any Saint or Angel, or the *Virgin Mary*, all which, or one at least, are called upon and interess'd in every Papist's Prayer, tho' Christ be not excluded. If therefore the Protestants receive as many Mercies and Blessings ordinary and extraordinary, at *Holy-well* (for Instance) as the Papists do, how is a Papist satisfied that any thing is granted him for the Sake of *St. Wenefride*, or through her Intercession?

she left *Finhon*; That He would vouchsafe to bless corporally, and sanctify spiritually, all those who in future Ages should devoutly visit her *Fountain*, and there acknowledge the many Benefits with which He had favoured her. Frequent Miracles were likewise wrought at her *Tomb*. Multitudes of diseased Persons became perfectly cured by praying, and kissing the Earth where the sacred *Remainder* of her was deposited.

The holy Author of St. *Wenefride's* Life and Death was not satisfied with a general Relation of miraculous Cures: He descends to Particulars, that unbelieving Posterity might be induced to allow Credit to what he had recorded as to *daily Wonders*. I touch two or three with Brevity. From the Beginning of the World it hath not been heard, that any Man opened the Eyes of one born blind, unless this Man were of God, St. John ix. 32. This declared the Omnipotence of the long expected *Messias*; and the like Favour soon after our *Saint's* Death, gave Wing to the Fame of her Sanctity and Power in Heaven, and spread the same through the *Western* Provinces of *Britain*. A poor Carpenter, dwelling not far from St. *Wenefride's* Well, had a Daughter born blind. She growing up, and groaning under that temporal Misfortune, hearing the Report of many miraculous Cures wrought at that *Fountain*, she importuned her Father daily to be handed thither. This was granted, and being come to the Place, she bathed her Head in the Water, and was afterwards conducted to the Chappel, near unto the *Well*. She spent that whole Night in Prayer, beseeching God, through the Merits and Intercession of St. *Wenefride*, who was *Martyr'd* for his Love, to bestow upon her corporal Sight, to the End she might serve Him better, and be an *Eye-Witness* of the Wonders wrought in that Place. Towards Morning she fell into a Slumber, and when she opened her Eye-Lids she found herself bless'd with perfect Sight. This being so notorious and publick, begat fresh Veneration to the *Holy Well*, and was divulged far and near, to his Honour who is glorify'd in his *Saints*.

The *Saint's* Privilege was not confined to her *Well* and Chappel; the adjacent Places were a Sort of Sanctuary under her Protection; Witness what happened to some Thieves, who stole a Cow out of a Pasture near unto St. *Wenefride's* Chappel. The Robbers forced her over rocky  
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Ways, that they might not be traced, but it happened otherwise; for the *Cow* fixed not one Step without leaving a (u) deep Impression in the Stones, as if she had been passing through soft Clay. The Footsteps also of the Thieves so visibly appeared, that the Owner next Morning missing his Beast, he and his Neighbours followed after by the miraculous Track. The Robbers perceiving them near at hand, made the best of their Way to escape, and left the Booty to whom it belonged. They afterwards observed at Leisure how the *Cow* had left the clear Prints of her Feet as she was carry'd off, but not the least Impression after she was retrieved and returned homewards. Great Crowds of People flock'd to behold the said Prints in the Stones, and published the Miracle. The Thieves themselves apprehending lest some severe Judgment should befall them, to terrify others, came penitently to the *Martyr's Altar*: They confess'd their Sin, and warned all not to commit the like Trespass.

Behold a following Example yet more terrifying. A Messenger being dispatched by a chief *Lord* of that Country, to give his Neighbours timely Notice of some approaching Danger from the bordering *Saxons* (who continually carry'd on War against them) was way-laid by Thieves, and pursued to *St. Wenefride's Church*, whither he fled as to a safe Sanctuary. The *Express* fasten'd his Horse near unto the Door, which they took away, not presuming to pursue him to the *Altar*, where he stood for Refuge. After their Departure the Messenger came forth, and finding that the Horse was carried off, he returned unto the Church, and, prostrate, made a pious Complaint before the *Saint's Altar*, that he indeed had sustained a considerable Loss, but it was she who was highly injured: That the Authors of the Crime deserved  
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(u) I confess, I thought the *Editor* would not have given us this Miracle, it is so notable a one; but since he has been so fair, I cannot chuse but thank him for his Ingenuity, and will not find any Fault with him for not expressing how deep the Impression was that the *Cow's Feet* made in the Rocks every Step she took, which *Robert* says was up to the *Knees*; which, considering how hard the *Welsh Rocks* are, is very deep indeed; but what of that? Know we not who it is that cleaves the hard Rocks asunder? Is any thing too hard for God?



exemplar Punishment, to the End others might be deterr'd from violating the Safety of her Sanctuary, and the Reverence due unto it. His Remonstrance was accepted of by Divine Justice; for the Thief, who had untied the Horse, and had him in actual Possession, was suddenly seized all over his Body with such Extremity of Pains, that he often called on Death to deliver him from the Torture. After a few Days, his Right Arm, (which was the Instrument of his Sin) began to swell, then to putrify and rot in a loathsome manner. This Tribulation gave Understanding to him, who had neglected Conscience in time of Health. Wherefore he came to her Church, and begged, with many Tears, the Saint's Pardon for his Insolence, and the Wrong he had done her. He became a true Penitent, and this Humiliation so much deserved her Favour, that by Degrees he was cured of his painful Ulcer. He praised God for his Mercy, and St. Wenefride for her Compassion, preaching to others not to offend against the Sanctity of the Place, nor to give Disturbance to the Saint's Clients, who in Distresses run unto her for Succour.

Take another Instance in a Passage which may seem of less Moment. A Labourer presumed to cut off for his own Use a Bough from an old Oak growing near unto Guitherin Church-Door, which afforded a convenient Shade to devout Pilgrims, when the Concourse was so great that they were forced to remain without, and to pray under it. No sooner had he struck his Hatchet into the Bough, than it was immovably fixed there; and as Jeroboam's Hand withered, which he had stretched forth to order the Apprehension of the Man of God, that he was not able to draw it back, 3 Reg. xiii. 4. so this poor Man's Hand and Arm cleaved so fast to the Handle of the Ax, that with all his Strength he was not able to separate them. He attempted often in vain to let go his Hold, and finding himself in that surprizing Distress, he cry'd out for Help and Assistance. Some Persons hard by heard his mournful Voice, and ran to the Place, admiring at the Wonder. They exhorted him to repent, and to beg the Saint's Pardon and Prayers, which he did, and at the same time they all cry'd out, Holy Wenefride, take Pity on him! At these Words his Hand and Arm were set at Liberty, and were restored to their former Freedom. The Cut in the Branch was shew'd

beginning and ending of the world. The end of the world.

to Robert, Prior of *Shrewsbury*, when he came to translate her sacred Reliques, of which I am going to give an Account, with the Occasion of the Removal.

In the Reign of King *William* the Conqueror, a chief Earl of his Court, called *Roger*, built a (x) sumptuous Monastery in *Shrewsbury*, to the Glory of God, and the Benefit of that City, endowing the same with sufficient Revenues. An Abbot and his Monks being therein settled, they began to lament the Want of holy Reliques in their new Church, which *Wales* was stored with most abundantly, by reason that many eminent Saints of both Sexes had formerly flourished in those Parts, renowned for Sanctity and the Grace of Miracles. Hereupon they began to consider and consult what Saint's Body might be obtained by them, to bring a Blessing upon the Religious Family. During this Deliberation, a Monk of their Monastery fell dangerously sick, and moreover was so distracted in Mind, that his Brethren, both in *Shrewsbury* and *Chester*, ceased not to recommend to Almighty God his Recovery. One Day, when the vertuous Sub-Prior of *Chester-Abbey* had ended his Prayer for the miserable Creature, he dropp'd into an unusual Sleep, to whom a Woman appeared in glorious Attire, and said, *If you desire the sick Man's Health, let one of you go and offer for him a Mass in the Chappel near unto St. Wenefride's Well, and he will presently recover:* After which she vanished out of his Sight.

The Sub-Prior *Radulphus* (that was his Name) awaked in great Amazement, but was backward in saying one Word of the Vision, fearing that it would not find any Credit. But when he heard that his Brother's Distemper grew more desperate, Charity obliged him to declare what he had seen. All the Religious were of Opinion, that St. *Wenefride* (y) herself had given these Directions.

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(x) So far from sumptuous, that *Ordericus Vitalis* says it was but meanly endowed; and *W. Malmesbury*, speaking of the Founder, says, *ibi Monachos locavit ex Sagio* (Says in Normandy) *angusto victu & amictu*; and Robert is as modest also. In After-times it was sumptuous enough.

(y) 'Tis strange that the Saints, who whilst they live are the humblest Things on Earth, and farthest from affecting Praise and Honour, should in the other World become the most ambitious and desirous of being known and worshipped

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Wherefore they immediately dispatched away Two of their Company, who celebrated Holy Mass in her Chappel, and at that very Time, as it was calculated, the *Shrewsbury* Monk was restor'd to perfect Health. On this Account both he and the other Monks became more tenderly devoted to the *Virgin Martyr*.

*Robertus Salopiensis* spends seven Chapters in relating what Methods were taken, that happy Success might answer their zealous Intention. I epitomize, yet will not omit any thing which appears to me very material. The *Abbot* and Monks of *Shrewsbury* persisted with great Constancy many Years in their earnest Desires and fervorous Prayers, to obtain the Treasure of St. *Wenefride's* Sacred Reliques. In the Reign of King *Henry the First* a Grant was given of them, but by reason of many Commotions, after the King's Death in that Country, the Business was not effected till the second Year of King *Stephen's* Reign, when *Abbot Herbert* in a Consult with his Monks, deputed *Robert* his Prior, and *Richard* an eminent Monk of the same Monastery, to pass into *Wales* to bring back with them the Reliques. To facilitate the Matter, before their Departure several Letters were transmitted to Friends in those Parts. They visited in their Journey the Bishop of (3) *Bangor*,  
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by their Fellow-Crestures; and yet this is the Character of a great Part of them, given by the Men who write their Lives: They frequently appear to some good Body or other, who little thinks of it, and tell them where they have been buried, where they would have a Chappel built, where their Prayers will be best heard, and whither they would be removed. Some good Lesson or other they still give, which evermore ends in their own Honour, though, to be sure, more to the People's Advantage.

(2) *Robert* says, that *Guitherin* was in the Bishop of *Bangor's* Diocese. 'Tis certainly now in the Diocese of *St. Asaph*; but in 1138 there was no Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and therefore the Bishop of *Bangor* might very probably have the Care of that Diocese also committed to him; though *Robert's* Words may be so construed as to signify, that at that Time there was no such Diocese as *St. Asaph*; and I am sure I cannot prove there was, by any History that is left us: For the first that appears is *Gilbert*, who was consecrated in 1143. But whoever was the Bishop, I wonder with what Conscience he could give way to the removing such a precious Pledge of the Divine Favour out of his Province.

and were directed by him to a principal Lord, who ruled in that Country, where the blessed Body was kept. The Nobleman understanding the Cause of their Coming, entertained them courteously, and said, that Doubtless God and the holy MARTYR has sent you to translate her Body to a Place where it will be more honoured. (a) I not only give my Consent, but I will send also my Servants to assist you. Were not I unavoidably detained by Business of Importance, I would presume to go with you in Person, and with my unworthy Hands I would deliver unto you those Sacred Pledges of Sanctity.

This gracious Speech cheer'd up the solicitous Travelers, who were Seven in Number, viz. the two Priors of Shrewsbury and Chester, Richard the Monk, a godly Priest born in that Country, and three Attendants. They set forward towards the Saint's Sepulchre, and being come near unto Guisberrin, they met a Man, who cast them into Dejection, but not into Despair of Success. He acquainted them in plain and positive Terms, that the Inhabitants having Intelligence of their Coming, and of their Intentions, were absolutely resolved to oppose them: That no Favour nor Power of any Mortal should prevail with them to permit their chief Saint's Body, Patroness of their Country, to be carry'd away by Strangers.

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(a) The Beginning of this Lord of the Country's Speech is this; I do not think that you and your Companions have taken all these Pains without the Appointment of God, and the Good-will of the Blessed Virgin. For it may be, seeing that due Reverence is not paid her by her own Country-men, she has a mind to be carried elsewhere, and to receive that Honour from other Folks which her own refuse to give her, either through Contempt or Negligence. It would be hard to reconcile this Passage with the great Esteem and Honour which the Monk says her daily Miracles had procured her throughout the whole Country; but therefore the Editor wisely passed it by, as he has also done abundance of Inconsistencies and Absurdities besides; which puts me in some Hopes that Pilgrims begin to look a little after the Things they are to see, and may in time open their Eyes, and see how they are used. And I heartily wish, that, for their Sakes, some one or other of their own Communion would faithfully translate this Prior Robert's History of Wenefride's Life and Death, and Miracles, and Translation to Shrewsbury, without either adding any thing, or leaving any thing out, but giving us the good Monk genuine and entire, as he is in the Bodley-Library, of which I have seen a Copy or two.

These few Words did so much dispirit them, that it seem'd necessary to have Encouragement from Heaven. Prior Robert lay conceal'd in a Farmer's House, and sent the Chester Prior and the other Priest to Guithenae, they being Men of Birth, and well known in that Country. Robert rising up at his usual Time to say Mattins, was certifi'd by a devout Man, who was one of his Company, how that Night a glorious Virgin had appear'd unto him, and had ordered him to acquaint the anxious Prior, that he should prosperously effect the Affair he came about, and by her Means, whose Honour he had espoused. Robert, something comforted with this Relation, after finishing Mattins fell into a Slumber, and seem'd to see a former holy Abbot of his own Monastery, called Godfrey, who thus revived him; Banish Fear, Brother Robert, of failing in your Design. Be of good Heart; for by God's Assistance we shall defeat those who oppose us, and we shall obtain what for many Years we have earnestly desir'd. This was more than sufficient to animate him in the Prosecution of his Journey, especially the other Prior having sent an Express to hasten them forward, because God had prosper'd their Undertaking.

Being arriv'd early in the Morning at Guithenae Church, and having prayed some Time before her Body, the chief Priest of the Parish came unto them, who kindly saluted them. They humbly begg'd his charitable Assistance, of obtaining the Saint's holy Reliques; which he easily granted them, as knowing before they came, the Will of God. For (said he) on Easter Eve last, I had a Vision in this very Place. Composing my self to rest, a beautiful young Man appeared unto me, commanding me to arise. I answered, that 'twas not yet the Hour for Mattins; so he left me. Returning the second Time, when I was none oppress'd with Sleep, he bid me rise, as before he had done; but being very heavy, I replied that I would rise in due Time; and covering my Head with my Cloak, I returned to Sleep. In the third Visit he pull'd away my Cloak with Violence, ordering me to follow him without Delay, as I did, very much affrighted. He led me to the Saint's Shrine, and pointing at it with his Finger, said, Note well this Place, and also my Words. I do command thee, that if some Months hence Persons come to open this Sepulchre, and to carry away with them the Saint's Body, that thou hinder them not in their holy Design, but assist them to the utmost of thy Power; lest by refusing, thou

shalt be Meant here as required should be



be punished (as I foretel thee) for thy Disobedience, by some irremediable Sickness. After this the Angel vanished away.

The good Pastor was not wanting to his intimated Duty. He disposed the Owners of the Village to acquiesce in the Will of God, and ordered the Parishioners to repair to the Church. Prior Robert seeing such a numerous Assembly, spoke unto them by an Interpreter, in this Manner; *I and my Companions are come hither by Divine Appointment, to obtain of you St. Wenefride's Body, that it may be honoured in our City and Monastery, both which are much devoted unto her. The Virgin her self (as your Pastor here present knows) hath by Visions manifested her Will; and she cannot but be displeased with those, who are so bold as to contradict what she desires should be done.* Great Attention was given to what he said, and they seem'd much inclined to grant the pious Request: One Man only oppos'd the Motion, and with a clamorous Voice declar'd, That they should never be deprived, by his Consent, of so great a Treasure: That the Saint had lived holily, and departed in that Place; her Reliques were now honoured by them, as they had been by their Ancestors; and that Almighty God had approved of the Peoples Devotion at her Shrine, by frequent Miracles. This Man was of an avaritious Temper, and moved to be so violent, not out of a Motive of Piety, but Lucre. (b) However, after many Consultations, at last, they all unanimously consented, that St. Wenefride's Body should be delivered to the Monks, to be translated to Shrewsbury.

The Prior, and his Companions, return'd their most humble Thanks, and without losing Time, desir'd to enter the holy Isle, where the Saint's Shrine had been visited for many Ages, by devout Pilgrims. Robert with his

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(b) Robert, and J. F. the Jesuit, his pretended Translator, tell us fairly, that they were fain to stop this Fellow's Mouth, by giving him Money. The Editor was afraid of this, as thinking it disgraceful, that after so many heavenly Visions, of Wenefride to Ralf the Sub-Prior of Chester; of Wenefride to one of Robert's Servants; of Abbot Godfry to Prior Robert himself; and of an Angel to the Parson of Guisbarn, to further and assist the Translation of these sacred Bones, it should not be effected without Corruption and Bribery at last.



Company being come before the sacred Reliques, sung joyfully to Almighty God Psalms of Thanksgiving. They wrapped up decently her Bones in the finest Linnen, which was brought by them on that Account; and after a Repetition of grateful Expressions to the Pastor and to the Inhabitants, they proceeded that Night towards Shropshire. In the way homeward they cured a sick Man, who was tortur'd with a violent Distemper, by putting into Water a little of the Earth found in St. Wenefride's Head, and causing him to drink of it. This evident Miracle increased Veneration to those sacred Reliques.

Prior Robert gave timely Notice to his Abbot, that they were near at Hand with the desired Treasure, and he receiv'd Orders to deposite the same in St. Giles's Church, which stood near unto the Gate of the City, to the End that the Body might be brought to the Monastery in greater Splendor, by a solemn Procession of the Bishop, Clergy, and People. During its Stay there, Monks were appointed by Turns to pray Day and Night before the Altar, on which the Virgin's Bones were expos'd. Multitudes of the Citizens of Shrewsbury joined with them in Prayer, and mutually congratulated each other for the Happiness of so potent a Patroness. St. Wenefride was not backward in requiting this devout Entertainment, shewing by several Miracles how acceptable the same was unto her. The following one is very remarkable.

A young Man had lain long in a miserable Condition; for his Limbs were so contracted, that he could not point a Foot, and his Head so much settled downwards towards his Knees, that he could not force it upwards, to lift an Eye to Heaven. He desir'd to be carry'd to St. Giles's Church, and to be set down before the Altar, on which stood the sacred Reliques. He spent that Night in Prayer, begging of God, by the Merits and Intercession of St. Wenefride, that he might be heal'd. Towards Morning he dropp'd into a Slumber, and before the Priest came to celebrate the first Mass, he awak'd, and found himself perfectly cured. This astonished the whole City, seeing him to walk as readily as any of the Inhabitants.

A Day being appointed by the Bishop, to convey the sacred Reliques from St. Giles's Church to the Monastery, Notice was given both to Town and Country, and withal, that such who assisted, or were present at the Procession,

God would not only receive the Bishop's Blessing, but also would gain Indulgences, granted on the Account of the Solemnity. The universal Fame of Miracles, and St. Wenefride's Sanctity, drew together a Throng of People, who appeared in their best Apparel to honour that joyful Day. A little before the processional March, the Sky frown'd with dark heavy Clouds, and threaten'd imminent Rain: This Storm, ready to fall, contristated very much all devoted to the Saint, as foreseeing that many would withdraw themselves. The [*Salopienf. Lib. viii. Cap. xv.*] Clergy and Monks besought earnestly the Omnipotent Disposer of all Times and Seasons, that he would please to grant dry Weather, for his own Honour, and of his Spouse, and for the Consolation of the congregated People, at least until the Procession was ended. Their Prayers were heard so effectually, that altho' violent Showers pour'd down in other Parts of the City, and adjacent Fields, not one single Drop fell into any Street through which the blessed Body was to pass. The thick Clouds hovered, and hung over their Heads, as gathered on Purpose to bring St. Wenefride miraculously to her new Possession of the holy Benedictine Monastery.

The Streets were lin'd with an incredible Concourse of devout People, who on their Knees shed Tears of Joy as the Body pass'd by, for so great a Blessing. These were the tender Showers, which fell in those Streets, Excepted by Heaven from Rain. (c) The Bishop and Priests brought the Reliquies to the Monastery, which were reverently receiv'd from them by the Abbot and his Monks, as inestimable Jewels. They were magnificently placed upon the high Altar, which was dedicated to the holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, where many Miracles were wrought for the Help and Benefit of Souls and Bodies. The Name of God be prais'd for ever and ever.

Hitherto I have followed Robertus Salopienfis, who trans-

(c) The Bishop was not there himself, but sent them, as Robert says, full Powers for what they were to do, and his Blessing withal; so that the Procession went on as it should, and not a single Thread of any of the Company was wet, tho' it rained very hard in all the Country round: So graciously did God incline to hear the Prayers of the good Monks and Clergy, in Favour of the Show, and of the Peoples best Cloaths!

translated *St. Wenefride's Body* from *Guthrie* to *Shrewsbury*, in the Year of our Redemption Eleven Hundred Thirty and Eight.

Not only this City, but likewise other Parts of Great Britain became most tenderly devoted to the Holy Virgin Martyr, which induced *Henry* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a Provincial Synod in 1420, to appoint the Feast of *St. Wenefride* to be solemnly kept all over *England*, with an Office of nine Lessons, on the third Day of *November*, *Lincoln*, Fol. 76. *Alford*, Anno 1138.

Tis astonishing, and likewise deplorable, to hear some Persons decrying Miracles, and ridiculing them with so great Boldness and Contempt, that in Despite of holy Doctors of the Church, and religious Writers, they represent *Jesus Christ* as one unfaithful to his solemn Promise to future Ages; and they obstinately maintain, that all Miracles had a full Period after the Apostles Preaching. (d) They assent without Hesitation to Pagan *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, or *Suetonius*, but demurr, and doubt of the Authority of that eminent Saint and learned Doctor, *St. John Chrysostom*, who wrote a whole Book on the Subject of Miracles, *Lib. de Babyl. M.* whence he infers, against the wilful Heathens, that *Christ* is God, who works such Wonders by the dry Affies of his Followers. The Miracles register'd by *St. Augustin*, in his Book of the City of God; those of venerable *Bede* in his Ecclesiastical History; what *St. Jerome* says of *St. Paul* the first Hermit, and *St. Hilarion*, and *St. Gregory* the Great in his Dialogues, are Matter of Mirth to these profane Drolls. They don't attend what Master they seek to please, by imitating the obdurate Jews, who, to discredit the Miracles of the Son of God, gave them a malicious Turn, saying, *In Beelzebub Prince of Devils, he casts out Devils*, *St. Luke*, xi. 15.

Our invincible Heroine, the glorious Virgin Martyr, *St. Wenefride*, has not met with kinder Quarter: For after the Plunder of her rich Shrine, and the scattering of her blessed

remains, she was found again, and her Body was translated to the same Place, where it was first interred.

(d) The Pilgrims may be confident, that no understanding Protestant did ever maintain, that Miracles ceased after the Apostles Preaching. They never did, nor ever will cease, whilst God is able to work them: Let them be well proved, and no Body will deny them.



fed Bones, her admirable Life must be listed with the *Monkish Legends*; (e) her evident Miracles are fabulous Narratives; and the stupendious Cures wrought at her *Well*, are nothing else but the experienc'd Effects of a *Cold Bath*. To the greater Honour of *God*, who has honour'd this *Saint* to a wonderful Degree, I will instance a few late Miracles, and refer it to the *aruly Christian Reader*, whether the watry Element could influence such uncommon Changes. I will not travail further back than the last Age, lest it be objected, that many things are asserted, happening long ago, which may rationally be disbeliev'd, but cannot be disproved. The original Attestations at this Moment lie before me; and where I do not abbreviate (some Cures being worded after a prolix Manner, as to Circumstances) I will deliver what I offer, in the very Expressions of the authentick Records. They are taken from Eye-Witnesses, who were Persons of tender Conscience and nice Honour, sometimes given in under their own Hand-Writing.

In the Year of our Lord *God* One Thousand, Six Hundred, and Six, *Sir Roger Bodenham*, Knight of the honourable Order of the *Bath*, after a tedious Quartan Ague, had a gross Humour settled in his Legs, which soon after broke out into an apparent *Leprosy*. He made use of many able Physicians, but depended most on Doctor *John David Rhes*, a *Cambro-Britain*, who commenced Doctor at *Sienua*, profess'd Physician at *Padua*, was Practitioner in divers Parts of *Italy*, and afterwards in *England*. He was

(e) If the admirable Life of St. Wenefrede, be not a *Monkish Legend*, there never was a *Monkish Legend* in the World. 'Twas *Robert* the Monk, that wrote it, 500 Years after her Death, and is not able to vouch for the Truth of any Matter of Fact in it. 'Twas *John of Tinmouth* the Monk, that abbreviated it, and put it into his Legend 200 Years after *Robert*; and 'twas *John Capgrave* the Monk, that put it into his alphabetical Legend, an 100 Years lower still: And I do not know a sillier, worse told Story, in all his Book, than this of *Wenefrede*; and I am perswaded that very few Scholars can be otherwise minded if they read it. And I say the same thing of the Miracles she is said to have wrought, by *Robert* the Historian; if there be any Rules of judging which Narratives are fabulous, and which not, I appeal to them in this Dispute.



near sixty Years of Age when Sir Roger consulted him. This learned Man ran thro' all Remedies that Concern could suggest, or Art devise, without any Success or Ease to the Knight. He therefore advised him to lay the Case before the College of Physicians in London, which was stated very faithfully and learnedly by the aforesaid Rhes, and was carry'd up by Mr. Thomas Beale, Steward of Sir Roger's Courts. The College at London being conven'd, the Case was read and debated, as also the Practice and Prescriptions of Doctor Rhes, which Beale deliver'd to them in Writing. They wrote back to Sir Roger their Opinion, That his Physician had hit right on his Disease, and had apply'd proper Remedies for a Cure: That he was a Person so eminently learned, that they acknowledg'd themselves his Inferiors, he having been Reader to most of them; and if the Method he took had no Effect, there was not in Nature any Cure for him. The Knight found not any Satisfaction by the Answer, which was penned to the Commendation of his Physician. Doctor Rhes being a Roman Catholick, advised his Patient to remove to St. Wenefride's Well, to try, whether by the Saint's Intercession he might not obtain a Cure, which was not in the Power of Art to effect. He acquainted him with the Holiness of the Place, and what miraculous Favours were there obtain'd. Sir Roger, extremely desirous of Health, obey'd his Physician, and undertook a painful Journey, full seventy eight British Miles from Rotherwas to Holy Well. He bathed himself in the miraculous Fountain, and became as sound and clean from all Scurf and Leprosy as a Child newly born, and afterwards continued so. This happen'd providentially; for as Naaman, Captain General of Syria, was directed to wash in the River Jordan, which compleated a twofold Cure, of his Soul as well as of his Body, 4 Kings, v. in like Manner the Leper, Sir Roger, came to wash in the Stream of Holy Well; He was not at that Time a Catholick; but the miraculous Cure, with other Motives of Credibility, induced him to embrace the true Faith, and he was reconciled to the Church of Christ; he rendred Thanks and Praises to Almighty God for both these Favours. Besides this Relation, which Sir Roger gave to the Lady his Wife, and to his Daughter-in-Law, Wife to his eldest Son, Mrs. Mary Bodenham, there wereo ther Witnesses, the aforesaid Thomas

Beale, William Green and his Wife, Richard Bray, John Henley, and many more Attendants on Sir Roger Bodenham. (f)

The Omnipotent is more glorify'd in his Saints, by attributing supernatural Effects to their humble Petitions before his sacred Throne, than to natural Causes. Some Unbelievers, (if holy Scripture had not declar'd otherwise) might ascribe the Wholesomeness of the Waters of Jericho to an occult, sudden, and subterraneous Quality and Alteration, rather than to the Prophet Elisha's Miracle, by casting Salt into the Fountain, 4 Reg. ii. 19. Worshipers of the great God have different Sentiments, as will appear by the following Relation. In the Month of December, and the Year of our Lord One thousand six hundred and thirty seven, Mrs. Jane Wakeman, Wife to Mr. John Wakeman, of Rougley, in the Parish of Horsham, and the County of Sussex, was tormented with a sore Breast; and having used all probable Means for a Cure, she found no Ease or Prospect of growing better. The ablest Surgeons concluded, that unless her Breast was cut off, there was not any other way to relieve her; neither would they by that Operation give Assurance of a Recovery, for they verily believ'd that her Breast was incurable, and to attempt the Amputation, might hasten on the Gentlewoman's Death. They declar'd this to her Friends, but encourag'd her with better Hopes. Mrs. Wakeman

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(f) Sir Roger Bodenham was, it seems, cured of a desperately Sore Leg, by the Waters of Holy-well; and Mrs. Wakeman, of a sad sore Breast that was thought to be incurable. These are therefore good Proofs, that God worketh Miracles by St. Wenefrede, or at her Intercession. This Editor is oft complaining against such as are Enemies to Miracles; but let me tell him, the People who villify Miracles, are those especially who make them cheap and common. Are all the People that receive any great Benefit at Holy-well miraculously cured? or if they are, is it St. Wenefrede that does the Work? or is it certainly by her Intercession? What Pity it is, that some great Saint or other has not taken Possession of the Waters of the Bath, Tunbridge, Astrop, Sunning, and other Places? Great Cures indeed are yearly wrought at those Places, as much Experience witnesses; but not a Miracle among them all, because, forsooth, they are under the Protection of no particular tutelar Saints, to whom the Afflicted and Diseased address. Sir Roger turn'd Papist, therefore we hear of his Cure as miraculous.

regarded not their Opinion, with which she was privately acquainted, but resolv'd to have Recourse to Heaven, and to undertake a Pilgrimage to St. Wenefride's Well in *Flintshire*. She began her Journey from *London* in the Month of *June*, One thousand six hundred and thirty eight, accompany'd by her said Husband, Mr. *Richard Wakeman* his Brother, and one *Francis Nasb*. She had at that Time two great Holes in her Breast under the Left Pap, which were seen both by *Catholicks* and *Protestants*. When she came into *Worcestershire*, to a Place call'd *Beeley*, she left there behind her all her Salves and Ointments, having a strong Faith and Hopes in Almighty God's Mercy, and in the Prayers of blessed St. Wenefride, that she should not have any further Occasion of using them. She only apply'd clean Linnen, to keep her Breast sweet; for the Corruption burst out in so great Quantities, that it forced its way thro' many Folds, and ran down into her very Shooes. Her Breast left off running at her first Bathing in the *Holy Well*: She stay'd one Night only in that Town, but went thrice into the *Fountain*; and from the very Instant of finishing her Devotions, to her Dying Day, which was five Years after, she never found any Pain in that Breast, nor any Sore, or Sign thereof, except a little Seam, to shew the Place where the two Holes were miraculously clos'd up. She bore afterwards three Children, and in drying up her Milk, found that Breast least troublesome, which before had been ulcer'd. I have this Account in Mr. *Wakeman's* Hand Writing, which he gave, as a perpetual Testimony of the Favour, and also of the Passage which follows. (f)

In the Year one thousand six hundred and thirty, the aforesaid Mr. *Wakeman* of *Rougley*, &c. being at *Holy Well*, saw a Man lying dead, hard by the *Well* it self. This profane Wretch, the Day before, had much derided and scoffed at blessed St. Wenefride, who suffer'd a glorious *Martyrdom* in Defence of her Virginity; he also gave abusive and uncivil Language, in the Presence of Mr. *Wakeman*, to the *Pilgrims*, who came thither to perform their Devotions. The *Coroner* was call'd, a Jury impanell'd, and the Body was view'd. After mature Deliberation they gave in this Verdict, That God's just Judgment was the



*Cause of his Death, for his wicked Carriage in that Place. (g)* Thus Mr. Wakeman an Eye-Witness. I could add here the Names of such, who in the Year One thousand six hundred and thirty seven, order'd the Image of St. Wenefride to be defaced, and the Iron Bars to be taken away, which supported the pious *Kisians* in the rapid Stream; how both he who commanded it, and those who executed his Orders, contrary to the Persuasion of several moderate Protestants, were shortly after exemplarily punish'd by uncommon Misfortunes and Disasters. Moreover, had I not confin'd my self to the last Century, I could mention Precedents, more than sufficient, to caution Persons from being too forward in their Contempts of St. Wenefride and her Well, which is sometimes severely taken Notice of by him, who has said, *He that touches you, touches the Apple of mine Eye*, Zach. ii. 8. But let us return from this Digression, if it may be call'd so.

The infinite Wisdom of God thinks fit, not to work Miracles by the Intercession of his Saints, in all Places, nor towards all Persons, but as it pleaseth him, St. Aug. *Epist.* 137. The greatest Wonders are wrought at St. Wenefride's Well, but I relate here a Cure at a great Distance, which tends much to the Glory of our Saint. In the Month of June, and the Year of our Lord One thousand six hundred and forty seven, the Wife of John Clee, Gardiner in the Suburbs of the City of Worcester, being diseased, undertook on foot a Journey to *Holy Well*, hoping to find there the Recovery of her Health. Passing thro' *Kidderminster*, in her Way to *Flintshire*, she call'd at her Cousin Anthony Cooke's House. Having refresh'd herself, she acquainted her Cousin with the Occasion of this her Pilgrimage. The long Discourse on the Subject of *Holy Well* was over-heard by a sick Woman, who lay in the

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(g) The Verdict of this Jury was ridiculous and false: For tho' no Man should abuse the Pilgrims, or speak contemptibly of a true Saint; yet how can any Man say that a sudden Death was judicially inflicted on a Wretch by God, for giving ill Language? God's Judgments are a great Depth. God is righteous in all his Ways, and no Man suffers without deserving it; but it passes humane Skill, to tell when Sufferings are Judgments. But these are Stories fit to terrify an ignorant and superstitious Generation.

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next Room. This poor Creature had continued bedrid six or seven Years; she was always lame, and had been put upon the said Cooke (who was a Linnen Weaver) to be maintain'd at the Charge of the Parish. Just as the Pilgrim was taking Leave, and ready to set forwards, the bedrid Woman cry'd out to speak with her: The Business was this; She desir'd her for the Passion of Christ, to carry for her a single Penny (which she gave her) to Holy Well, and to bestow it on the first poor Body she there happen'd to meet, humbly desiring that Party to go into the Well for her, and to pray that she might have the Use of her Limbs. This was promis'd and perform'd.

The poor Widow's two Mites, cast into the Treasury of the Temple, were so acceptable to the Searcher of Hearts, that he declar'd she had given more than all together, Luke xxi. 3. for it was her whole Personal Estate. The opulent Scribes and Pharisees might sling in Handfuls of Gold, they found no Want; this poor Creature bestow'd on her God what seem'd necessary to relieve her self, perchance she saying at the same Time with a flaming Heart, Lord! if I was Mistress of the two Worlds, as I am of these two Mites, they should be employ'd to your Honour. St. Wenefride accepted the single Penny sent to her Well, with so great Faith and Devotion; 'twas all the bedrid Woman had to present her with. Clec's Wife having remain'd at her Journey's End six or seven Days, return'd homewards, and coming to Kidderminster, she call'd at her Cousin Cooke's House, where to her great Astonishment, she saw the lame bedrid Woman perfectly recover'd; and inquiring at what Time she became sound; 'twas computed, that on that Day, and the very Hour when the single Penny was deliver'd at Holy Well, the bedrid Woman arose, walk'd round the House, and abroad, to the Admiration of the whole Parish. (h) This miraculous Change at so great Distance, could not be the Product of a Cold Bath.

This

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(h) The Story of this Bed-rid Woman's Cure, may be, every Word of it, true, and yet St. Wenefride be nothing concerned in it. Are all the Prayers that are put up at Holy-well, offered to God by Wenefride? or is all the Good that is done there, rewarded by God for her Sake? Happy Pilgrims! These are Encouragements indeed. There is nothing wanting but Truth.

This Passage was diligently examin'd by Mr. *James Bridges*, who had *Anthony Cooke* and *Clec's Wife* before him, who both attested the Truth of what is here related. In Testimony whereof Mr. *Bridges* recorded the same in his own Hand Writing. This was the worthy Gentleman, who being *Sheriff of Worcester*, proclaim'd there the King in the Year 1651; for which he suffer'd much from the Rebels, and with Difficulty escaped the Gallows.

A languishing Patient perplexes the Physician, and Distempers radiated from Infancy, causes him to fling aside his Books, and to dismiss the Hopes of a Cure. This seem'd the Case of Mrs. *Mary Numan*, Wife of Mr. *Hugh Numan*, who was Clerk to Sir *Jeremy Smith*; then Captain of one of His Majesty's Men of War. At five Years of Age, by an Ague and Fever, she was reduced to that Lameness and Impotence, that for the Term of eighteen Years she was not able to stand or point a Foot to the Ground: Her Arm Bones were so much out of their natural Places, that one reach'd over, and interfer'd with the other; and the Bones of her Legs were so dislocated, that they extended some Inches behind those of the Thighs. Being in this miserable Condition, and having considerable Friends at Court, she made her Application and Address unto them. By their Interest, she had the Opinion of all the King's Physicians, who declar'd, that naturally she was incurable. Hereupon she was touch'd by the King, but it pleas'd God not to restore her to Health. She was two Summers and one Winter at the Bath in *Somersetshire*, and at other Places in *England* famous for Cures, as also at three Wells in *Scotland*; altho' she could not make any other Shift for her self, than with great Difficulty and Pain to crawl a little upon her Knees. She was carry'd into *France*, and was put thrice into the second Grape-Press, in divers Parts of that Kingdom. She was touch'd at *Paris* by the French King: In *Flanders* she visited *Sichem* and other Places of Devotion; she was eighteen Weeks at *Aquisgrane*: In *Holland* she had the Advice of an Italian Prince, famous for his Skill in Physick. To be brief, she was conducted to the Baths in *Portugal*; all which Journeys were for the most Part at the King of *England's* Expence, but not to any Effect or Alteration in the Cripple. 'Tis true, she had been formerly twice at *St. Wenefride's Well*, without any Amendment, yet had an earnest Desire

and strong Impulse to make a third Pilgrimage. She was comforted with these inviting Thoughts both awake and sleeping ; wherefore, towards the latter End of May, in the Year One thousand six hundred and sixty six, she began her Journey from London, and arriv'd at Holy Well on Wednesday in Whitson Week, being the sixth Day of June, in the same Year. Going into the holy Fountain, she immediately felt (with much Pain) her Bones to move, and draw to their right Places ; so that by the Help of others, namely Mrs. Degg of Wolverhampton (who with Mr. Paling her Kinsman, and other Pilgrims of Staffordshire, were at that Time in the Well) she was able to stand upon her Feet, which she had not done before (as is already said) for eighteen Years, and to walk a little in the Water. On Trinity Sunday she went the fifth time into the Well, and afterwards walk'd without any Help of others, and on Wednesday following she undertook a Journey towards Ireland. This Miracle was attested, with all the recited Particulars, by her self, in the Presence of John Hughes de Combe and Robert Price de Aelwyducha, as Witnesses to her Subscription. If the Cold Bath had an occult Vertue to restore her Limbs, it had been needless to return a third time, being the former Visits seem'd to be made in vain. She had heard of St. Beuno's Prediction, concerning a third Payment of Devotion at that Place, and complying, she was blessed with the surprizing Cure. (i)

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(i) If the Cure of Mrs. Newman be to be accounted miraculous, because it was not effected by any of the Courses taken with her in England, France, or Portugal, or other Countries to which she travelled, no nor by being twice at Holy-well before, then certainly no Chronical Distemper can be cured without a Miracle ; and the last Remedy that is applied must be that Miracle ; and if applied at a Place where any famous Saint is worshipped, then is that wondrous Cure wrought by that Saint. But why was not Mrs. Newman cured by being twice at Holy-well before, if the Cold Bath be that which does the Feat ? Ask your Physician, ask your own Experience, if the same Medicine has not succeeded at one Time, that would not at another ? and if the same Means have not been often used, without Success, which have at last, through God's Blessing, proved effectual ? But she had heard, belike, of St. Beuno's Prediction, concerning a Third Payment of Devotion at that Place, and complying, she was blessed with the sur-



On the fourth of April, One thousand six hundred and Sixty six, about five of O'clock in the Afternoon, Hugh the Son of Thomas Williams, of the Parish of Whinford in the County of Flint Yeoman, a Boy of eight Years and nine Months old, having a Body of just Proportion in each Part to the Height of his Stature, which was four Foot, and playing with one of his School-fellows near the Mill, which stands but at a little Distance from the holy Fountain, he attempted to skip over the Water, but came short of the other Side, and dropp'd into the Current, where his most impetuous, three Yards from the great Water-Wheel, and was immediately carry'd out of Sight. The Standers-by gave him for lost, as prudently supposing, that besides the evident Danger of drowning, he would be crush'd to Death; for betwixt the Wheel and the paved Bottom of the Channel under it, there is not the Space of two Inches; yet he was suddenly convey'd into the Ditch beyond the aforesaid Wheel. His Companion seeing the sad Accident, and knowing nothing of his Safety, rais'd a mournful loud Cry, which so alarm'd the Master and forty Scholars, that they all ran out to learn the Occasion of it. The Millen also, and others, were in the same Fright; they all search'd for him, but could not find him.

prizing Cure. *Beuno's Prediction* (if it must be called so) was That whoever should ask to be delivered from any Evil or Disease, by her, should certainly be delivered at the first, or second, or third time of asking, if it were for his Good; but if he were not delivered at the third time from his bodily Sufferings, he might then expect to die shortly after, but might be assured of receiving greater Benefits to his Soul, which would be much better for him, than if he had received the Health or Blessing he sought for. But who does not see, that this is a Fetch of the crafty Monks, and not at all agreeable to the Simplicity of the Times in which *Beuno* is said to have lived? If you do not succeed at first, come a second time, and then a third: The oftner Pilgrims come to *Holy-well*, the more the Monks are like to get by them, for I suppose they come not empty handed. But what if I do not succeed the third time? why then, I shall have a better thing, in another Place; so that still it shall be worth my While to come three times to *Holy-well*; and if I think so in good Earnest, then I shall certainly think my self obliged to leave something at the Altar, that the Saint may be the better served by such as minister before her.



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but one *William Bowen*, who was standing with an angling Rod four Yards below the Wheel, espy'd him endeavouring to creep out of the Ditch, and complaining that he had lost his Shooe. The Boy was taken into a House, and that Moment a Surgeon was call'd: His Body being examin'd, the Youth was found not to have receiv'd any Crush or Contusion, except a little Skin ruffled off one Ankle, as a Mark to declare what would have become of him, if he had not been miraculously preserv'd. (k)

*Cornelius,*

(k) How the strange Escape of this Boy should turn to the Honour of St. Wenefride, passes my Skill to understand; unless all the Mercies God bestows upon the People of that Town and Neighbourhood, must be owing to her Intercessions, Prayers, and Merits. But in this Case, she was not so much as asked or sought to: And yet I am willing to make the most I can of this Relation, and desire the *Pilgrims* to consider, that if St. Wenefride does thus protect or intercede for such as never seek to her, nor know, 'tis likely, any thing of her, then Protestants may fare as well in their Ignorance, and tho' they address not to her, as those who believe her whole Legend, and pray to her every Day; which would be a discouraging thing indeed. And, to be serious, that I take to be the Truth of the Case. The Protestants *do not* pray to Saints, because they have no Command from God to do so; which is sufficient for their Justification, were praying to Saints never so innocent: God has left them, by his Silence in the Case, at their Liberty; 'tis therefore an indifferent thing, and they have chosen the Part they like. But farther, the Protestants *have not* pray to Saints, for fear of provoking God to Jealousy; It looks so like to giving his Honour to another, (which he has certainly forbidden) that they are afraid of doing it. Supposing they are mistaken, is God offended with Mistakes of such a kind as this? Suppose that God is not jealous, is there no Ground to think he is? Can it displease the merciful and gracious Creator, to see his Creatures careful of offending him, by abstaining from such things, as neither Reason nor Revelation command them to do, nor yet invite them to? But will they not be hereby justly deprived of all the Fruits and Advantages that may attend and follow the Prayers and Intercessions of so many good and great Saints as are in Heaven? To this I answer, in a few Words, That if the Saints and blessed Spirits above, do pray, and make Intercession for the People that are on Earth, they do it either from their own Benignity and good Nature; or else, because they are ordered and appointed of God to do so. If of their own good Nature, then they will do it whe-

*Connelius*, the Son of *John Nicholas*, of the Parish of *Tremaine*, in the County of *Cardigan*, about two Miles distant from *Cardigan Town*, being a young Man of seventeen Years of Age, both Fatherless and Motherless, entered into Service with his Aunt. On the one and twentieth of *December*, One thousand six hundred and seventy three, a little before Night, he was struck with so great a Weakness by a sudden Blast, finding racking Pains from his Knees downwards, that he was not able to go or stand. Several Remedies were used, as Ointments, Plaisters, Cutting and Lancing about the Toes and Ancles, to the very Bones. They continued this Method till towards *Easter*, but finding them insignificant, and that they were rather prejudicial to him, 'twas resolv'd to convey him to *St. Wenefride's Well*. His Relations were indigent, and having no other Means, he was recommended to the Charity of good People, from Door to Door, on a Hand-barrow.

ther I ask or no, especially if they understand that I forbear asking, because I am afraid of offending God thereby, or because I believe they are at too great Distance to hear me, or believe they have no Power to help me; which are all of them very innocent Mistakes, if they be Mistakes, and such as they were liable to themselves whilst alive, and therefore such as cannot pervert the Goodness of their Nature, and hinder them from interceding for me, if they did so before. But if they intercede, because it is the Appointment and Will of God that they should do so, then they will never cease their Intercession till God appoint them to cease; and who can so far distrust his infinite Goodness, as to think he should command his blessed Servants not to intercede for those, who pray not to them, only because they find no Reason so to do, nor any Precept so to do, and think they should offend him by so doing? So that, upon the whole Matter, if the Saints do intercede with God, the Protestants must have the Advantage of their Intercession, whatever it is, altho' they do not pray to them; but if the Saints do not intercede, then are the Protestants upon the safer Side, because they do not pray to them. And this I say of Saints, that are certainly so, and as surely now in Heaven, as I am now on Earth, and do from my Heart truly honour their Memory, and bless God for their great Virtue, Sanctity, and good Example: But as for *Wenefride*, and *Bonne*, and *Elerius*, and such like, I look upon them to be so far from being Saints, that I doubt much if ever there were such Creatures living on the Earth, as they are described to be.

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The *Wells* distinguish themselves from other Nations, by a Chearfulness in assisting those in great Necessity: They knew whither the Cripple was to be carry'd, and on what Account, therefore they lent helping Hands, that he might finish a Journey of ninety Miles. He was brought to *Holy Well* on the eleventh of June, and early next Morning was put into the *Fountain*, being Friday in *Whitsun-week*. No sooner was he in the Water, than he found himself perfectly recover'd; he walk'd in the *Well*, out of it, and ever after continued in good Health, to the Admiration of all those, who had been Spectators of his former miserable Condition. Glory be to God, who is wonderful in his Saints. (1)

It carries a sort of Demonstration for Miracles, when those who obstinately oppose them, are constrain'd to own them. Amongst the rest, perchance there are none more positive in their erroneous Opinions, than those Men call'd *Quakers*. They deny absolutely the Divine Efficacy of *Baptismal Water*, but the flowing Fountain of St. *Wenefride* prevail'd with *Roger Whetstone* to renounce his Heresy, and by holy *Baptism* to become a devout Christian Catholic. This *Roger*, by Education a *Quaker*, by Profession a Taylor, dwelling in *Sidmore*, within the Parish of *Bromesgrave* in *Worcestershire*, at sixty Years of Age, was visited with a violent Infirmary, which disabled him to such a Degree, that he could not feed himself. He was confin'd to his Bed seventeen Weeks, after which he found an Abatement of the severe Pains, which before ran thro' his whole Body. He was so weak, when able to rise, that he could not put his Hand to any Work, but halting on Crutches, he begged his Bread from Door to Door. Having continued three Years in this sad Misery, he was told by a *Flintshire* Man, dwelling in his Neighbourhood, that at a Place in his Country, call'd *Wenefride's Well*, great Numbers of lame Persons, and diseas'd, were frequently,

O 2

after

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(1) I leave it to the *Pilgrims* themselves, to consider, whether God is more wonderful in his Saints, because *Cornelius Nicobolas* was cured at the cold Waters of *Holy-well*, than he would have been, had *Cornelius* been cured at the hot Waters of the *Bath*, where neither *Wenefride*, nor any other Saint, is called upon, or worshipped in particular.

after a miraculous Manner, restored to Health. It came into the Quaker's Mind, suggested by a better Spirit than commonly guided him, that the Lord would help him at that Fountain. In this he was so confident, that not the least Doubt occur'd to the contrary: Wherefore, in the Year One thousand six hundred and sixty seven, he began his Journey on Crutches, attended by a young Girl, his Daughter; and after many Days Travel, he came to Holy Well about Noon, on the twenty eighth Day of August, in the aforesaid Year. He could not be induced to wash in the Well, that had a smattering of Popery and Superstition, but sitting at the Side of it, he drank one Cup of the Water, and he became as it were in a Trance: Returning to himself, he desir'd another Dish of the same Water, and having drunk it off, he threw away both his Crutches, and found himself strangely, suddenly, and perfectly cured. He walk'd round the Well, dropping many Tears of Joy, to join the Stream of that miraculous Spring. The Power and Goodness of St. Wenefride's [see a Note at the End of the Book] heavenly Spouse, placed the Miracle out of the Reach of Cavil and Dispute, by healing an old Cripple in a Minute, with two Draughts of Water. Another higher Cure was wrought in the Soul of this Quaker; for giving Attention to the Inspirations of the Holy Ghost, and an impartial Ear to the Motives of Belief, he embraced the Roman Catholick Faith. He and his Son (eleven Years of Age) received the holy Sacrament of Baptism, at which the greatest Quality of that County were pleased to stand Patrons.

Were it not to offer a needless Repetition of what is said already, I would set down at large the Attestation of Robert Hill, a most rigid Quaker, which lies now before me, concerning the Truth of the aforesaid Miracle. Have Patience at least with some Part of it, as he words it. I Robert Hill, of the County of Worcester, having lately been Overseer of the Poor of the Parish of Bromelgrave, within the said County, and now a near Inhabitant of the said Town, do testify, That I am, and have been well acquainted with Roger Wiston, alias Whetstone, of about sixty Years of Age, Taylor, Dweller in the same Town; and that I knew him for these three last Years lame and infirm, that he could not work at his Trade, nor go without Crutches, and so feeble, that he was not able to feed himself----- (Hill makes a Recital of his ten Days

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Days Journey, and of his sudden Cure at the Well, as Whetstone related the same to him; then adds) For my own Part, I can well say that I knew him infirm and lame, after coming, in these last Years, on his Crutches, to beg at my Door; and now being return'd from Holy Well, is very strong, and well able to work at his Trade, to the great Wonder of the Inhabitants of Bromelgrave; some whereof, presently upon his Return, being lame and infirm, came to Holy Well, in hopes to be also cured; and upon their Return they reported so true, that they were better in Health than formerly, &c. In witness hereof I put my Hand, the second Day of October, 1667. ROBERT HILL. In the same Account the said Robert Hill declares, how his own lame Girl, of fourteen Years of Age, was cured, by only making use of Holy Well Water.

I could bring a Cloud of Witnesses (to use St. Paul's Expression, Heb. xii. 1.) asserting other undeniable Miracles, wrought by St. Wenefride's Intercession, not in an obscure Corner, but in the Face of the Sun. I solemnly declare, that I leave behind twice as many Wonders, happening in the last Century, of which many were Eye-Witnesses, at the holy Fountain. Holy Well seems to resemble, in some sort, the Probatica Pond, where, in five Porches, there lay a great Multitude of sick Persons, of blind, lame, and wither'd, St. John, v. 3. In the travelling Season the Town appears populous, crowded with zealous Pilgrims, from all Parts of Britain. The Well it self receives a Succession of Visitants from Sun-rise till late at Night. The many Hand-barrows and Crutches, which have been hung at the Pillars, demonstrate the Mercies of God, and the powerful Intercession of the Virgin-Martyr. They are soon remov'd by those who envy the Glory of our Saint. I forbear to recount at large the Recovery of blindish Eyes, of barren Women becoming fruitful, of inveterate violent Convulsions suddenly ceasing, of deaf Persons favour'd with Hearing, of stubborn Devils cast out of possess'd People (certainly the immortal Spirits, who suffer the eternal Torments of Hell, could not be forc'd away by the material Elements of a Cold Bath.) These, and many others of the last Age I omit, not to increase the Price and Bulk of a Pocket-Book, as also that it may be ready to wait on those to whom it is dedicated. St. Augustin, in his xii Book of the City of God, writing of a blind Man who received Sight,

and



and of other Miracles, when St. *Ambrose* translated the holy Bodies of SS. *Gervasius* and *Prothasius*, thought it sufficient Conviction against the incredulous scoffing Heathens, that *Immense Populo Teste, res gesta est. A vast Concourse of People were able to attest the Truth of them*; which is exactly our present Case.

I conclude with the Divine Message the Son of God sent to his Precursor in Prison, to confirm the Disciples of the Baptist, and to confound the obdurate Jews, which with profound Humility, and the greatest Deference imaginable, may be apply'd to our glorious Patroness of Wales, by what you read in this admirable Life; Go and report that the Blind see, the Lame walk, the Lepers are made clean, the Deaf hear, the Dead rise again, to the Roor the Gospel is preach'd, St. Mat. xi. 5. The Omnipotence and Goodness of our great God be ador'd and prais'd, by all Angels and Saints, for ever. Amen, Amen.

THE



# THE LITANIES

## OF St. *WENEFRIDE*.

**L**ORD have Mercy upon us.  
Christ have mercy upon us.  
Lord have Mercy upon us.  
God the Father of Heaven have Mercy upon us.  
God the Son Redeemer of Mankind, have Mercy upon us.  
God the Holy Ghost have Mercy upon us.  
Holy Trinity, One God, have Mercy upon us.  
Holy Mary,  
Holy Mother of God,  
Holy Virgin of Virgins,  
O blessed St. *Wenefride*,  
O humble and mild Virgin,  
O glorious Spouse of Christ,  
O devout and charitable Virgin,  
O sweet Comforter of the Afflicted,  
O singular Example of Chastity,  
O Radiant Star,  
O fairest Flower of the *British* Nation,  
O admirable and elected Vessel,  
O Mirror of Chastity,  
O Mirror of Devotion,  
O Mirror of Piety,  
O bright Lamb of Sanctity,  
O Golden Image of Angelical Purity,  
O Hope and Safety of distressed Pilgrims,

Pray for us.

That

That we may be delivered from all Iniquity,  
 That we may be delivered from all disorder'd Pas-  
 sions of the Mind,  
 That we may be delivered from the Deceits of the  
 World, Flesh, and Devil,  
 That we may be delivered from all Occasions of Sin,  
 That we may be delivered from Plague, Famine,  
 and War,  
 That we may be delivered from the Wrath of God  
 and Eternal Damnation,  
 That we and all Sinners may have true Contrition,  
 and full Remission of our Sins,  
 That all Schismatics, Hereticks, and Infidels may  
 be converted to the Holy Catholick and Apostoli-  
 cal Faith,  
 That we may always hate Sin, and overcome all  
 Temptations,  
 That we may despise all Worldly Vanities and De-  
 lights,  
 That we may ever fear God, and fulfil his holy  
 Will,  
 That we may have both spiritual and corporal  
 Health,  
 That we may devoutly affect Chastity and Purity  
 of Life,  
 That we may fervently love Humility and Mildness,  
 That we may delight in pious Prayer, Fasting, and  
 charitable Alms,  
 That we may discreetly and fervently continue in the  
 Exercise of Godliness,  
 That we may chearfully and constantly suffer for the  
 Love of Christ,  
 That the Souls in Purgatory, and all afflicted Per-  
 sons, may obtain Heavenly Consolations,  
 That our Benefactors, and all that labour to save  
 Souls, may be blessed with abundance of Grace,  
 and everlasting Life,  
 That we may enjoy true Peace, and endless Felicity,  
 That God of his abundant Mercy will vouchsafe to  
 bless this our Pilgrimage,  
 That by thy pious Intercession it may be to the per-  
 fect Health of our Souls and Bodies,  
 That thou wilt vouchsafe to grant our Requests,  
 O blessed *Wenefride*,

O holy Virgin and Mother, pray for us

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*Prayer for us pray, Amen.*

O Almighty and Everlasting God, who hast adorned  
St. Wenefride with the Reward of Virginity; Grant,  
we beseech thee by her pious Intercession, to set aside the  
Delights of the World, and to obtain with her the Everlasting  
Glory; through Jesus Christ thy Son, who  
with thee liveth and reigneth in the Unity of the Holy  
Ghost for ever. Amen.

*Another Prayer.*

O Almighty and Everlasting God, we humbly beseech  
thee, that blessed St. Wenefride may obtain for us such  
spiritual and temporal Benefits, as are expedient for thy  
holy Service, and our eternal Salvation; through our  
Lord Jesus Christ thy Son, who with thee and the Holy  
Ghost liveth and reigneth ever one God, World without  
End. Amen.

*The Hymn of St. Wenefride.*

O fragrant Rose in pleasant Spring,  
To God's own Son a Spouse most dear,  
And Martyr rare of Christ our King,  
St. Wenefride did flourish here.  
Descended well of BRITISH RACE,  
In Faith was firm, in Hope secure,  
With holy Works, and Soul in Grace,  
From worldly Fith preserved pure.  
Sad Luck this Sacred Maid did kill,  
And Hell swallowed presently,  
Where Tears in vain do run down still,  
Amongst burning Flames incessantly.  
Token sure of this strange Thing,  
Bespotted all with bloody Red,  
Well by God's Command doth spring,  
Where Tyrant's Sword cut off her Head.

Here Wonders great God's Hand doth work,  
The Blind doth see, the Dumb doth speak,  
Diseases which in Bodies lurk  
Are cured where Faith is not weak.  
O glorious Virgin Wenefride,  
To us the raging Sea appease,  
And free us so from Satan's Dread,  
That he on us may never sieze. Amen.

*A Prayer to St. Wenefride.*

**O** Blessed *Wenefride*, O pure Virgin and glorious Martyr, so especially elected, so divinely graced, and wonderfully restored from Death to Life; O singular Hope of all that fly unto thee with full Confidence and Humility; though unworthy, yet we thy devoted Pilgrims make our Addresses unto thee. O Sanctuary of Piety, look upon us with patient Eyes, receive our Petitions, accept our Offerings, and present our Supplications to the Throne of Mercy, that through those thy powerful Intercessions, God will be pleased to bless this our Pilgrimage, and grant us our Request and Desires, through *Jesus Christ* his Son, who with God the Father, and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, ever one God, World without End. *Amen.*

*Another Prayer to St. Wenefride.*

**O** Blessed *St. Wenefride*, O glorious Virgin and Martyr, who hast admirably beautified with the Purple of thy Blood the rare Purity of thy innocent Life, whom God has so specially chosen, so highly privileged, and so wonderfully restored to Life again, gracing thee with the Honour of a living Martyr, causing a Fountain miraculously to spring, bearing a perpetual Memory of thy Name, for the Relief of all diseased and distressed Pilgrims, who shall devoutly beg thy powerful Intercession. O blessed *St. Wenefride*, hear the Prayers, and receive the humble Supplications of thy poor devoted Pilgrims, and obtain that by thy pious Intercession, God of his infinite Mercy will be pleased to grant us a full Pardon and Remission of our Sins, and a Blessing to this our Pilgrimage; and that we may increase and persevere in God's Grace, and enjoy Him eternally in Heaven. This we beg of thee, O blessed Virgin and Martyr, for *Jesus Christ* our Lord and Saviour's Sake. *Amen.*

*The End.**Th*

The Note referred to in Page 108. of *St. Wenefrede's Life*.

**G**IVE as much Glory as you will to *Wenefrede's* heavenly Spouse (if that must be the Name of *Christ*) for the Cure of *Roger Whetstone*, or any other, and no one will oppose it: But, in the Name of God, what had *St. Wenefrede* to do, in restoring this poor Cripple? Did he desire her Intercession? No, he was a Quaker. But did she intercede with her Spouse for him? Yes. And did he hearken to her Prayers, and heal him? Yes. How does that appear? The Priests say so, and he was healed. Whatever the Priests say then is true, and whoever is healed at *Holy-well*, is interceded for by *Wenefrede*, and healed at her Intercession. Are not these Conclusions certain, and incontestable? Might not a Man fill up a thousand Pages with Miracles, if these are Miracles? But I will not meddle with that; let these Cures pass for Miracles. — I only say, (and pray the *Pilgrims* to take Notice of it) that supposing there was such a Woman once in Being, that she was a good Nun, that her Head was struck off, and set on again, and that she afterwards lived a holy Life, and died in the Reputation of Sanctity. — Supposing all these things of *Wenefrede* to be true and certain, (as I affirm not one single Point of them is, or can be proved, by any Rules of History) yet is it not in the Power of any Man living to prove, to any reasonable Man's Conviction, that she does, or ever did, intercede with God, for the Cure of any lame or diseased Person at *Holy-well*, or that God did ever heal or restore any lame or diseased Person, for the Sake or through the Intercession of *St. Wenefrede*? Let any Man try to clear these two Points, if he can: That *Wenefrede* did, at any Time, intercede with God for such a Man, or such a Woman; 1. That God did, at *Wenefrede's* Intercession, restore such Man, or such Woman, to Health or Soundness. Is it enough to say that such a Man or Woman came to *Holy-well* sick and diseased, and made their Prayers to *Wenefrede* to intercede with God to restore them, and went away restored? Is this enough to prove that *Wenefrede* did really and indeed intercede with God for them, merely because they asked her so to do? What Certainty can any one have, that as soon as he has prayed to all the Angels and Archangels, the Apostles, Saints, Martyrs, Confessors, and holy Spirits of Men and Women that are in Heaven, that they would intercede with God for him; what Certainty, I say, can he have that they immediately fall down before the Throne, and do it? And so I say of any one particular Saint of the whole Number; what Certainty can any one have, that he or she either hears his Prayer, or if they hear, that they immediately attend, and grant it? May they not possibly demur? have they not Liberty to consider the Petition, and see if it be reasonable, or just, or fit to offer? I would not be thought to speak too slightly of things that other People set great Value on, and treat in Earliest; but I cannot forbear saying, that having seriously considered all the Reasonings of the Ancients, and the



Improvements of the modern Advocates for praying to Saints  
 I do not find they have proved, that the Prayers of People on  
 Earth, arrive to the Saints in Heaven, with the hundredth  
 Part of the Certainty, that Letters go from one Country to ano-  
 ther, (not by the Post, but) by the *Paquet de Mer* at Sea, subject  
 to all the Winds that blow, and all the Accidents of that un-  
 certain Element. There is indeed, no thinking how a Saint  
 in Heaven can hear the mental and the vocal Prayers of all that  
 call upon him, from all the different Quarters of the World,  
 at one and the same Time, without supposing such a Know-  
 ledge of the Secrets of all Hearts, and of all that is said up-  
 on the Earth, as differs little, if anything, from the Omni-  
 science of God himself, which is an insupportable Charge, if any  
 being is communicable to a Creature, and without which he  
 could not be qualified to be the Judge of all the Earth. And  
 yet without this Knowledge both of all Hearts and all  
 Tongues, how could he be to pray to Saints from all  
 Places? I have never yet seen it well proved, that the Saints  
 do intercede with God for Mankind in general, or for the  
 Church Militant in particular. But I will give it for granted  
 that they do, if it pleases God, but it does not follow from  
 thence that they either hear what People ask, or intercede for  
 those especial things which are asked, any more than it fol-  
 lows, that I know what my Relations in the *Indy* ask of God,  
 or want, because I remember them in my daily Prayers, and  
 beg of God to give them what he sees is most expedient for  
 them. Supposing therefore that *Wenfred* were indeed a Saint  
 in Heaven, and that she did intercede with God, as the rest  
 of the Saints are supposed to do, for the Church in general, &  
 yet it would not thence follow, that she interceded for me, in  
 particular, or that she knew who I was, or what I wanted, or  
 knew that I came to ask something of her. None of all these  
 things follow, from supposing her to be a Saint, and a gene-  
 ral Intercessor for all Christians. I must therefore have a par-  
 ticular Revelation from God, to tell me that *Wenfred* did, at  
 such a Time, intercede for me, or else how should I know it?  
 Well, but the *Event* tells me she did: I came to *Holywell* sick  
 and lame, and there I fell upon my Knees, crossed my self de-  
 voutly, lift up my Heart, my Eyes, and Hands to Heaven,  
 drank of the Waters, bathed my self therein, and prayed to St.  
*Wenfred* to pray to God to restore me to my Health and Limbs;  
 and after a due Continuance at the Place, and Repetition of my  
 Prayers and Use of the Waters, I found my self sound and well;  
 And is not this sufficient Proof and Certainty, that *Wenfred*  
 did hear my Prayers, did intercede with God at that time  
 for me, and that God, at her Intercession, did restore me?  
 Does not this happy Issue and Event verify and prove all this?  
 No, nor one Point; for *Roger Whiston*, a Quaker and a Crip-  
 ple, came to *Holywell*, and drank of the Waters, and bathed  
 himself in them, and recovered his Limbs as well as you,  
 and was so far from praying to *Wenfred*, that it does not ap-  
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pear he prayed to God himself to be restored. How is it there-  
 fore possible for you to prove that you were restored at *Wen-*  
*fred's* Intercession, when that poor Man and a hundred more  
 have been restored without her Intercession; not only such as  
 were ignorant of her Saintship, but such as were downright  
 Disbelievers, and such as only trusted in God? As therefore  
 your praying to *Wenfred* does not suppose that she hears you;  
 nor your desiring her to intercede for you suppose that she does  
 indeed intercede for you; so neither does your obtaining what  
 you ask, suppose that you obtain it for that Intercession's sake.  
 These are all of them fallacious Consequences that crafty  
 Priests delude poor Pilgrims with. And every beneficial Cure  
 that a Protestant receives at *Holy-well*, is a Demonstration that  
*Wenfred's* Intercession is both a needless and a useless Thing,  
 although it should be innocent to ask it, which I am far from  
 thinking it to be; but I would not enter into any new Contro-  
 versy. I have gone thus far, in hopes that what I have already  
 offered might make it needless to consider the *Litanies* and  
*Prayers* which I see are printed anew at the End of this little  
 Book. For if what I have said in the foregoing Pages to  
 the discredit of this Legend of St. *Wenfred* shall not have its  
 Weight, the Pilgrims will go on in their old Way for any  
 thing I shall say farther: But if it have, then is my farther  
 Labour superfluous also, and they will go to God and seek their  
 Remedies at His Hands, through the Intercession, and for the  
 Sake and Merits of Jesus Christ alone, our common Lord and  
 Saviour, who ever liveth to make Intercession for us, and is  
 both able and desirous to save to the utmost all that come to  
 God by Him.

I will therefore trouble the Devout Pilgrims with no more  
 Arguings, but pray them to consider these few Things fol-  
 lowing, which I have in several Places mentioned before.

Whether they would ever pray, unless they were sure there  
 were a God?

Whether they would ever pray to God, unless they were  
 sure that God heard their Prayers?

Whether they would pray to God, unless they were sure that  
 he would give them what they asked; and would, if he saw it fit-  
 ting and expedient for them?

Whether God has not commanded all Men to come to Him  
 by Prayer?

Whether he has not commanded all Men to come to Him  
 by Jesus Christ, their Mediator and Intercessor?

Whether Jesus Christ alone be not an able, willing, and suf-  
 ficient Mediator and Intercessor? or whether there be Need  
 of any other?

Whether it be as certain that there was such a Woman as  
*Wenfred*, as that there is any Man or Woman now living in  
*North-Wales*? If not, how can they pray to her?

Whether it be as certain that *Wenfred's* Head was cut off,  
 and set on again, as that any other Saint heretofore suffered

Mar-

Martyrdom? If not, how know they that she was a *Martyr*?

Whether it be as certain that she is now a Saint in Heaven, as that St. Peter and St. Paul are now in Heaven? If not, how can they pray to her?

Whether it be certain that all who are in Heaven hear all the Prayers that are made to them on Earth?

Whether the Saints know distinctly and separately the Prayers of one Man from another?

How is it, that Men on Earth can be sure that such a one is a Saint in Heaven, and that she hears their Prayers, and intercedes with God for them, unless God hath told them so either in the Scriptures, or by other particular Revelation?

Hath God by either of these Ways told them, that *Wenefrede* is a Saint in Heaven, and hears their Prayers, and intercedes for them? If not, how come they to pray to her?

Is there any Command, any thing like a Command, in the Scriptures, that Men should pray to Saints? Is there any Encouragement so to do? And who would venture on such a Practice without a positive Command, when they may go to God by Christ, which is commanded, and to which there can be no Exception or Objection, and for whose Sake alone it is that any Prayers are heard or granted?

And now I cannot chuse but hope, that the devout Pilgrims, after considering all these Things, will require at their Priests Hands a more full and satisfactory Account of the Certainty of the Life, Beheading, Resuscitation, Second Death, and Miracles of St. *Wenefrede*, than Prior Robert (500 Years after her supposed Life) hath given them in a poor, miserable, suspicious Legend; and that they will no longer address themselves to one by Prayer (of whose very Being they are, and can be so little assured) in Terms as great, as strong, and weighty, as they would use to Jesus Christ himself. Such are the following ones in the Prayer to St. *Wenefrede*: O singular Hope of all that fly unto thee with Confidence and Humility; though unworthy, yet we, thy devoted Pilgrims, make our Addresser unto thee. O Sanctuary of Piety, look upon us with patient Eyes, receive our Petitions, accept our Offerings, and present our Supplications to the Throne of Mercy, that through those thy powerful Intercessions, God will be pleased to bless this our Pilgrimage, and grant us our Request and Desires, through Jesus Christ his Son, &c. Think with your selves if this be right, to take a Saint upon Trust from the Tradition of a poor, ignorant, obscure, and superstitious Corner of the Land, dress'd up by a Monk, who was employed to steal her Bones, and thereby bring the Advantage of Oblations to his Monastery, and give her such great Names and Titles, such Appellations and Attributes, in Prayers address'd to her herself, as you would give to Jesus Christ himself, the Everlasting Son of God, and King of Saints, if you should go on Pilgrimage to any Place devoted to his Name and Honour to ask him any Favour. Think with your selves, I pray you, for your Good, if this be right and fitting.

# St. Beino's Life and Miracles.

Translated from the

B R I T I S H M S.

A Gentleman lived at *Banbenio* in *Pontisland*, above the River then called † *Sabrina*, but now *Hafren*. His Name was *Bugu*, and his Wife was *Berin*, Daughter of *Lawden*. It was an innocent and harmless Couple, and obey'd the Commands of God in all things as blameless as they could. And they had no Son. And they were well stricken in Years, having past the best of their Time. And they had lain together for twelve Years without knowing one another, by mutual Consent. And on a Work-day as they talked together, behold an Angel came to them, and his Raiment was as white as Snow, and said to them, Be of good Chear, for God hath heard your Prayers; and the Angel said to the Husband, This Night thou shalt know thy Wife, and she shall conceive and bring forth a Son, and he shall be in Favour both with God and Man. And as the Angel advised so they did, and *Berin* conceived that very Night, and brought forth a Son, and called him *Beino*. And they brought up the young Child at home till he could walk, and then they sent him to a Saint in *Gwentland*, called *Tangusius*. And his Parents had Divine Directions to dispose of him thus. And with that Saint he lived till, by the Help of God, he had learn'd all the Holy Bible. There he learn'd the Service and Orders of the Church, and was ordained Priest. And *Myr*, King of *Gwentland*, took Notice of him; he was a meek, chaste, and a generous Man, very ready to be advised; he received *Beino* honourably and friendly, gave him a Gold Ring and a Crown, and was a Disciple to and Monk under St. *Beino*; and he gave him three Estates in *Ebor*, and the People also in those Divisions with their Goods and Chattels. At that Time *Beino's* Father was sick, and they despaired of his Life, and he sent a Messenger to his Son *Beino*, and commanded him on his Blessing to come to him. Then *Beino* spoke to his Friends and Disciples, Stay you here in this

† *Severn*. \* *Monmouthshire*.



Place while I go to see my Father now dying. And so they did. And St. Beino recommended them to the King and the Gentlemen of that Country. And he went to the Place where his Father was ill; and his Father, after Communion and Confession, made a good End, and died. Then Beino stayed in his Father's Estate, built a Church there, and dedicated it to our Lord Christ. And he planted an Acorn on the Side of his Father's Grave, which grew to be a great Oak in Height and Compass, and a Branch of that Oak reached to the very Ground, and from the Ground again to the Top of the Tree. And there was a Piece of the Branch in the Ground, and always is. And if an Englishman go between this Part of the Branch and the Root of the Tree, he shall suddenly die; but if a Welshman, no Harm shall befall him. And when Beino had lived a long time in his Father's Township, he left the Place, and he went forwards to Maw, the Son of Brochwal. He received him very kindly and hospitably, and then Maw gave an Offering to God and Bribes for his own and his Father's Soul. And on a Work-day, as Beino was travelling by the River Severn, he could hear the Voice of an Englishman hollooming to his Hounds, hunting a Hare on the other Side of the River, crying out as loud as he could, *Kersia, Kersia*, which in his Language was encouraging the Dogs. And when Beino heard the Voice of an Englishman, he immediately turned back to his Disciples, and bid his Sons put on their Cloaths and Shoes and leave that Place, for I hear the Voice of a Man of another Nation on the other Side of the River hollooming to his Dogs, who shall conquer this Place, and keep it in their Possession. Then Beino spoke to one of his Disciples, named *Bethelin*. My Son, says he, obey me, I would have thee stay here, and my Blessing be with thee. And I shall leave with thee a Cross I have made myself. And that Disciple received his Master's Blessing, and stayed there. And Beino went to the Disciples at Myved, and there he stayed with St. *Willa* forty Days and forty Nights. From thence he came to King *Cynan*, the Son of *Brochwal*, and begged of him a Place to pray for his own Soul and those of his Companions. And the King gave him *Gwyddelwern*, a Place that had its Name from the Irishman whom Beino raised from the Dead there, whose Wife had been the Occasion of his Death; and there Beino built a Church. About this Time *Cynan*'s Nephews came from hunting, and begged some Meat of him. Then Beino commanded his Servants to fetch a Run from the Mountain, and to kill him, to entertain the Huntsmen that begged Meat of him. And they did so. And the Flesh was put into the Pot to be boiled the third Hour of the Day; and it was in the Pot till the Afternoon, and the Men all the while blowing the Fire under the Pot, and yet the Water was not warm in the Pot, nor had the Flesh changed its Colour. Up-  
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on this one of the Laymen said, This Scholar with his Art has done this, that we might have nothing to eat. And when *Beino* heard this Word fall from his Mouth, Let him be accursed, said he; and he died before the End of that Day. Then *Beino* discoursed with the Sons of that † wise Man, and told them, What your Father has given free to God will you demand Rent and Service for? May that God whom I serve, and gave me this Grant, cause that none of your Heirs enjoy this, and destroy you from this Kingdom, and an eternal one hereafter. And as *Beino* prayed, so he obtained. Then *Beino* left that Place, and walked on the Side of the River *Dee*, to get a Place to pray to God in. And he found none till he came to *Temic*, the Son of *Elwyd*; and this *Temic* gave *Beino* a Town to inherit for ever; and there *Beino* built a Church, and dedicated it to God. Within a short time *Temic* left this solitary Place to *Beino*. And on a Work-day *Temic* and his Wife went to Church to hear Mass and Sermon from *Beino*, and left his Daughter at home to keep House. And behold she saw the King of that Place coming to the House, whose Name was *Caradoc*. She immediately met him, and was civil to him. He asked where her Father was? She answered, At Church; if you have any Business with him, stay for him, and he will come presently. I will not stay, except you promise to be my Concubine. The Maid answered, I'll not be thy Concubine, for you are a King, and descended from Kings, and I am too mean to be your Concubine. But, says she, if you stay till I return from my Chamber, I will do what you please: And under Pretence of going to her Chamber, she fled to the Church where her Father and Mother were. The King perceiving her to fly, pursued her, and overtook her as she was entring the Church-door, and with his Sword struck off her Head into the Church, and the Body fell without. *Beino* and the Father and Mother saw this: And *Beino* look'd in the King's Face, and told him, I will beg of God that he spare not thee any more than thou hast spared this good Maid. And in that Instant the King melted into a Pool, and he was no more seen in this World. Then *Beino* took the Maid's Head, and put it on her Body, and spread his own Mantle over the Body, and bid the Father and Mother that lamented over her be quiet a little while, and leave her as she was till Mass was over. Then *Beino* offered to God, and as soon as Mass was over the Maid was alive, and she wiped the Sweat off her Face; so God and *Beino* made her full well. Where the Blood fell on the Ground a Fountain arose, which to this Day cures Men and Cattel of their Distempers, and the Fountain was called from the Maid's Name *Winifrid's Well*. And many saw this and believed in

Christ: But the greatest Man that believed was *Caduan*, King of *North-Wales*, who gave *Beino* a great deal of Land. And when *Caduan* died, *Beino* went to visit *Cadwalawn*, *Caduan's* Son, who succeeded him in the Kingdom of *North-Wales*: And *Beino* begged to have the Land *Caduan* had promised; for he had there no Place to worship God or to dwell in. Then the King gave *Beino* a Place in *Arwon*, called \* *Gwardog*. And *Beino* gave the King a Gold Scepter, that *Cynan*, the Son of *Brochwell*, had given him at his Death, which Scepter was worth Sixty Cows. And there *Beino* built a Church, and began a Wall about it; and on a Work day when he was making this Wall, and his Disciples with him, behold they could see a Woman with a young Child in her Arms, begging of *Beino* to bless the Child. Stay, Woman, a little, says *Beino*, till we finish this Work. And the Child cryed, and would not be pacify'd. Then *Beino* ask'd the Woman why the Child cryed? Good Saint, answered the Woman, he has good Reason. What is that Reason says *Beino*? why, without Doubt the Land which you possess and build upon, says the Woman, is the Inheritance of this Child. Then *Beino* bid his Disciples withdraw their Hands from the Work, while he baptized the Child; and to prepare him his Coach, and we will go with this Woman and her Child to visit the King who gave me this Land. Then *Beino* and his Disciples set out with the Woman and her Child, and came to *Caer* † *Seint* where the King was, now called *Caernarvon*. Then *Beino* spoke to the King—Why hast thou given me another Man's Land? Why, says the King, who claims it? The Child, says *Beino*, that is in that Woman's Arms is Heir of this Land. And *Beino* said, give the Child his Land, and give me other Land in it's stead, or return me the present I gave thee, viz. the Scepter. But the oppressing and proud King answered, I will not change the Land, and the Present thou gavest me I have given it to another. Then *Beino* was very angry, and told the King, I will beg of God that within a while thou mayst have no Land at all; and *Beino* went off and left him accursed. Now there was one *Gwyddeint*, Cousin-German to the King, who followed after *Beino*, and overtook him the other Side of the River *Seint*, where *Beino* sat on a Stone by the River-side, and he gave God and *Beino* for his own Soul and the Soul of *Cadwalawn* his Cousin-German, the Town of *Celyng* for ever without any Rent or Service accruing out of it, and made a good Title of it; and there *Beino* did many Miracles, by the Help of God, which no Man could number. At that Time it happened that one of the Workmen of *Absraf* went to the Palace in *Gwent*, and a handsomer Man could not be seen in a Summer's Day. When the Princess in *Gwent* saw him, she

\* *Gwardog*. † *Segontium*.

fell so deep in Love with him, that she could not be without him: And the King her Father hearing of it, chose rather to give his Daughter to him, than that she should take him herself of her own Accord; preferring such a handsome Man and loyal, to be the King's Son, and a Nobleman. In Process of Time the young Man perswaded his Wife to visit his own Country, and they came to a Place called *Pennardd* in *Arvon*, and there they lighted off their Horses and rested; and the Princess his Wife, being weary, fell asleep. While she was sleeping he began to consider with himself how he must be ashamed in his own Country, having a Wife with him so nobly descended, and that he had no other way to maintain her but to go to the Works where he got his Livelihood before; and there, by the Devil's Instigation, he cut off her Head with his Sword. He went on his Journey to his own Country with his fine Horses, and Silver, and Gold; and when he came to the King, he bought a Place for himself to be *Steward of the Household*. In the mean time a Shepherd of *Beino's* found out the dead Body, and told *Beino*. And *Beino* came on the Wings of the Wind to the Corpse, and squeezed the Head to the Body, and fell upon his Knees and prayed thus, O Lord, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who knowest all Things, raise this dead Body to Life again: And immediately the Woman was restored to Life, and told *Beino* all that happened. Then *Beino* spoke to her, Chuse you whether you will go to your own Country, or serve God here. The Woman answered, I chuse to serve God here with you, who raised me from the Dead. And where the Blood fell to the Ground a clear Fountain did rise, and was called from the Woman's Name *Digiw-well*. And some time after a Brother of the Princess, *Idon*, the Son of *Thyr* of *Gwent*, came to *Beino* to visit his Sister; and when he came there he found his Sister with *Beino* serving God. And he asked his Sister whether she would come home? She answered, that she would not leave the Place where she had been raised from the Dead. And when *Idon* saw that he could not prevail with his Sister, he begged of *Beino* to accompany him as far as *Aberfraw*, to petition the King there to compel his Sister's Husband to restore the Horses, Gold, and Silver he had taken from his Sister. And they travelled both together to the King's Palace; and *Idon* soon saw the Man he enquired after, and immediately he drew his Sword, and cut off his Head. Then the King was sore displeased, and ordered the Man that killed his Steward to be apprehended. And *Beino* said, Lay not your Hands upon the Man that came with me. Then the King swore with great Indignation that he would immediately order the Man to be destroyed, except *Beino* would raise to Life the Man that was killed: And *Beino*, without any Hesitation, trusting in God, raised the Man that was



killed to Life again. And the King repented that he had tempted the Saint ; and he gave *Beino* the Palace he now lives in, called *Beino*.

Many other things have we omitted to speak of, lest the Book should grow too bulky. Here is only a Taste of *Beino's* Miracles. And no one knows what God has done for *Beino's* Sake, but God alone. And whosoever does Good, it is most certain that God will be his Helper. Every thing that God commanded, *Beino* performed. He gave Meat and Drink to the Hungry and Thirsty, Cloaths to the Naked, Entertainment to Strangers, and he would visit the Sick, and those that were in Prison. He would perform exactly every good thing the holy Scripture commanded. And now *Beino's* Days were at an End, and the seventh Day after *Easter* he could see the Heavens opened, and Angels descending and ascending up again : And then *Beino* spoke ; I see, says he, the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and *Peter* and *Paul*, † *David* and *Daniel*, Saints and Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, appearing to me. And I see amongst all these, seven Angels standing before the Throne of the Almighty Father, and all the Fathers of Heaven and Singers, saying, Blessed are they whom thou hast chosen, and taken to thy self to live with thee for ever. I hear the Voice of Almighty Father inviting me, and saying to me, My Son, throw off thy Weight of Flesh from thee ; now the Time is come, thou art invited with thy Brethren to the everlasting Feast : Let thy Body remain in the Earth, and let the Host of Heaven, the Angels, carry thy Soul to the Kingdom of Heaven, which thou hast deserved here by thy Works. And now the Day of Judgment will be greater, when the Lord shall speak to his Saints, You blessed Sons of my Father, come to inherit the Kingdom that was prepared for you since the Beginning of the World ; where Life shall be without Death, Youth without old Age, Health without Sickness, and Joy without Sadness. The Saints of the first Degree with God the Father shall be next the Arch-angels, and the Disciples of Jesus Christ, next to the nine Degrees in Heaven of such as have not sinned ; next to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

*Amen.*

Let us now beg the Mercy of God Almighty, thro' the Assistance of St. Beino, that we with him may enjoy eternal Life, for ever and ever. Amen.

† *David* and *Daniel*.

E. Cod.



*E Cod. MS. in Bibl. Bodl. sup. Art. A & c. 72.  
fol. 189: a.*

*Seint Vonefrede the holi Virgine.*

**U** Onesfred was an holy Mayde, so ich ondirfonde,  
In the tyme tho Syre Aleyn was King of Ingelonde:  
This ilke King was a good Man, so God 3ef the Cas,  
They his Sone was a Fool, thilke tyme nas  
5 And that Men sech wel ofte, also thinketh me;  
Therefore wel is the Child that may I the be Fadir what he  
be.  
This holy Mayde lerned here Byleue tho  
With a Prest of the Contre, that men cleped Beuno.  
This Mayde he tau3t ever wel to fien al Lecherye,  
10 And to kepe here Body clene fram Synne and fram Folye.  
And the Mayde him behet myd good wille tho  
That 3he wolde clene Mayde byleven everemo.  
In a tyme hit byfil that the deuel alone  
Acom, after that here Frendes to Chirche weren agone.  
15 The Kinges Sone com to Here in his Rebaudye,  
And gan here bysechen faste, to don his Lecherye.  
The Mayde him answered and sayde anon ry3t  
Ich nam nou3t to ben thin Hore nouthe I dy3t ary3t:  
Ich wole gone to Boure, and come to The anon,  
20 And than with my Body thy wil thou my3t done.  
For 3he wolde ascapye, the Mayde feyde al this,  
And for 3he nolde nou3t habbe with him to don I wis.  
Tho 3he was withinne a Dore 3he ondede anon,  
And suththe toward Chirche wel 3erne 3he gangon.  
25 Anon tho this fool Child herof the soth isay,  
That he was bygyld thorow3 that fayre May.  
And after here wel quickliche anon he gan to go,  
And anon drou3 out his Swerd tho he com here to.  
And faste by the Chirche dore he smot of here heved;  
30 And thus was this holy Mayde of here Lyf byreved.  
God cheued anon that this dede was nou3t gode,  
Therefore with the dede this 3ong Child worth tho wode:  
In all his woodhede he leste-tydes thre,  
And suththe he deyde sodeynliche, so the Bok telleth me:

35 The Devel was tho iredy, and Body and Soule nom,  
So that no Man nyfte whodyr that he bycom.

In the stede that the Mayde so byhevedid was  
A swythe fayr Welle anon Sprong bycas.

And som men told in suththe that therby tho stode,

40 That ther bethin Stonys ispringed al with blode.

Ther pys so queinte nother more ne lasse

That mowe the blodis dropis fram the Stonys wassche:

Ac ech Mon bereth witnesse that hem up nom,

That hit is a tokene of here martirdom.

45 Tho this holy Prest *Beuno* ihurd of al this fare,

Sore him of thougt that he nadde I ben thare :

And for that hit was nougt the tyme that 3he cholde ben  
dede,

Therefore a Predycacioun to the Peple he hath isede.

And in his Predycacioun Ich wot he seyde this,

50 Hit ner nougt tyme that the Mayde 3it partid fram Us,

Ac bende wolde that 3he cholde herafter libbe longe,

And wel servy Crist, mede to ondirfonge.

Therefore ich 3ou bidde, that 3e bidde with Me,

To oure Lord Ihu Crist that is so hende and fre,

55 That he us sende to day a party of his Grace,

And arere this Mayde to lyve in this Place.

The heved to this Body this holy Prest gan don

And thorw3 his Love and here, that Mayde aros anon.

Ever therafter aboute here Nekke was as they hit were a  
Threde

60 In tokenyng of the marterdom that 3he was onso dede.

Whyter thing ne my3te be than the Threde was.

The Peple seyde for joye alle *Deo gratias*

Thorw3 *Beuno* his rede, abyte suththe 3he nom,

And ladde swyth hard lif and good Nonne bycom.

65 *Beuno* in a tyme to here seyde tho,

*Woufred*, Ihu Crist it wole that we to party ato.

For into another Contre nede ich mot wende,

And there nedis to dwellin to my lyves end.

Ech 3er thou most sende som presaut, ich the telle,

70 And what thou wolt me sende cast hit in the Welle.

Of that thou dost therinne ne drede the ri3t nougt,

That hit ne chal thorw3 Goddes grace, to me ben well  
ibrougt.

And after this, Vij 3er hennes, thou chalt fare,

And thy lyf dayis enden Ich wot elleswhare.

75 And loke in thyne lyve that thou love Chastede,

For nedes ich most henne no long ne man ich her be.

At the Welle I of spake the Mayde tho him brougte.

Suththe tornyd here a3en and a Chesible him wrougte,

By

- By here myȝt ȝhe hit made both good and ryche,  
 80 That nas in all the Londe no Chesible here ilyche.  
 Tho hit was iredy, thorw work of here honde,  
 In a whit Mantel the Chesible she hit wonde :  
 ȝhe leyde hit in the Streame, that ȝhe ifonde ther,  
 And thorwȝ Goddes grace the Strem hit forth ber,  
 85 Into that ilke selve stede that *Beuno* woned tho.  
 And they hig was from the Welle thritty myle and mo ;  
 And therinne myȝt wel I se, how good Crist is,  
 And that hit was a Merakle eche man may wite, I wis.  
 After that the Vij ȝer wer ibrouȝt to ende,  
 90 Nede moste *Wonefred* to other Stede wende.  
 And for *Beuno* the holy Prest hit had I seyde before,  
 Nede moste these wordis to soth ben I core.  
 Thennes for to wende ȝhe gan her dyȝte I wis,  
 Into a swythe wilde Stede that *Veterat* icleped is.  
 95 Bothe Monkes and Nonnes this Mayde ifounde tho,  
 That ladden good lyue, and clene; so ech man auȝt to do.  
*Bulopius* het the Abbot that here Mayster was there,  
 Swythe moche he dede his Wille his Monkes for to lere.  
 A Modir hadde this Abbot that him to man bare,  
 100 Mayster of the Nonnes Ich wot that ȝhe was thare.  
 By here ryȝt name Men cleped here *Eusebia*  
 For moche ȝhe hatyed Sinne and loved Cortesie.  
 Therefore Women drouȝ to here both for and ner,  
 For in alle the Londe ȝhe ne hadde no Per.  
 105 Thorwȝ red of the Abot *Wonefred* to here drouȝ  
 Eyther of other is Felechiþe was tho glad inouȝ.  
 After that *Eusebye* partyd of this lyve,  
*Wonefred* dwelled in here Stede ȝeres ten and fyve.  
 Mek ȝhe was, and of fayr Speche, and swyth mylde of  
 mode,  
 110 And thorw here holy Speche ȝhe brouȝte Mony to Gode.  
 Suththe tho God sente his Grace, to Heven ȝhe gan wende  
 Now Ihu for the love of Here, thedir us bringe at oure  
 ende. *Amen.*

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SINCE the printing off a great Part of this Book, I have  
 seen (by the Favour of *Roger Gale*, Esq; the worthy Son  
 of a most learned Father, the late *Dean of York*) another MS.  
 Life of *Wonefred*, which was, I guess, taken out of *Reb. Sa-*  
*lop.* but has none of his Preface, differs very much in many  
 Places, is much shorter, and leaves off entirely at the Death  
 of *Theonia*; as does the old *English Legend*, and this *Life in Verse*,  
 which I guess to be about 400 Years old. Some of whose  
 Words I have tried to explain, but many more I understand  
 not.



not. According to this above-mentioned MS. *Washday's Day* is the 22 of June.

*Abyts*, Habit of a Nun.

*Ascappe*, to escape.

*Behet*, promised.

*Bidde*, pray.

*Dylven*, to live.

*Ch.* for *Sh.* v. gr. 47.

*Fart*, go away.

*Flen*, to flee.

*Fool*, foul.

*Gangen*, went.

3 for g, v. iii; for y, xxii; for gh, ix; for s, xii.

*gera*, carefully, diligently.

*Her*, was called.

*Hende*, gentle, good.

*Hir*, it.

*I*, added to a Word, makes it signify no more than it did before: *Isay*, saw; *iready*, ready; *ispringed*, sprinkled;

*ibard*, heard; *ibryt*, baked.

*Ich*, I.

*Ik*, the same.

*Libbe*, live. The *v* was written like a b.

*Myd*, with.

*Nem*, took; to *win* is to heal.

*Quinn*, nest, curious.

*Was* was not; *was*, am not;

*would* would not; *wylt*, wilt

not; *hadde*, had not.

for u, v. y.

*Raband*, obscene Talk.

*Stede*, Place.

*The*, when, and then.

*Thy*, altho.

*Wend*, go.

*Wend*, dwell.

*Worth the wode*, for grow much.

MVSEVM  
BRITAN  
NICVM

FINIS.